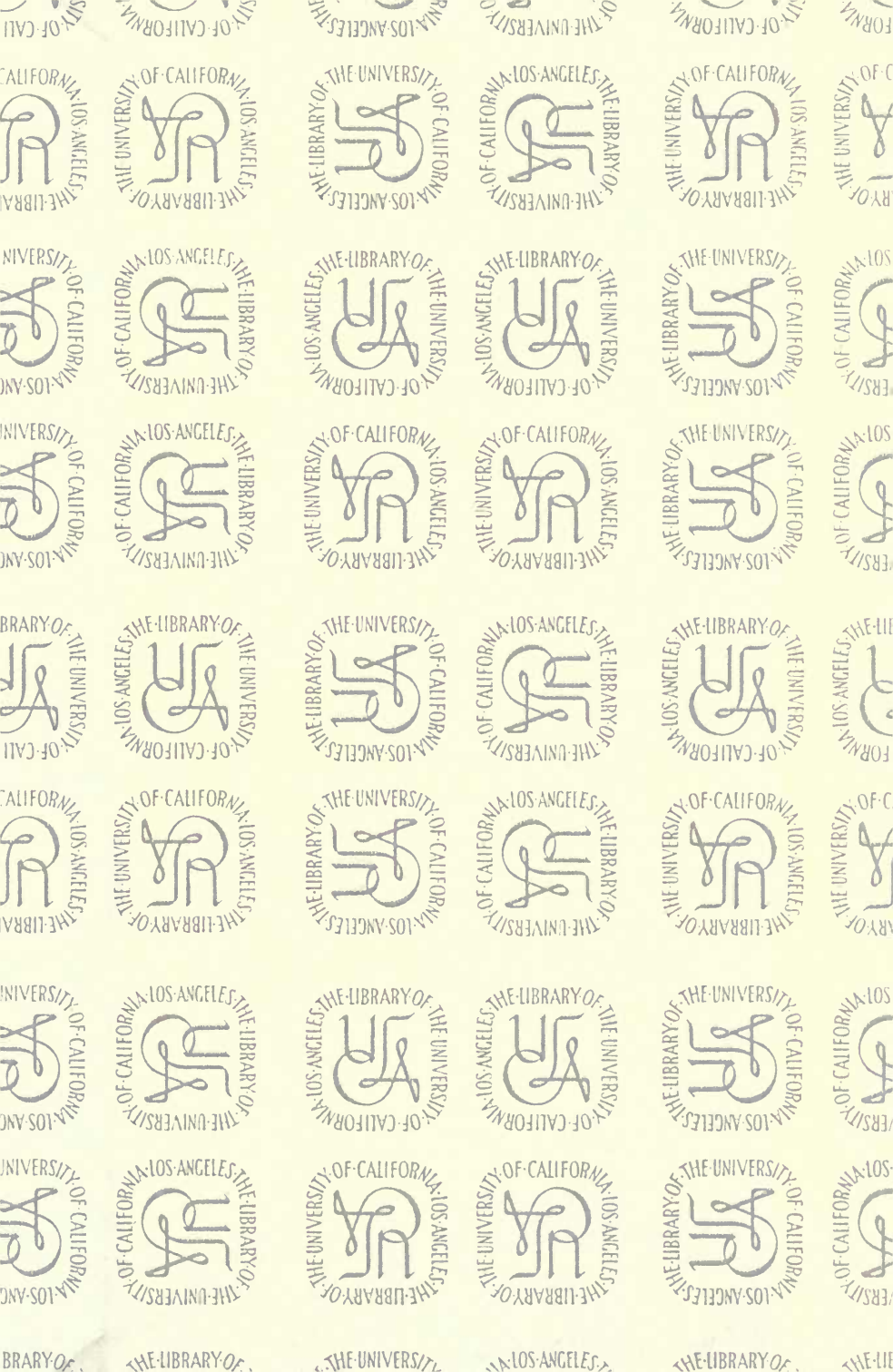


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:: BERLIN ::
AUGUST 5—10, 1910.

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS

Edited by
CHARLES W. WENDTE, D. D.,
with the assistance of
V. D. DAVIS, B. A.

„Einheit durch Freiheit“.

— BERLIN-SCHÖNEBERG 1911 —
Protestantischer Schriftenvertrieb G. m. b. H.

Sole Agents for Great Britain and the Colonies:
WILLIAMS & NORGATE, LONDON.

FIFTH INTERNATIONAL
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BERLIN
August 7-30, 1900

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS

Edited by
WILHELM VENTURINI
and
W. D. FARRAR

Einheit durch Freiheit

Verlag von
Friedrich Schöningh & Co. G. m. b. H.

Williams & Norgate, London

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EDITORIAL NOTE.

A book printed in Germany and published in Berlin, with the Editor across the Atlantic and his assistant in England, is produced under difficulties, which may account for some of the manifest imperfections of this volume, and the long delay in its appearance, which is greatly regretted. Some selection in the mass of material furnished by the Congress was inevitable; and it will be seen that in the translations of German papers into English it has not been possible to secure a uniform standard of excellence. The German Report (by the same publishers), edited by Dr. Max Fischer and Dr. F. M. Schiele of Berlin, gives a more systematic record of the Congress proper, including the four devotional addresses, and twelve other papers, which are not in this volume. Among these are the papers on the debt of Holland and Armenia to Germany, by Professor Groenewegen of Leiden and Dr. Ter-Minassiantz, Professor Wobbermin's paper on the "Task and Significance of the Psychology of Religion", a paper on the "Changes in Calvinistic Orthodoxy in the Twentieth Century", by Professor Eerdmans of Leiden, and a number of statements as to the present position in Germany with regard to Methodism, modern Baptists, Theosophy, Free Thinkers, etc. On the other hand, the addresses in Section VII of our Table of Contents (pp 551 to 643) are not in the German Report. The papers given in French at the Congress are published here in their original form.

To the thanks expressed at the close of Dr. Carpenter's Preface, a word of grateful acknowledgment must be added here to all who have helped in the production of this volume and especially to the Publishers, for the courage and patience with which they have faced a difficult task.

EDITORIAL NOTE

A book printed in Germany and published in Berlin, with the title "The Atlantic and the Continent in England," is enclosed under the title which may account for some of the manifest inconsistencies of the volume, and the long delay in its appearance, which is greatly regretted. Some selection to the mass of material furnished by the Congress was inevitable; and it will be seen that in the translation of certain papers into English it has not been possible to secure a uniform standard of excellence. The German Report (by the same publisher), edited by Dr. Max Fischer and Dr. E. M. Schiele of Berlin, gives a more complete record of the Congress proper, including the four sectional addresses, and twelve other papers which are not in this volume. Among them are the papers on the debt of Holland and America to Germany, by Professor Hooft van den Hagen and Dr. F. W. Minnaert, Professor Weyden's paper on the "Task and Significance of the Psychology of Religion," a paper on the "Origin of Christian Mythology" in the "Germanic Century," by Professor Erdmann of Kötter, and a number of statements on the present position in Germany with regard to Methodism, modern English Theology, Free Thought, etc. On the other hand, the address in Section VII of our Table of Contents (pp. 551-552) are not in the German Report. The papers given in French in the Congress are published here in their original form. To the thanks expressed at the close of Dr. Carpenter's address a note of grateful acknowledgment must be added here to all who have aided in the production of this volume and especially to the publishers, for the courtesy and patience with which they have faced a difficult task.

PREFACE.

BY REV. J. ESTLIN CARPENTER, LITT. D., D. D., OF OXFORD.

The following pages record the proceedings of the fifth International Congress of Free Christianity and Religious Progress, held at Berlin in August, 1910. The Congress was originally planned in Boston, U. S. A., 1900, and held its first meeting in London in 1901. Its earliest promoters were Unitarians; but it claimed no monopoly of truth; its purpose was to provide a meeting-ground for those who approached the great questions of religion without insisting upon particular dogmas, whether derived from the Bible or the Church. Distinguished scholars from the Continent took part in the gathering, and when its members were received at the Mansion House by the Lord Mayor, he learned to his surprise that no less than eighteen different religious communions were represented.

Subsequent meetings, which evoked increasing interest, were held in Amsterdam, Geneva, and Boston. The Congress widened its borders, and so far rose above sectarian limitations that the Catholic and the Mohammedan could be seen at its sessions side by side. With some of the Liberal theologians of Germany it had long been in the friendliest relations; and in the summer of 1909 its devoted Secretary, the Rev. Dr. C. W. Wendte, after the Calvin celebrations at Geneva, visited a number of University cities, and enlisted a large amount of support for a meeting at Berlin. Under the genial President, Herr Direktor Schrader, more than two thousand members were assembled. They came from many lands, Europe, America, India and Japan, representing thirty different nationalities; they belonged to no less than sixty church fellowships.

More impressive, however, even than the participation of the Jew, the Buddhist, and the Sikh, was the large multitude from the Fatherland itself. For more than a century Germany has led the way in theological research. The historic study of the Bible, and the philosophy of religion, the two great pillars which support the Church of today, were both wrought out by her genius and industry. It was natural

therefore that the largest share in the proceedings should fall to the eminent scholars who came from her universities and her pulpits to discuss the great religious problems of our time. The names of Professors Harnack, Gunkel, Bousset, Krüger, Titius, Weinel, Wendt, Baumgarten, Troeltsch, to mention but a few in the long list, sufficed to guarantee the importance of the meeting. And the audience was no less significant. Rank after rank in the crowded hall sat hundreds of pastors, teachers, and students of theology. The time had come for the Liberal Faith to gather its forces, and take up the tasks which await it in Church and home, in city and village, in the nation and the state.

Freedom and progress were throughout the inspiring watchwords of the Congress. That there should be differences of view was inevitable, but diversity did not produce discord. Beneath all varieties of thought and expression lay the conviction of the profound importance of religion as a moral and spiritual force in human life. Among the themes which excited the most eager interest were its place in education, its share in the social order, its influence on peace. Side by side with these were the large questions of modern theology, the results of recent study of the Bible, the personality of Jesus, the psychological and philosophical foundations of belief, the interpretation of man's moral nature. The speakers sought no fictitious unity. That which brought them together was not any authoritative identity of doctrine; they did not desire to produce any fresh confession of belief. But from day to day there grew a joyous sense of mutual understanding, a deep and solemn conviction of a great opportunity, the consciousness of a steadily advancing power. Lonely workers in distant outposts felt themselves no more isolated: they belonged to a great host with a common cause of liberty and truth.

To the friends at Berlin who organised the meetings with such unwearied devotion the warmest thanks of the foreign members are due. The noble and lovely music, the inspiring religious services, the delightful sense of international good-will, would alone have rendered the Berlin gathering most memorable. May this volume recall to those who were present the deep impressions of a united purpose which were there created, and awaken in others the consciousness of fraternal sympathy in faith and hope.

Oxford, Nov. 12th. 1910.

A SUMMARY OF THE BERLIN CONGRESS OF 1910.

BY REV. C. W. WENDTE, D. D., GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CONGRESS.

The "Welt-Congress für Freies Christentum und Religiösen Fortschritt", which held its sessions in Berlin August 5—10, 1910, was the fifth international gathering of religious liberals held since the preliminary meeting for the organization of this movement by Unitarians and others in Boston, United States of America, in the spring of the year 1900.

The previous congresses have been held in London (1901), Amsterdam (1903), Geneva (1905) and Boston (1907). Fuller information concerning these meetings will be found in the report of the General Secretary to the fifth or Berlin Congress, printed in this volume.

It may be affirmed with truthfulness that in point of attendance, variety and importance of the topics treated, the ability and prominence of the speakers, and the harmony and courtesy of the discussions, the meetings at Berlin were fully equal to their predecessors, and in some respects superior to them. Over 2000 persons enrolled themselves as members, paying the fee of five marks. As many more purchased tickets of admission to single meetings at one mark each. The latter was an innovation not to be commended, for hitherto some portion of the auditorium has been free to the general public. Yet it probably saved the day for the Berlin Committee. The latter had estimated an attendance only half as large, for the religious and scholarly public of Berlin is away on its vacation in August. But they forgot that all Germany outside of Berlin was also on its vacation, and that many friends of religious freedom and reform would feel drawn irresistably to the Congress. At the very last moment the local Committee felt the need of providing larger quarters for the meetings than those advertised. They were fortunate in finding such in the new Landwehrcasino (Homeguard Club-house) near the Zoological Garden in Berlin. While somewhat remote, this edifice, with its larger and smaller halls and ample stairways, corridors and committee rooms, proved a convenient, almost sumptuous place

of meeting. Yet even with the restriction of an entrance fee the inrush of the public continued. It was an impressive spectacle to behold the large auditorium crowded three times a day with an eager and patient company of 1000 to 1500 souls, listening with unabated interest to speech after speech, protracted sometimes till midnight, while often parallel meetings were held in the smaller halls and equally crowded. Of these auditors two-thirds were men — clergymen, professors, teachers, students — and a more intelligent and responsive audience no man ever faced. 30 different nationalities were represented among them and 60 different church fellowships. Nearly 150 different speakers were included in the various programmes of the Congress. Very impressive too was the prevailing openmindedness, patience and courtesy displayed by the audience towards these speakers, and by the speakers towards each other. The presentation of novel or even distasteful opinions rarely provoked an expression of dissent. Never have so many divergent points of view been presented at one of our Congresses. From the Socialist doctrinaire to the apostle of individualism, from an uncompromising and austere orthodoxy to the extremes of Protestant dissent, from the intense affirmation of the personality of Deity by Jewish Monotheist and Hindu Brahmin to the nihilism of Buddhistic faith and the pantheistic ethics of the school of Spinoza — all alike were listened to with patience and courtesy. This was the more remarkable because there exists as yet among the German people but a rudimentary sense of international comity. Their whole development for 50 years back has been along the lines of national and local patriotism. Their rulers sedulously foster this exclusiveness. Shortly after the Congress, possibly prompted by it, the Crown Prince of Prussia made an address in which he strongly deprecated the growth of international sentiment in Germany. That under such conditions the Berlin Congress displayed such large hospitality to foreign nations and foreign ideas was a moral triumph of the first order.

Another characteristic of the Congress was its religiousness. Nearly every session was opened with hymn and prayer. The addresses were notable for their profound reverence for the ideas, traditions, and symbols of religious faith, and no sentiments were more warmly responded to than those which appealed to the spiritual elements and constructive forces of man's religious nature.

The local arrangements for the meetings were admirable, despite the inevitable confusion at first attending the largely increased membership and the sudden transfer to a new place of assembly. Towards speakers from abroad the most generous hospitality was exercised. The excursions were admirably managed. Quite a large amount of money had been

raised for these purposes by the local committee. The press arrangements were particularly good, and the German newspapers gave an attention to the Congress which, compared with their size, was quite equal to that of our American journals, while the reports themselves were often prepared by experts in theological science.

Translations in full or in abstract of many important papers were placed in the hands of delegates. The official program was a handsome pamphlet of 44 pages, with many appropriate illustrations.

Interesting as the Congress was from an international point of view, its greatest importance lay in the influence it exerted, and for some time to come will continue to exert on the religious life of Germany. Never before had the liberal elements in the different State-churches, universities, and free religious fellowships of that country united for a common purpose. Never before have they been able to make so large and effective a demonstration of the wide acceptance, the strength, dignity and inevitable final triumph of modern critical and progressive opinions in the religious life of Christendom. The imposing list of University teachers who participated in the program, including names which are the pride of German theological science at the present day and honored abroad as at home, the large attendance and unabated interest of the meetings, testified to the large prevalence of liberal and advanced sentiments in the community. They were not only most gratifying to the devoted men who for a year past had been occupied with the arrangements for the Congress itself, but heartening and inspiring to all the friends of religious freedom and progress in Germany. The Congress revealed to them their own strength when united for testimony and service.

Henceforth Germany, whose liberal elements have hitherto given but a half-hearted support to the International Congress, may be counted upon for earnest and valuable work in its behalf. Under its new president, Hon. Karl Schrader of Berlin, whose wise and genial leadership made itself felt in all the German meetings, and whose interest and generosity were exhibited in many ways in the preliminary work of organization, there will be no cessation of efforts to make the Congress an emancipating power in his own country and throughout the world.

Prof. Paul Sabatier, in an address before the Congress, not unjustly criticised the overcrowding of the program with speakers and the lack of free discussion which this entailed. One cause of this was the endeavor of the local committee to combine an effective demonstration of the aims and strength of **German** liberalism with the international features of the meetings. In this they notably succeeded, but at the

cost of some weariness to their audiences, and at times, perhaps, to the detriment of the international interests of the Congress.

To the Americans present an important feature of the proceedings was the participation for the first time of new elements from their own country — Universalists, Progressive Friends, Christians and others, who sent official delegates, and were represented on the program by speakers of ability and scholarship who made a fine impression. There were also many members of Christian denominations usually termed orthodox included on the program, as well as Reformed Jews. Thanks chiefly to the excursion organized by the foreign department of the American Unitarian Association the number of Americans in attendance at the Congress considerably exceeded 200, which may be favorably contrasted with the four or five individuals who were present at the first or London meeting.

II.

An important action at the Berlin meeting was the change made in the name of the International Council itself. Hitherto it has been known as the "International Council of Unitarian and other Liberal Religious Thinkers and Workers".

Founded at Boston in the year 1900 by representatives of the Unitarian churches of the United States, Great Britain and Hungary for the purpose of bringing into closer cooperation the Unitarians and their sympathizers and allies in all countries of the world, the original choice of a name seemed natural and appropriate. But during the ten years which have succeeded the "other religious liberals" spoken of in the title have disclosed themselves in such surprising strength, and have participated in such great numbers in the various Congresses of the International Council that the exclusive mention of the Unitarian body in its title is no longer just or adequate. Conscious of this the various countries and fellowships entertaining the Congress have of late been permitted to choose for their meetings whatever name best expressed their local preferences and needs. Thus the recent session in Germany called itself "World-Congress of Free Christianity and Religious Progress." Such a procedure was, of course, irregular, and could not go on with safety. Accordingly at the recent meeting of the Executive Committee in Berlin the Unitarian delegates themselves proposed that the name of the Association be changed. The matter was earnestly discussed at two sessions of the Committee. It was finally determined by a unanimous vote to make the words "Free Christianity" a part of the new title, and to adopt, also the further designation "religious liberals"; yet in such a phrasing as would best meet the religious situation and

linguistic requirements of each of the three nations whose idioms are officially recognized by the Congress. Thus in the French tongue the latter will hereafter be known as "Congrès International des Chrétiens libéraux et d'autres libre-croyants", in German as "Welt-Kongress für Freies Christentum und Religiösen Fortschritt", and in English as "International Congress of Free Christians and Other Religious Liberals". By employing the term "Free Christians" it is hoped to win a still larger number of progressive elements in the historic churches of Christendom. By the term "Other Religious Liberals" is expressed the desire of the Congress to include in its fellowship all phases of reverent free-thought, and all progressive forms of ethnic and world-faith outside of Christianity, such as liberal Judaism, Hindu Theism, advanced Buddhism and Mahometanism.

The Executive Committee itself was enlarged and broadened by the addition of new elements. It is composed at present as follows,

For Germany,

- Hon. Karl Schrader, of Berlin, member of the German Reichstag;
- Prof. Martin Rade, of Marburg University and editor of *Die Christliche Welt*;
- Rev. Dr. Max Fischer, pastor of St. Mark's Church, Berlin;
- Prof. H. Geffcken, Dr. Juris, Cologne, President of the Friends of Protestant Freedom in the Rhinelands;
- Rev. Dr. F. M. Schiele, Berlin, pastor and author.

For Great Britain,

- Rev. J. Estlin Carpenter, D. D., Principal of Manchester College, Oxford;
- Rev. W. Copeland Bowie, Secretary of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, London;
- Rev. A. L. Lilley, Vicar of St. Mary's Church, Paddington, London;
- Rev. R. J. Campbell, M. A., pastor of the City Temple, London.

For France,

- Prof. Gaston Bonet-Maury, D. D., of the Free Protestant Faculty of Paris;
- Rev. J. Emile Roberty, pastor at L'Oratoire, Paris;
- Rev. J. Viénot, D. D., editor "*La Revue Chrétienne*".

For Switzerland,

- Prof. Edouard Montet, D. D., Rector of the University of Geneva;
- Rev. G. Schoenholzer, pastor Newminster Church, Zurich.

For Holland,

Prof. D. B. Eerdmans, D. D., University of Leiden;
Rev. P. H. Hugenholtz, Jr., Haarlem.

For Scandinavia,

Miss Mary B. Westenholz, Denmark;
Rev. Carl Konow, pastor at Bergen, Norway.

For Italy,

Rev. Tony André, D. D., pastor Evangelical Church, Florence.

For Hungary,

Prof. George Boros, D. D., Principal Unitarian Seminary, Kolozsvár.

For the United States,

Rev. Samuel A. Eliot, D. D., President of the American Unitarian Association, Boston;

Rev. Chas. W. Wendte, D. D., Foreign Secretary of the American Unitarian Association, Boston;

Rev. George A. Gordon, D. D., pastor Old South Congregational Church, Boston;

Rev. Frederick A. Bisbee, D. D., editor Universalist Leader, Boston.

The names of other well-known liberals belonging to the Church of England, the Episcopal, Baptist, Congregational, Quaker, Presbyterian, Lutheran and other religious bodies in Great Britain, the United States and other countries, were presented for membership in the Committee, but deferred for further consideration and action. A similar proposal to include Jewish, Hindu Theist and liberal Buddhist representatives was also referred to the next Congress, which will probably be held in Paris, in 1913, by invitation of the liberal French Protestant Church, prominent representatives of the Modernist movement, and other liberal bodies in that country. In the meantime the Committee expressed its intention to continue towards the varied forms of Christian and non-Christian liberalism the same large hospitality which characterized the Berlin as well as previous sessions of the Congress.

III.

It had been arranged that the English-speaking and other foreign delegates on their way to the Berlin Congress should stop over at Cologne for a day or more, and take part in a local demonstration in behalf of religious freedom and progress under the auspices of the "Friends of Protestant Freedom in the Rhinelands". The latter is an association of over 4000 members of the State Church organized to defend their congregational rights against the encroachments of the Prussian church authorities and to secure the "liberty of prophesying" for their ministers.

Their leaders are Prof. Heinrich Geffcken of the juridical faculty of the Technological Institute of Cologne, a member of the eminent family of scholars bearing that name, and a man of astonishing virility, eloquence and independence of character, Rev. Gottfried Traub, of Dortmund, one of the most gifted and fearless ministers in Germany, and a tireless worker for social and theological reform, Rev. Carl Jatho, pastor of a large Evangelical church in Cologne, a preacher of unusual force and eloquence, a radical and fearless thinker, and others hardly less able and influential.

The reception given the foreign guests at Cologne was a pleasant foretaste of the hospitalities they were to enjoy during their stay on German soil, and remains one of the most delightful memories of the Congress. They were met on August 3rd, at the station by the local committee and escorted to their hotels, after which an informal dinner was tendered them, with a speech of welcome by Prof. Geffcken and a happy reply by Rev. Dr. Pedro Ilgen, pastor of the German-American Church in St. Louis, Mo., and, on behalf of the English guests, by the Rev. V. D. Davis of Bournemouth, who also spoke in German, his mother's native tongue.

In the Palm-garden of the Flora, a popular resort, an evening reception was held. It was a picturesque and animated affair, which later, when the garden was illuminated, presented a scene of enchantment. Vocal and instrumental music, the hearty singing of chorals by the audience, — the musical element is rarely absent from a German gathering — refreshments and addresses made up the program. Prof. Geffcken, as President of the German Association, welcomed the crowded assembly in German, French and English, and was replied to by the Secretary of the Congress, Rev. Chas. W. Wendte, who spoke in German, on behalf of the visitors from abroad. Professor Carpenter, of Oxford, spoke for England, and Rev. A. Reyss, of Paris, General Secretary of the liberal French Protestant churches brought, in French, the greeting of his compatriots. Prof. Dr. Walter Rauschenbusch, of Rochester, N. Y., being called upon, spoke in fluent German of the religious and social freedom enjoyed in the United States, while Rev. Hugo Eisenlohr, of the German-American Church in Cincinnati, Ohio, made a thoughtful speech in which he held the balance true for both the past and the present hour in religion.

After these preliminary addresses the meeting resolved itself into a demonstration in behalf of individual and Congregational freedom in the German State Church. With eager attention the hearers listened to stirring and eloquent addresses by Revs. Jatho, Traub and others, punctuated with liberal applause and protracted till midnight. With

the singing of Luther's Battle hymn "Ein' feste Burg" the interesting proceedings came to a close.

The next morning disclosed a day of exquisite beauty and ushered in an experience long to be treasured by those so fortunate as to participate in it. A short railroad ride brought the company of 500 or more to Bonn, where, after a pleasant stroll through the university grounds, an excursion steamer carried them in leisurely fashion up the Rhine, through the beautiful scenery of the Seven Mountains, past the Drachenfels to Remagen. Here a public dinner was given them. From the terrace was presented a superb panorama of the Rhine with its beetling crags, ruined towers, smiling vineyards, and the joyous life of the far-famed river. The feasting and merry-making, the songs and speechifying seemed never to end. Prof. Geffcken was an ideal chairman, alert and witty, and with a voice that penetrated everywhere. Prof. Karl Sell of Bonn gave a most enjoyable account of the origins of Remagen and its beautiful Church of St. Apollinaris the Martyr, whose legendary history is interwoven with this region, and who lends his name to the famous mineral spring hard by. His address, and others by Pastor Radecke, Dr. Max Fischer of Berlin, and Rev. Mr. Jatho were translated into English, passage by passage, by a Bonn professor and other volunteers. Not to be outdone Rev. Mr. Dowson of England essayed an amusing German speech, full of the joyous memories of his early student days at Heidelberg. Rev. Dr. J. E. Carpenter, Rev. Minot Simons of Cleveland, Ohio, Rev. P. Ilgen of St. Louis, Mo., and many others were moved to expression as the day wore on. It is the Continental custom to intersperse each course of the feast with two or more addresses. Meanwhile the banquet is arrested and protracted for hours. More sensible seems our English and American fashion of letting the intellectual feast follow the material one, and giving to each in turn an individual attention. However, in this case, the lovely vista of the river and mountain, the fresh breeze pouring in through the open doors and the joyous spirit of the occasion made the hours fly rapidly until at sunset the merry company re-embarked, and enlivened with the singing of the beautiful songs of the Fatherland and its famous river, floated back to imperial Colonia and its wondrous cathedral. As the innumerable lights of the city came into view the foreign delegates uttered a grateful farewell to the friends of the Rhineland who had entertained them so royally, and who, like them, were struggling bravely for freedom in the church and progress in religion. A more congenial and auspicious beginning of their spiritual pilgrimage to Berlin could not have been devised.

IV.

It was late in the afternoon of August 5th when the foreign delegates arrived in Berlin and sought the quarters assigned them. At nine in the evening the opening reception was to be held in the great Kaiser-Hall of the Landwehrcasino. Richly adorned with battle scenes and the portraits of famous generals it seemed a rather incongruous place for a religious congress to gather in. But is not our cause also a militant one, demanding many soldierly qualities in its adherents? A great audience was assembled, largely of the clergy and university element, many teachers and students also, British to the number of a hundred, Americans, French, Italians, Swiss, Scandinavians, Dutch, — 30 different nations were represented. A striking feature were the East Indians present — a tall Sikh professor from the Punjab, with impressive turban and flowing yellow robes, an intellectual looking Buddhist teacher from Ceylon, clad in yellow silk garments of European cut, a dreamy-eyed Brahmin, plunged in meditation even in the crowd, a swarthy representative of the Hindu Theists in the garb of a British ecclesiastic, Japanese with finely chiselled, mobile features, Chinese students, impassive, yet keen to note the proceedings, even a red Indian from America, Jewish types, dark-skinned Armenians — it was a truly international gathering, and all seated together in the greatest harmony and goodwill. On the platform were prominent clergy and theologians, Prof. A. Harnack among them. After prayer by Rev. Dr. Max Fischer of Berlin, and an impressive anthem by a chorus of voices, in the much-regretted absence of the late president of the Congress, Rev. S. A. Eliot, D. D., of Boston, unavoidably detained from attendance at the last moment, its Secretary Rev. Chas. W. Wendte, D. D., of Boston, opened the session in a brief address delivered in successively German, English and French, to emphasize further the international character of the meeting. He closed by introducing the new president, Hon. Karl Schrader, of Berlin, a prominent member of the German Reichstag, and President also of the German Protestantenverein, the leading liberal religious association of Germany. Mr. Schrader, whose addresses throughout the Congress were concise and admirable, gave a genial welcome to the foreign delegates and invited a goodly number of them to respond on behalf of their particular nationalities. The speeches which followed, though brief and to the same purpose, were interesting as revealing the characteristics of each people represented. Pastor Reyss, of Paris, with French wit and enthusiasm, Pastor Konow of Bergen, with the vigor and abruptness of the Norseman, Prof. H. U. Meyboom of Groningen University, easy-going and good natured, as one expects in a Dutchman,

Rev. Tudor Jones, with Welsh fire bringing a message from Australia and New Zealand, Prof. Masaryk of the University of Prague, with keen, intellectual physiognomy, who told of the struggle for freedom and truth in Bohemia, and brought the greeting of the land of Huss to the land of Luther, Rev. Dr. F. A. Bisbee, of Boston, who spoke most excellently for the Americans, Rev. Risto Lappala for Finland, Rev. Ter-Minassianz for Armenia, Editor Promotho Loll Sen, of Calcutta, for India, Rev. H. Minami for Japan, and Pastor Dr. P. Ilgen, of St. Louis, for the German-Americans. One of the most striking addresses was by a woman, Miss Mary B. Westenholz of Denmark, a member of the Executive Committee of the Congress. With a sonorosity of voice and a freedom and grace of manner which many of her brethren might have envied, she upheld the rights of small nations and small churches against the overweight of the majority. It was nearly midnight when the great audience dispersed. The Congress had been informally begun.

The morning of Saturday, August 6th, was to be devoted to an excursion to Potsdam. As Prof. Dr. Adolf Harnack, of the University of Berlin, was compelled by considerations of health to make an early departure from the city to enter upon a much needed vacation, it was arranged that his address on "The Two-fold Gospel in the New Testament" which had been looked forward to with eager anticipation, should be held in the great hall of the University at 8:30 in the morning. Even at this early hour the auditorium was filled in every part with nearly a thousand hearers. An abstract in German, English and French of the lecture was distributed at the doors. It is impossible to do any justice in the few lines available to either the matter or manner of this remarkable address. It will be found printed in full in the "Protokoll" or report of the Congress. Unquestionably Harnack is the most gifted academic lecturer now living. With an amazing knowledge he combines a rare faculty of discrimination, rejecting the unessential, lifting into prominence the important elements of his theme, and illuminating every aspect of it by the brilliancy of his imagination, his alert wit, and the easy flow and felicity of his language. All these qualities were displayed on this occasion, keeping up the rapt attention of his hearers till the end of his hour's discourse, and leaving them in a happy frame of admiration and approval. His distinction between the first and earliest Gospel to be found in the New Testament, the glad tidings through God's Messenger, Jesus of Nazareth, of the coming of the Kingdom on earth to the poor, the meek, the peacemakers, the pure in heart, — and the second Gospel, developed in apostolic and later times, of the death and resurrection of the God-man, Jesus Christ, was finely drawn and illustrated with a wealth of learning. The second Gospel became the

central doctrine of the Christian church and almost thrust aside the first. Today it would seem as if the reassertion of the earlier Gospel would end in the destruction of the later one. But even if we are compelled to admit that the Deity of Christ is no longer to be maintained, in the light of our present historical knowledge, the second Gospel still has its mission to mankind. God is Holiness and Love. Hence God can only be revealed in the personal life, that is in man. He operates through man, saves through man. In what degree God imparts His fulness to the individual soul and makes it the organ of redemption to others we can only learn from the facts of history. No philosophical speculation is adequate to disclose it to us or draw the lines concerning it. The real significance of the second Gospel is that God has made Jesus of Nazareth to be the Lord and Christ for all humanity; that his work was God's work. History has set its seal on this truth. This is not an ecclesiastical signature; it consists in this, that for nineteen centuries past and today this Christ inspires men who are able, through his word and example, to lift themselves above the world without despising it, and are filled with burning, active love for humanity; who rejoice in their earthly vocation because they have found God in their life, and though in the midst of time live for eternity.

This double Gospel is as necessary today as it was in ancient times. The first Gospel contains the truth, the second points out the way: both together impart to us the life. Every brother may become a Christ to his fellowmen. Nor does this diminish — it rather increases the glory of Jesus Christ. To every man may be given this life-imparting power. Each should strive to become his brother's helper and saviour.

The excursion to Potsdam followed hard upon the lecture. Provision had been made for 300, but over 500 persons put in an appearance. After a ramble about the park and visits to various points of interest, the company embarked for an hour's sail on the Wannsee, and on landing were entertained at a dinner over which the Secretary of the Congress informally presided. Between the clash of a brass band and the long delayed courses the usual speeches were made. The newly elected President of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, Rev. Charles Hargrove of Leeds, made a powerful address, whose closing appeal for peace and amity between England and Germany was very impressive. Prof. George Boros of Kolozsvár spoke of Hungary and brought its greeting. Prof. D. B. Jayatilaka, an eminent Singhalese educator, a man of refined and winning personality, told of the Buddhist revival in Ceylon, Prof. H. C. Maitra, principal of the great Brahma Samaj Academy, with a thousand pupils, in Calcutta, Prof. Teja Singh, of Amritsar, India, Rev. George Richmond, an Episcopal rector of Phila-

delphia, and others made wise and witty addresses. All these spoke in English, which the unfortunate chairman had to render into German, for the many of that nationality present, as best he could.

On returning to Berlin a halt was made at the noble statue of Martin Luther in the Neuer Markt Square, where a large wreath was laid by the delegates at the feet of the bronze effigy of the great reformer. President Schrader introduced Dr. C. Herbert Smith, a prominent attorney of London, whose tribute to Luther, concise and well-worded, well represented the sentiments in the hearts of those present. Opposite the monument, in the Marienkirche, a church concert of German classical music had been provided. To a great audience a quartet of Berlin artists rendered a program of music by Bach, Buxtehude, Handel and Reger, ending with Bach's cantata on "A Mighty Fortress is our God". To many the principal feature of the occasion was the masterly organ-playing of the Royal Musical Conductor Bernard Irrgang.

In the evening of this day of impressions the work of the Congress was to begin with no less than four simultaneous meetings devoted to the Social Question in some of its leading aspects, — of these the session treating of Socialism and Religion found most favor in the eyes of the German public, which promptly filled the great Kaisersaal to overflowing and sat patiently till midnight listening to a long list of speakers. A few of these avowed themselves unqualified adherents of State Socialism, as it is promulgated in Germany, but most of the addresses, while friendly to the ideal of a new social order, were careful not to commit themselves to any partisan presentation of it. The speakers were Pastor Elie Gounelle of Paris, who spoke in French, and sought to harmonize social reform with Christian ideals; Rev. Mr. Bakker of Holland, an enthusiastic Social Reformer; Prof. Walter Rauschenbusch of Rochester, N. Y., whose thesis, "The Social Awakening of the American Churches" was conceived on large lines and delivered in fluent German, creating much enthusiasm; Rev. Dr. Maurenbrecher of Erlangen, who finds in Socialism "a new forward step in religion"; Dr. Pfannkuche, of Osnabrueck, a talented and earnest young radical who believes in a Christian Socialism, and Pastor Gottfried Traub of Dortmund, whose address on "Our Social Duty Today" was a splendid appeal to the conscience of his hearers: "Do not seek to substitute Socialism for religion" he warned his hearers "or you will lose hold on both. Do not make your social activity a mere instrument to advance your church, or sect, or party. A good Christian is still far from being qualified for the work of social reform; the most thorough-going knowledge of economy and industrial conditions is needed for this; a kindly disposition and generous emotions will not suffice for it. The occupation of a banker or merchant is no more

dangerous morally than that of a clergyman. The sin of hypocrisy, which is so constant a danger of the theological career, is in no wise easier to justify than an unrighteous rise in the price of commodities. An unlawful speculation in the stockmarket is no greater sin than the hollow, fulsome pathos of the average funeral discourse. Worse consequences flow to humanity from the clerical suppression of truth and cowardly clinging to mere traditions and forms than from the appraisal of a load of coal above its true weight or value, or a secret rebate. The Kingdom of God, as Jesus proclaimed it, bore the essential marks of social justice and peace. But not as a result won by united endeavors in the economic and ethical realm; it was to be the free gift of God. Let us not forget this, even if it lessens our appreciation of this early ideal. In our day we believe civilization and peace must be won by earnest and united work. It is immoral to seek to bring the early Christian era nearer to our own conception of social duty than the facts will warrant. The picture of an organized industrial movement among the workers themselves, of an emancipated womanhood ever striving upward for equality of right and opportunity, is too great to be confined within the narrow frame of the life of Jesus. Atheism ought not to be the privilege of the laboring classes. It may even be religious if it is not directed against the Eternal, but only against the Church's God. Christianity must be freed from political and ecclesiastical interference. To cultivate and perfect the human personality, irrespective of class or rank or station, should be its aim. Certain kinds of business and trade must be transformed or given up. The nobility, unless they do their share of productive work, have no right to exist, — these are some of the teachings of the Christianity that is to be. The social re-birth and re-creation of the peoples of the earth — this is its mission."

The absence from this meeting, because of illness, of the eloquent German member of Parliament and social leader, Prof. Dr. Friedrich Naumann of Berlin, of Pastor Kutter, the evangelical socialist of Zurich, and of Rev. R. J. Campbell of London, was much regretted.

A second meeting in a smaller hall was devoted to the Temperance Cause. Although a question of vital importance to Germany it was slimly attended and poorly reported. The speakers were men of international repute. Prof. Walter Rauschenbusch, D. D. gave an interesting account of the anti-alcoholic movement in the United States; Prof. Dr. T. G. Masaryk of the University of Prague, was an uncompromising advocate of total abstinence from alcohol and tobacco; Dr. H. Hercord of Lausanne, the president of the International Temperance Bureau, made an address on "Alcoholism and the Degeneracy of Peoples"; Mr. H. G. Chancellor, M. P., treated of "The Temperance Movement in

England", and several German speakers spoke admirably. Despite this lack of interest this cause is making much headway in Germany, especially in University and Church circles.

A third meeting dealt with "Religion and Woman", and was so largely attended that the corridors and staircases were called into use by the auditors. Ten speakers addressed the assembly. Unfortunately those of German idiom were placed first on the program, and so encroached on the time of the foreign representatives that the latter could obtain but a brief space for their addresses, as well as a diminished auditory. According to the daily press of Berlin the palm for oratorical impression must be yielded to Rev. Effie M. Jones, D. D., a Universalist pastor of Iowa, who spoke on "Woman in the Pulpit". The newspapers dilate on her impressive appearance, the carrying power of her voice, her self-possession, and wise and witty discourse, all of which illustrated and commended the cause for which she pleaded. Mrs. Clara T. Guild, head of the Tuckerman School for Pastors' Assistants in Boston, gave a well considered account of her work, its aims and results. Mrs. Herbert Smith and Miss Helen Herford of London presented, all too briefly, the work of women in the English and American churches.

The fourth session was devoted to International Peace and Amity. The hall proved too small for those desiring to attend. But the interest and value of the meeting was far beyond its numerical aspect. Prof. Dr. Martin Rade of Marburg proved an alert and genial chairman. The opening German address by Rev. Nithack-Stahn of Berlin was excellent. He was followed by Prof. Th. Ruysen of Bordeaux, President of the **Association de la Paix par le Droit**, in one of the most admirable surveys of the motives and prospects of the peace movement in modern society to which we have ever listened, albeit it was somewhat long for the occasion. President David Starr Jordan of California contributed a German paper of real value on "War and the Decay of Nations". The two addresses which followed, by Mr. J. Allen Baker, M. P., president of the Anglo-German Committee on Friendly Relations between the two nations, and Dr. W. Blake Odgers, K. C., Recorder of Plymouth, and Director of Legal Studies at the Inns of Court, London were profoundly impressive through the intense earnestness of the speakers and the nobility of their appeal for mutual goodwill and enduring peace between the two nations. It was a pity that two German laymen of equal standing and ability were not present to second their appeal, an oversight the Committee sincerely regretted. Pastors Francke of Berlin and Siegmund-Schultze of Potsdam made some amends for this by their responses, and Prof. G. Bonet-Maury of Paris proposed a committee similar to the German-English one, to labor for improved relations between France

and Germany, for which preliminary steps were taken. Finally, to embody the sentiment of the meeting, Prof. Jesse A. Holmes of Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania, offered a resolution, the only one permitted at any of the sessions of the Congress, in which the principles of international justice and peace were affirmed and commended. The resolution was as follows: —

“The World Congress of Free Christianity and Religious Progress desires to be associated with the world-wide movement making for international justice, and therewith peace among all peoples.”

“We feel it to be a world-tragedy that the Twentieth Century of the Christian era should see the so-called Christian nations still trying to settle questions of right by physical force, which is never a test of right.”

“We earnestly hope that some of the religious enthusiasm so long dissipated in other-worldliness may henceforth be directed to the creating of a sense of larger fellowship — a patriotism world-wide in its scope, and counteracting jealousy or distrust among nations. We urge upon all churches to develop among their peoples such faith in the power of righteousness, and such hatred of the atrocities of war as will insist on the settlement of all difficulties between nations by methods of order and good will. We feel deeply that all religious bodies should feel this task to be especially their own — to create such a sense of kinship with all mankind as will displace international and inter-racial distrust.”

“We rejoice that the machinery of international justice created at The Hague has already proved its efficiency and value. We urge on all nations so to enlarge the power and authority of this Supreme Court of Civilization that the antiquated and ineffective machinery of violence may soon be laid side forever.”

A fifth meeting in the interests of the Anti-Congo atrocities movement was also held during the Congress.

Thus at the very first working session of the Congress the importance of the Social Question was effectively emphasized.

Sunday, August 7th, was observed as a day of rest. Only at five in the afternoon were the members called together in the Jerusalem (Crusader) Church for a joint religious service. The music by the Church choir of forty mixed voices was singularly beautiful. More than one American present must have said to himself: “Oh, that we could listen to such religious song in our own churches”. Four of the selections were by Bach, and one by Grell. The two chief pastors of the Church, Rev. Prof. von Soden and Rev. Alfred Fischer, son of the Berlin clergyman known to us in the United States, conducted the service. Hereupon three preachers in succession delivered brief discourses on the apostolic

word: "Now abide Faith, Hope and Love, these three —". Pastor G. Schoenholzer of the Newminster Church in Zurich, gave, in German, the sermon on Faith. Rev. W. G. Tarrant, a Unitarian pastor of London, spoke in English on Hope, and Rev. J. Emile Roberty of the Oratoire, the principal Protestant Church in Paris, uttered the closing word in French, a panegyric on Love. While the idioms were different and each preacher disclosed the characteristics of his nationality, a wonderful harmony, felt by all present, pervaded the service. It seemed a worthy embodiment of the Congress idea — unity in diversity; many gifts but one spirit. There were no further Congress proceedings on Sunday, but the liberal pastors of Berlin took the opportunity to arrange three large popular meetings in various halls of the city, at which themes of immediate and local interest were discussed by local and foreign speakers in attendance on the Congress. Thousands attended these meetings, and their success was a matter of great congratulation to their originators. They also indirectly called increased attention to the Congress itself.

V.

On Monday morning, August 8th, the formal proceedings of the Congress began. Everything previous had been only an overture. Again the tireless auditors crowded the Kaisersaal. A male quartette sang the "O Bone Jesus" of Palestrina and another selection, the solemn music preparing the minds of those present for the religious address and prayer of Prof. Martin Rade which prefaced the day's proceedings. Thereupon Hon. Karl Schrader gave his presidential address and the Executive Secretary his report. Printed copies of both these papers, and others that followed, in French, English and German, were distributed among the audience. The address of the President dealt mainly with the aims and ideals of the Congress and the steps taken to make it successful and influential. Pres. Schrader declared: "This Congress has no desire to found a new church; nor does it strive to dissolve any existing church organization. All, or at any rate, most of the members of this Congress belong to some religious organization, and do not dream of leaving their own denomination. But they do wish to realize the fundamental thought of the Congress, to help to breathe new religious energy into the different religious organizations, and to furnish a basis for a better understanding between them." Mr. Wendte traced briefly the history of the previous Congresses, and expressed the emotions with which the foreign delegates for the first time met for their international endeavors on German soil. He set forth the aims which led to the framing of the present Congress program, and recounted the

doings of the central committee since the Boston meeting three years before. In closing he paid affectionate tribute to prominent members and supporters of this international movement who had passed away, to the late professors Otto Pfleiderer of Berlin, Jean Réville, of Paris, Dr. Edward Everett Hale of Boston, John Fretwell, Subba Rau of India and Prof. Goldwin Smith of Canada. He called attention to the Theodore Parker anniversary and the approaching festivities of the Unitarians of Hungary in memory of their founder Francis David.

At this point in the proceedings Prof. G. Krueger of Giessen University assumed the chair and spoke warm words of recognition and gratitude for the life-work of the venerable and liberal scholar and theologian, Prof. Dr. H. J. Holtzmann of Strassburg, notice of whose death had just been received. As a mark of respect the audience rose and stood in silence.

The first theme of the Congress was taken up — **“What Religious Liberals of Other Nations owe to the Religious Life and Theological Science of Germany”**. The speakers announced were: For Great Britain Professor Dr. J. Estlin Carpenter, Principal of Manchester College, Oxford; for the United States, Professor Dr. Francis G. Peabody, of Harvard University; for France, Professor Dr. G. Bonet-Maury, of the Free Faculty of Protestant Theology, Paris; for Holland, Professor Dr. H. Y. Groenewegen, of Leiden University; for Armenia, Rev. Terminassianz, and for Australia, Rev. Tudor Jones. Of these speakers all were present except Dr. Peabody, who was unable because of the state of his health to cross the ocean. His absence was exceedingly regretted, for as the first “exchange professor” he made himself very popular and respected in Germany, and would have been given a warm welcome. But his paper, in both an English and a German version, was distributed among the audience. Fortunately, too, Rev. Dr. E. C. Moore of the Harvard Theological faculty was present, and made an impromptu but genial address in German on the same theme. Dr. Carpenter’s tribute was in admirable taste, while Prof. G. Bonet-Maury’s paper was one of much research and value. Prof. Groenewegen well showed the reciprocal influence of German and Dutch scholarship on each other. The German theologians present certainly had no reason to complain of a lack of appreciation at the hands of their foreign brethren.

At the afternoon session the second topic of the Congress was entered upon — **“A Presentation of German Theology and Church Life.”** To many this was the culminating point of the meeting. It was most impressive to behold eminent scholars and theologians, men whose names are household words in modern religious science, come upon the platform

one after another and address the audience on themes to which they have devoted their lives. Prof. Dr. H. H. Wendt of Jena presided and introduced in fitting words Prof. Dr. H. von Soden, of Berlin University, who spoke on "The Results of the Historico-critical Study of the New Testament on the Religious Life", Prof. Dr. Herman Gunkel of Giessen University, who treated of "Religious History and Old Testament Criticism", Prof. Dr. A. Dorner, of the University of Koenigsberg, who discussed "Philosophy and Theology in the Nineteenth Century", and Prof. Dr. Arthur Titius of Goettingen, whose topic was "The Place and Limits of the Evolutionary Philosophy in Ethics".

At the evening session Prof. Dr. Edward Simons of the Berlin University presided most genially and the same general theme was continued. Prof. Dr. Heinrich Weinel, of the University of Jena, spoke on "Theological Study and the Church"; Prof. Friederich Niebergall of Heidelberg on "The Art of the Sermon in Germany". Prof. Dr. Otto Baumgarten, of Kiel University, gave a searching and frank address on "Religious Education in Germany" and Prof. Dr. Wobbermin, of Breslau University, on "The Mission and Significance of Religious Psychology."

The next morning, August 9th, the discussion was resumed after choral music and a devotional service conducted by Rev. V. D. Davis of England. Prof. Dr. Geffcken of Cologne presided, and the speakers were Prof. Dr. William Bousset of Goettingen University, who discoursed on "The Significance of the Person of Jesus for the Faith of Today"; Pastor Erich Foerster of Frankfort on the Main, on "The Constitution of the Protestant Church in Germany" — a candid and bold utterance; Director F. J. Schmidt of Berlin, on "The World-historic Mission of Protestantism", and last, but not least, Prof. Dr. Ernst Troeltsch of Heidelberg University, on "The Possibility of a Free Christianity".

It would manifestly be impossible to dwell here upon each of these notable addresses, much less to discriminate among them. Abstracts of them all in three languages were distributed among the audience. The whole series appears in full in this volume.

VI.

It was natural that the great audiences which had listened to the German liberal theologians in their own tongue should fall away at a session in which, that afternoon, only English was to be spoken. Prof. Dr. Henry P. Forbes, Dean of the Universalist Theological School in Canton, N. Y., presided at this session. Prof. Dr. Benjamin W. Bacon, of the Yale Theological School, read an important paper on "The Theological and Practical Issues of New Testament Criticism", Rev. Thomas

R. Slicer of New York read a paper of large outlook and careful statement on "A Survey of Liberal Religion in America". Principal H. C. Maitra, President of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj of Calcutta, had a congenial theme in "Man's Longing for the Infinite". A young Hindu, Prof. T. L. Vaswani of Karachi, held the audience spellbound by his philosophical discourse. Both these Hindus spoke a fluent and admirable English.

Simultaneously, in the larger hall above, and to a larger audience, a group of foreign delegates were bringing in various tongues their messages. Rev. A. Reyss of Paris presided. Prof. Dr. B. D. Eerdmans, of the University of Leiden, a firm friend of the Congress, spoke in German on "Orthodoxy in the 20th Century". Prof. Dr. George Boros, head of the Unitarian College of Kolozsvár, Hungary, treated of "Liberal Movements in Hungary". Prof. Clayton B. Bowen, of the Meadville Theological School, made in excellent German a plea for a German professorship in that institution. Rev. Dr. Et. Giran, the brilliant and radical minister of the French Reformed Church in Amsterdam, treated in 20 theses, but crisp and incisive French, of "The Religion of the Spirit and Progressive Christianity?" Rabbi Dr. Emil G. Hirsch of Chicago made in German one of the most able, and eloquent addresses given before the Congress on "The Contributions of Judaism to Liberal Religion". Finally, in place of Prof. Dr. Thos. C. Hall of Union Theological Seminary, New York, prevented at the last moment by illness from keeping his appointment, Prof. Dr. H. von Merczyng of St. Petersburg, the learned historian of the Protestant Church in Poland, gave a highly interesting account of the "Rise and Fall of the Unitarian Movement, under Socinus and others, in Poland between the Years 1560—1660."

VII.

Particular interest attached to the evening theme of the Congress "The Sympathetic Relations which should exist between the different religious denominations in Christendom". And first between Protestants and Roman Catholics. The announcement of this discussion served to fill the great hall once more to overflowing. Prof. Dr. Martin Rade of Marburg presided, and said among other things, that the conception of this theme was American in its origin; it was too broad and radical to have proceeded from a German source. The subject was introduced by a graceful and irenic discourse in French by Prof. Paul Sabatier, the distinguished author of the Biography of St. Francis of Assisi, and well known also as an advocate of the Modernist movement. A man of classic features, crowned with silvered hair and lit up with burning eyes, Prof. Sabatier's appearance was most striking. He referred to the experiences of his youth, reared as he was in the Cevennes amidst

surroundings of intense religious strife and hatred. In large outlines he traced the characteristics and history of Modernism in France and Italy, and indicated our present duty to it. The underlying note of his address, couched in the most fascinating language, was the duty of mutual love and helpfulness. He was followed by the renowned Italian priest and socialist deputy Don Romolo Murri of Rome, not long since excommunicated for his political activity — a stocky figure, with clean-shaven face, his keen and piercing eyes guarded by glasses. His address on "The Religious Question and Democracy in Italy", given in Italian was delivered with the fire of a man in earnest, and with the abundant gestures of the Southern European races. A vivid picture he drew of the present religious and political ferment in Italy, the birth-throes of a new Catholicism, the revolt of patriotic and national feeling against the re-actionary and insensate policy of the Vatican, the impending separation of Church and State in Italy, the separation of Church and School already begun, the rejection of medieval and outworn dogmas by the higher reason and conscience of a better-informed generation. "Democracy in Italy too often forgets in its ardor that not to destroy but to reconstruct is its mission. The Church of Rome must cease from its worldly ambitions, its political intermeddling, its pernicious claim of supreme authority in civil affairs, and become once more a religious body, a teacher of spiritual truth and life. Modernism is the providential way to this goal, but Rome is uncompromising and the struggle is a hard one." England's interest in this question was illustrated by Rev. A. L. Lilley, of St. Mary's, Paddington, London, the friend of the lamented Father Tyrrell. In vigorous terms and a breadth of spirit notable in one of his church environment, he spoke an "Modernism as a Basis for Religious Unity", not failing to point out to Protestants their duty in this cause. The only German speaker was Dr. Funk of Stettin, editor of the Modernist journal "The New Century." A young man, his address on the aims and present condition of German Modernism was surprising in its radicalism and boldness. Again and again he asserted the supremacy of reason and conscience to mere priestly authority, and declared that to the modern Catholic the individual soul enlightened by science and divinely inspired, not the decrees of the Vatican, are the true sources of faith and conduct.

The evening concluded with a discussion of the relations desirable between orthodox and liberal Protestants. The opening address was by an eminent orthodox churchman Rev. Prof. A. Lasson, D. D., of Berlin, who affirmed in the most unrelenting manner the official dogmas of the Lutheran church, declaring that in the last hundred years no new light had been shed, no new truth made known. He had little

appreciation and no little contempt and ridicule for the liberal position. This sturdy champion of "the faith delivered to the saints" had evidently misconceived the motive and spirit of the occasion. The demeanor of the great audience, however, was admirable. No less so was the reply made by the representative of liberal Christianity, Rev. R. Emde of Bremen, who, with but slight reference to his predecessor in the debate, pleaded for reason, progress and an all-embracing charity in matters of faith. It was near midnight when the great audience was dismissed.

VIII.

The last day of the Congress witnessed an extension of the fruitful theme "**Religious Sympathy between different religious communities**". It met in two sections. At one of these the relations which ought to exist between Christians and Jews was considered. Rev. Dr. Frederick W. Perkins, a Universalist minister of Lynn, Mass., opened up the subject with a large-minded and fraternal paper, and was followed by Mr. Claude Montefiore of London, the eminent author and lecturer. The latter maintained that no historical religion is in possession of the whole truth. Christianity and Judaism have each their particular content of truth and mission to humanity. We must judge our opponents' cause as we judge our own, not by its defective actual embodiment but according to its intent and purpose. The Jew should give to Christians and demand from them, not only toleration, not only respect, but equal recognition and sympathy. In England this demand is already fulfilled. May it become so in other lands. Prof. Herman Cohen, the venerable and learned Jewish professor of philosophy in Marburg University, read a lengthy but illuminating treatise on "The Contributions of Judaism to Religious Progress". Certainly, with the addition of Rabbi Dr. Hirsch's address at a previous session, Judaism was well represented at the Congress.

The next sub-division of the theme was concerned with the relations between so-called Free-thinkers in religion and the established churches. Prof. Dr. Schieler, minister of the Free Congregation (Freie Gemeinde) of Dantzig, spoke of the aims and struggles of his society and other congregations affiliated with it. Looked upon with suspicion by many liberal Christians and hated by the orthodox world, their endeavors for sincerity and progress in religion were worthy of recognition. Organized outside the state churches of Germany they pointed the way to the inevitable coming separation of church and state in Germany, to the liberty of speech yet to be the privilege of every preacher, to the reconciliation of the religious consciousness with the truths of science

and a new social order. The church of the future can only be a church of freedom and humanity.

Mrs. Dr. Hartwich of Königsberg described the free congregation of that city, founded half a century and more ago by the heroic and profoundly religious free-thinker, Dr. Julius Rupp. Dr. Frederich Lipsius spoke of the "Radicalism of Bremen", the most Unitarian of German cities. Mr. Paul Hyacinthe Loyson, son of the eminent French ex-priest and orator, himself a man of literature, spoke most interestingly of the Union of Free Believers and Free Thinkers of Paris, a society for ethical study and action, whose delegate he was at the congress. It was the intent of the Committee to have the whole discussion lifted into a higher unity of sympathy and faith by a concluding address from Rev. Dr. Wilfred Monod, the eminent French preacher at the Oratoire Church in Paris. Unfortunately the exceeding lateness of the hour compelled its omission, to the sincere regret of all concerned. Dr. Monod has been asked to permit his paper to appear in the printed report.

In the meantime a still larger auditory had gathered in the upper hall to listen to ten or more speakers, representing as many sects and organizations, who had accepted the invitation to address the Congress. It is impossible to give here any report of their addresses. To the Germans those of Prof. Christof Schrempf, of the philosophical faculty at the Technical Institute of Stuttgart, the modern German apostle of Individualism, and of Dr. H. Lhotzky of Munich, a free-minded, original, and somewhat eccentric thinker, who compels attention, were of most interest. The Mennonites, Baptists, Methodists, Theosophists, and others had their causes presented by earnest advocates. In conclusion an eminent representative of the "New Theology" movement in England, Rev. T. Rhondda Williams of Brighton, gathered up the real significance of the morning's symposium in an address on "The Deeper Spiritual Unity", which well deserves preservation in this report.

IX.

The meetings with all their fullness of points of view and ethical and religious impression, were drawing to a close, yet the ardor of the hearers seemed unabated. Once more in great numbers they came to the closing session on Wednesday afternoon, August 10th, to learn what should be the attitude of enlightened and liberal Christians towards the other great world-religions. Prof. Dr. J. E. Carpenter of Oxford, well known as an Oriental scholar, presided. A former President of the Congress, Prof. Dr. E. Montet, Rector of the University of Geneva, and a leading Semitic scholar, treated of "Islam and Christianity".

It was interesting to learn from him that Mahometanism was never free from dissenting sects, and to-day also has its Modernist movement. The picturesque costumes of several oriental delegates lent color to this session. In robes of flowing yellow silk and with lofty turban Prof. Teja Singh gave an account of the religion of his people, the Sikhs of India, planted by Guru Nanak and others in the jungles of Asiatic philosophy and worship four centuries ago. Prof. D. B. Jayatilaka, long the head of the educational world in Ceylon and president of important associations, spoke in admirable English and a persuasive manner of "Modern Buddhism". When he declared that in all the centuries of its existence Buddhism had never shed a drop of human blood in advocating its own principles or in gainsaying those of other religions, a tremor and a sigh ran through the assembly. It was evident that in the matter of religious tolerance and gentleness this ancient religion had its lesson to impart to Christians. Rev. H. Minami of Tokio, connected with the Unitarian Mission in that country, told in excellent German of the present state of Christianity in Japan, especially the endeavors of the Unitarian, Universalist, and Liberal German Missions. It was a well written paper. Finally, Principal H. Chandra Maitra, of Calcutta, made an earnest appeal for the union of all believers on the basis of the religious philosophy of the Brahma Samaj, or Association of Hindu Theists, in India, — a lofty, spiritual Theism. With this contribution to universal religion, universal ethics, and universal brotherhood the Congress program came to a close.

Adjourned to another room in the capacious building the officers and several hundred of the more deeply interested members met to listen to a final allocution from the lips of the venerable and eloquent apostle of religious liberty, Père Hyacinthe Loyson of Paris. "The Union of the Churches" was his theme, and nobly did he handle it. It is impossible to portray the enthusiasm of the speaker, the play of his imagination and wit, his dramatic fervor, and rhetorical charm. In his 85th year his oratorical ability is unabated, his spirit is as free and bold as ever. "A practical unity of the churches is impossible. Let each go its own way and freely develop its own thought, but let them extend to each other a fraternal hand for friendship and service, to the non-Christian as well as the Christians. A spiritual union is all that is possible or desirable. There are many religions, but God is above them all." The session closed with a brief address by the devoted President of the Congress, Hon. Karl Schrader, in which, with visible emotion, he dwelt on the remarkably and encouragingly successful series of meetings. Rev. C. W. Wendte, the Secretary added a work of grateful recognition for the untiring labors of the local committee. Rev. Dr. Fischer led the

assembly in the Lord's Prayer. So ended the largest and most important meeting of religious liberals ever held in history, a meeting whose representative quality, scholarship, numbers and prevailing spirit of harmony entitled it to be called an Ecumenical Council of the Liberal Christian Church. In the evening a banquet for 500 persons was held in the Kaisersaal. The floral decorations were unusually fine, the spirits of the company jubilant. With music and toasts and the inevitable speeches the hours wore on. Mr. Schrader presided. Prof. Rade made a wise and witty address. Rev. Dr. I. M. Atwood of Rochester spoke for the United States and Rev. Charles Hargrove for England. It was a time of relaxation and mutual congratulation.

X.

The work of the Congress was done. Its play remained. On the 11th two heavily laden special trains took several hundred excursionists to Wittenberg and Weimar. At the first place they visited in sections the home and tomb of Martin Luther. At Weimar a similar pilgrimage was made to the places rendered immortal by the residence of Goethe, Schiller, Herder and other great Germans. In the evening a large company assembled to listen to Prof. Dr. R. Eucken, of the University of Jena, one of most eminent of modern thinkers. His notable utterance appears in this volume. It need not be said that it strongly supports the principles and aims of a free and progressive Christianity. A paper on "Goethe's Religion" by Pastor Jaeger of Karlsruhe was not only interesting in itself but delivered in faultless English. Rev. Mr. Bornhausen of Marburg spoke of Schiller's religion in a similarly interesting manner. Other local clergy and the presiding Burgomaster also made remarks. The delegates were not sorry at a late hour to seek needed rest after an eventful day.

The next morning, August 12th, an early start was made for Eisenach, one of the most beautiful localities in Germany and of romantic historical interest. On arrival the party explored the scenic attractions of the town and its surrounding hills and forests. Climbing the heights above they entered the Wartburg, that ancient pile, so abounding in historical associations and memorials of the life of Luther. After viewing the room in which the great reformer translated the Bible into the German vernacular, and the great hall of the Minnesingers, scene of many a knightly festivity and contest in song, they gazed from the ramparts upon the fair Thuringian valleys below and the forest-clad mountains of this heart of Germany. To the number of several hundred they gathered in the central court of the castle for a farewell service. Solemnly the long-drawn notes of the great hymn of Luther "Ein' feste

Burg ist unser Gott", were uplifted by the assembled delegates, each singing the words in his own idiom but in the universal language of music. Prof. Schmiedel of Eisenach told briefly, in excellent English, and with a peculiarly vibrant quality in his voice that deepened the impression, the romantic story of the Wartburg, and its associations with religious freedom and progress. He had no need to tell it to the Germans present, they knew it by heart. Then grandly, majestically, the powerful strains of Wagner's Pilgrims Chorus, sung by a male chorus of forty voices from Eisenach, rose on the air and reverberated against the gray-grown walls of the venerable structure, which after the storms of more than eight hundred years still stands a monument to the love of freedom, song and religion of the German people. The delegates listened as if spell-bound. After the music had died away, one after another, the spokesmen of the nations represented uttered in few and heart-felt words their appreciation of the hospitalities they had received, their impressions of the Congress, and their resolve to make actual on their return to their own country the ideals of faith and conduct they held in common. Rev. Maxwell Savage of Louisville, Ky., spoke with warmth of feeling for the Americans present and H. G. Chancellor, M. P. and Rev. Mr. Dowson for the British. The Chorus sang Beethoven's "The Heavens Declare Him", after which the honored President of the meetings, Director Karl Schrader, was justly accorded the last word, and with emotions of gratitude and goodwill bade farewell to the delegates from abroad and from Germany, bidding them be true to their opportunity and duty in the spread of a free, rational and spiritual Christianity, a union of all believers in faith, hope and the charity that is greatest of all. With the singing of the last stanzas of Luther's noble hymn the proceedings of this, by common consent, most impressive of all the meetings of the Congress, came to a harmonious close.

The next day the foreign delegates departed, many to attend the Oberammergau Passion Play and the Hungarian Unitarian Anniversaries, others for further travel, and others for their homes.

THE THREEFOLD CONGRESS SERMON ON FAITH, HOPE, LOVE

at the Special Service in the Jerusalem Church Sunday afternoon Aug. 7.

Preached, the first part in German, the second in English,
the third in French

by the Revs. G. SCHÖNHOLZER, W. G. TARRANT
and J. E. ROBERTY.

FAITH.

BY PASTOR GOTTFRIED SCHÖNHOLZER, ZUERICH.

Dear Sisters and Brothers.

As a sign that God's children on earth are bound together by fellowship in the Holy Spirit, we who are representatives of three several tongues, are to open the fifth universal Congress for free Christianity and religious progress, with a united consideration of I Cor. XIII 13: And now abideth faith, hope, love, these three; but the greatest of these is Love. — To me the task is allotted to speak of Faith. What can one say in a quarter of an hour on so mighty a subject? Let me tell you something, at any rate, of that which fills my heart today. The most spiritual of things is made clear to us men and women by some kind of image. To me Faith appears as a stream. All streams arise out of the sea — for it is from the sea that the atmosphere feeds their sources in the mountains, — they go their way throughout the land, and flow once more into the sea.

I

“In its origin Faith is the awakening of the human understanding to the revelation of God.” — A young man chosen by God, of a pure spirit, rose up, following the impulse of his heart, in the early morning of a day nearly 2000 years ago, and betook him to the hill which rises up behind Nazareth. The world is still resting in silence, and just on that very account speaks with wondrous eloquence to the holy youth. The snow-covered Hermon in the north, the hilly country spread out

before him, the shimmer of the distant sea in the west — all seemed to call to him: "before the earth and the mountains and the sea were created, thou, O God, hast existed from all Eternity." The straggling mass of Mount Carmel beyond the plain of Jezreel speaks of the angry zeal of Elijah and the way in which God calmed him. The sacred history lives again as his eyes look beyond Samaria towards Jerusalem, the city of the prophets, where the holy presence of God had already in a great moment touched the boy, and when he looks down upon his parents, house, it speaks to him of the fatherly love of God. The youth became a seer. His whole surroundings, past as well as present, speak to him of God, and he lifts his hands to the Eternal, in the communion of prayer: "our Father who art in Heaven, hallowed be thy name." — You know the prayer. This is the morning of Faith. Even as the dew of heaven upon the waiting ground, so does God sink into the open human heart, and prayer is the signal of the blessed fellowship. Without prayer there is no faith, without faith there is no prayer. Faith sees God in everything, but also sees everything in God. From seer he becomes poet. The birds sing, the lilies bloom; to the faith of Jesus they are images of that freedom from care, which trusts all things to God. The farmer sows the seed, the woman kneads the dough, the fisherman draws in his nets. Each becomes a parable, a poem of the kingdom of God. The faithful soul filled with the spirit of God, regards all things with divinely inspired gaze as of God and His Kingdom. When you awake, say to yourself: "I am a new creation of God;" say to your wife and children, "you are given to me by Him"; say to your daily task, "you are a divine commission", and act accordingly. This is indeed real faith — faith which came to Abraham on Moriah, to Moses on Horeb, the same faith which came as a revelation to Isaiah in the temple, to Saul on the road to Damascus, and to thousands of God's children, — praise be unto Him — in all places and at all times.

II

And this stream "runs through all the universe and never stays its course." Its task is to break down barriers, to carry burdens, to drive mills, to distribute blessings. Now Faith breaks down barriers, for it is a divine power. How many thousands of years is it since the Rhine began its task of cutting a way through the hard Viamala rock! Now, its work is accomplished. And so it is with the deeds of the faithful. They break a course for the far distant future through the hard and unyielding world. It is not necessary for them to know their aim accomplished. For them, it is enough to carry out what God has ordained and demanded of them. Those who work at a recasting of economic

arrangements, those whose task it is to spread abroad the Christ idea among the nations, to free them from the yoke of Romanism, those who do their best to make the cry of the Congo injustice heard on all sides, these are truly of the faithful, even if they have only signed the first article of the creed. — But in reality, what Faith brings to each one is a greater treasure even than this. It gives him the power of bearing his burden, of humbling himself beneath the mighty hand of God. Alone in its wonder, we remember what the faith of Jesus Christ achieved within six days. On Palm Sunday there were still thoughts of the victorious Messiah; modest as is his demeanour, he rides in with the jubilant populace full of hope and joy in his triumph. Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, — every fresh visit to the temple and the people gradually lessens his confidence and expectation. On Thursday evening at the last supper, and in Gethsemane, we see the last degree of the struggle in his soul — the hardest of all struggles, and the sweat on his brow, — and then the perfect resignation. In a few days, this incomparable hero with sore strife has pressed through from the old Messiah ideal of Zechariah to that of Isaiah, of the suffering servant of God. Who can think this out? Who can enter into the experience? Which of us has followed him when one cherished dream after another has come to nought? This enduring power of Faith right up to the death on the cross, is the greatest act in the history of the world. And the whole apostolic age is an age of enduring heroes, and the people who count most in the present are still the quiet upright patient souls, both the unknown and known. And wherever a fallen brother is raised up again and strengthened, there we find that the motive power is faith in the Divine in our brother. Wherever one human heart sends out blessing throughout the land, it is born of faith: "God wills that help should be given to all men." In short, this is the victory which overcomes and transfigures the world, even our faith. Its glory is in the act, not in contemplation.

III

And yet it ends in the vision of God. Daily intercourse with the Father, the Holy One, purifies in time the heart of the child and fills it with the peace of reconciliation, with sacred joy. This is the life-task of Faith for the moral conduct of each one of us. It leads us to the heights indicated by the words: "Blessed are the pure in heart", and "my meat and drink is to do the will of my heavenly Father." When we have attained this height, death is but the completion of the union with the Father, which has been striven for during life. As the rivers flow into the sea, so Faith goes back again to God whence it arose. Dear Sisters and Brothers, believe an old man: the old age of the faithful is a joyful

time, a time of home-coming from abroad. Triumphantly he exclaims: "Wherefore we faint not; but though our outward man is decaying, yet our inward man is renewed day by day." (II Cor. IV 16.) "Father, into thy hands I commit my spirit." — God has been my shepherd in this short life, the believer's experience of faith declares exultingly, as in Psalm 23, and that is my security, that I shall dwell in my Father's house for ever more. Golden evening Sun, how beautiful thou art, evening sun after a life of faith! I do not ask, Where? or How? I do not need the feeble support of imagination using material of this world. I know that I am going home. From the Father I went forth into the world, again I leave the world and go to the Father. Amen.

HOPE.

By the Rev. W. G. TARRANT, B. A., LONDON.

The two things of highest significance are (1) irrepressible new life, and (2) infinite resource awaiting it. Seed of plant and mind of man alike push forth freshly. Doubtless there is a limiting control, a boundary within which the new life is kept from straying too far from the old; nevertheless, there is, as biologists say, a "tendency to variation". By virtue of this new forms arise — the possible becomes the actual. Life, being life, looks outward and onward; hence its continual conquest. What happens unconsciously (so far as I know) in the seed, happens consciously, — but no less irrepressibly — in the man. "Hope springs eternal", sometimes not very wisely, but always from the wiser side of the soul, the side nearer the light. When it springs not unmindful of the gracious control that "shapes our ends, rough-hew them as we may", then it is wisest. Prevention turns out to be the better guidance.

For let me remember, no eagerness of my life can really outstrip the abundant goodness of the Life that is making me. We two are for ever paired. My infinite hunger is matched with a limitless supply.

Among the countless symptoms of this inborn tendency to variation in human life to-day, among the many yearnings and reachings-out, the offspring of need and trust, is not this gathering one of the more remarkable? Each individual indeed, could tell of the stirrings of hope, whose voice has been to us that of the "Holy Spirit, the comforter", But these things are locked in our secret bosom as we take our place in the great congregation. Let them interpret to us the significance of this united act. The Maker of each is the Maker of all. The Artificer of the snow-flake is the Moulder of the snow-drift. At times we seem to catch His thought better when it is symphonic, — in the mass rather than in the particle.

Here, then, are we, drawn from many lands, products of many varieties of culture, men and women of different experience and prepossessions, differently responsive to the calls of affection; yet we are aggregated — or aggregating — into one spiritual crystal. Aggregated — or aggregating — for this assembly is clearly and confessedly no sharply

outlined, precisely definite organism. If it were thus "finished" it would be truly "ended", whereas it is but in the nascent stage. The days are past when men could cherish the ideal of a rigorous uniformity. Our fellowship is all the more alive because we meet in a mobile hope, rather than in a static satisfaction.

What do we hope for? However we differ in particulars, we all hope for the clearer and fuller **truth**; for the richer and more comprehensive **harmony**; for the nobler **achievements** of human life.

Whether we are scholars or plain citizens, if we live humanly we do not live "by bread alone". We are fed by learning these veritable words divine — the facts of the world past and present, and the laws of the world by which the facts of the future must be determined. There never was an age when more was known, or when the unknown was felt to be vaster. Some of our contemporaries, like sickly children, merely toy with their mind's food; others, ravenously impatient, grow desperate. Not so we. Our hope is that out of the unbounded stores of truth, we shall go on receiving — and still go on wanting to receive. Good appetite is always part of the blessing of the feast. Our hope is the more assured because our generation enjoys a certain sobriety of possession. The adventures characteristic of an earlier day are somewhat past. Men who have been long forbidden, frightened, or cajoled from free thought must be excused a little licence. Most of us, however, have been so long emancipated that if we do not grow in knowledge the fault is in ourselves. We are men who hold the keys of the casket — the jewels are for those who use the keys they hold. We come here to use them, hoping to learn here, and hereafter, more of the meaning of this world, and especially of the life ever-growing in each one of us.

If we knew that meaning better, should we not enjoy a fuller sense of harmony, where now we are often perplexed in the extreme? Discords that shock in isolation in the end prove to have been contributory to the music's grander effects. Nature, spirit; the "old Adam", the "new"; the warring creeds, and the warring greeds; the thing I am, and the thing I would be; — all must fall into place by and by. If the complete synthesis when "God shall be all in all" is still far off, Hope believes and knows herself to be on the way thither, and she sings as she goes along.

And grand achievements we hope for man, for each individual, and for the race. We hope for ampler liberty to serve better; for such an adjustment of faculties in every mind and body that all life may be healthful. We hope that the latent godlike may emerge in the essential human. We hope for fruition where there is barrenness, for wise delights where there is disastrous waste, for the gradual banishment of vice, depravity, penury, and disease. We hope for the true victory of the

Gospel; for peace on earth among men of goodwill; for the sisterhood of the Churches, and the brotherhood of the classes; for the honourable co-operation of all kingdoms; and for that reasonable terrestrial economy — a real world-politics — which shall bloom at last like a rose from the thorny briar of the long evolution of man.

Are such hopes vain because they are too great? If they are vain it is because we are not great enough to cherish them as we should. If we are really talkers only, debaters and students only, still more if we are critical hearers only, our platitudes and attitudes are but one mockery the more. They do but put a purple robe around the Son of Man, who none the less is going forth daily to be crucified.

But if with manly sincerity we are seeking His Kingdom and His Righteousness who is the King of all, then these things for which we hope "will be added to us". He knoweth that we have need of them. Our need is guarantee of His infinite supply.

From the depths of dim twilight ages we are greeted by the unknown pioneers who made the first perilous tracks where civilized men have since trodden safely, — dim prophets before the dawn who in pathetic simplicity groped after God, if haply they might find Him. From the heroic generations of the morning come the voices of those who felt they "had witness borne unto them", and whose hopes were their angels of deliverance and guidance. From the crowded centuries of the world's great day, a day still opening about us, innumerable brave spirits call to us —

„Wir heißen euch hoffen.“

And by the help of the God of all hope, hope we will! Not with the "faint trust" that converts our music to the minor, but with the large, expectant, and creative hope that lifts the "common chord of the soul" into the major mode — that chord which is based upon assured faith in God, and crowned with love, the ever dominant.

LA CHARITÉ.

PAR M. LE PASTEUR J. E. ROBERTY, PARIS.

Au nom du Dieu en esprit et en vérité qui nous réunit tous ici, au nom du Christ, le Maître et le Sauveur, nous vous avons exhorté à croire et à espérer. Il nous reste à parachever le message de l'Eglise universelle et à nous rappeler le devoir supérieur de l'amour. « La charité », disent les apôtres, ou comme nous pouvons traduire aussi, « l'amour ne périra jamais ».

C'est là une affirmation au sujet de laquelle tous les croyants s'accordent, et, dans une assemblée comme celle-ci, où chacun des membres se sent lié à l'autre par le même idéal, par une sainte passion pour la liberté, c'est-à-dire, je suppose, pour le droit à la sincérité de la foi, de la parole et de l'action; dans une congrégation comme celle-ci, formée par des centaines d'âmes appartenant à des races et des langues différentes, qui profitent de quelques semaines de vacances pour se rencontrer sur la terre de notre glorieuse Réformation; et qui, habituellement disséminées en de petits groupes isolés, goûtent ici, à Berlin, comme elles l'ont fait naguères à Boston, à Genève, à Amsterdam, à Londres, les joies du délassement et de la fraternité spirituelle, il est facile de se montrer docile à la loi d'amour, de la prôner comme la plus belle, d'affirmer à nouveau son immortalité, et de sortir de ce temple en chantant: Voici, ces trois choses demeurent: la foi, l'espérance et la charité, et la plus excellente d'entre elles, c'est la charité. »

Mais comme nous serions ignorants de l'histoire du monde et comme nous méconnaîtrions notre propre expérience d'hommes pécheurs, si nous n'apercevions pas que la réalité se présente sous un aspect moins simple et plus dramatique. Pour la regarder en face et déchiffrer l'éternelle énigme, du moins pour essayer de le faire, je ne dispose que d'un quart d'heure. Je me bornerai donc à un ou deux traits qui me paraissent essentiels.

Vous savez que la charité ou « l'amour », en passant sur les lèvres du Christ a pris une signification différente de celle dont elle s'enve-

loppa en s'échappant de la pensée d'un Bouddha, d'un Confucius ou d'un Mahomet. Dans l'ordre de la vie morale, les mots valent ce que valent les personnes qui les prononcent et d'après la manière dont elles les incarnent dans la réalité. Or, l'humanité dite chrétienne a trop souvent déformé et avili la charité de son premier inspirateur.

Malgré saint Paul, malgré les plus grands prophètes hébreux — ne les oublions jamais, eux, les vrais ancêtres du libre Evangile — dans l'âme desquels Jésus de Nazareth l'avait puisée, et que son génie et sa vie, fécondés par Dieu lui-même, ont amenée à la perfection, on l'a confondue et on la confond encore avec l'aumône, la bienfaisance, le pardon, le sacrifice, avec les élémentaires impulsions de la piété, si bien que le monde moderne, passionné de justice, du moins on le dit, et en particulier le monde ouvrier, désireux, et à bon droit, d'obtenir une existence plus complète, ont employé leur ardeur à discréditer la charité, à y voir une ennemie de la justice, un expédient très élégant pour maintenir les distances entre les riches et les pauvres, entre le capital et le travail, entre ceux qui possèdent et ceux qui n'ont rien. D'autre part, quelques groupes de jeunes gens, fascinés par le génie d'un Nietzsche, se sont plus à rabaisser la charité au niveau de la lâcheté et de la peur et à en faire le trait dominant de la morale des esclaves. Or, que les représentants officiels de la charité, dans la chrétienté, et par suite le peuple qui les suit, aient souvent mérité des accusations de ce genre, je ne le nie pas, mais, par contre, quelle injustice et quelle légèreté chez les accusateurs quand ils négligent d'étudier la charité à l'œuvre dans la vie des missionnaires, hommes d'Etat, moines, réformateurs, dans la vie de certaines femmes prédestinées et même de quelques hommes de guerre, dont l'existence a été vouée à la défense du droit des autres! Ne nous laissons pas duper par les apparences. Allons au fond des caractères, je ne dis pas seulement d'une sainte Thérèse, d'un saint François d'Assise, d'une Elisabeth Frey, d'une Joséphine Butler, d'un Livingstone, mais aussi d'une Jeanne d'Arc, d'un Washington ou d'un Lincoln, d'un Gordon-Pacha, d'un Gustave-Adolphe ou d'un Frédéric de Brandebourg. Est-ce l'égoïsme personnel, la lâcheté, la condescendance, ou je ne sais quel amour émoussé de l'humanité, qui inspira les plus belles heures de leurs vies? N'est-ce pas bien plutôt l'amour du droit des autres, poussé, quand les événements l'ont exigé, jusqu'au sacrifice de son droit personnel? Et l'amour du droit des autres ainsi pratiqué ne constitue-t-il pas l'essence même de la charité du Christ et des apôtres de tous les temps? Cette charité entraîne avec elle sans doute la bienfaisance, le pardon, la bonté, la pitié, mais, aussi, pour garantir le droit des autres à une vie toujours plus haute, plus affranchie des mauvaises servitudes économiques, politiques et ecclésiastiques, elle souffle au

cœur de ses amis une énergie indomptable et transforme les plus chétifs d'entre eux, non pas en des valets, mais en de véritables princes de l'Esprit, en des surhommes chrétiens.

Nietzsche a cru faire une critique radicale de la charité chrétienne en écrivant: « L'amour du prochain, c'est l'amour de nous-mêmes; ce que nous cherchons, chez lui, c'est quelqu'un qui nous aime. Mais plus haut, dit-il encore, que l'amour du prochain se trouve l'amour du lointain et de ce qui est à venir; plus haut que l'amour de l'homme, je place l'amour des fantômes. Ce fantôme qui court devant toi est plus beau que toi; pourquoi ne lui prêtes-tu pas ta chair et tes os? Mais tu as peur, et tu t'enfuis chez ton prochain. . . Mes Frères, je ne vous conseille pas l'amour du prochain, mais l'amour du plus lointain. »

Mais la charité consiste précisément en cet amour du plus lointain, c'est-à-dire de l'idée, du principe, de l'essence du droit des autres, sorte de fantôme, en effet, qui se déplace avec les progrès de la connaissance et les révélations nouvelles de la vie, fantôme auquel des milliers d'hommes et de femmes ont donné quand même leur chair et leurs os; c'est l'amour non pas du droit de telle ou telle personne particulière, qui a un nom, un domicile, mais du droit de tous, sauf du sien, quels que soient leurs titres, leur race, leur religion, et n'est-ce pas la gloire de l'Évangile, quoi qu'en puissent penser les Nietzscheens, d'avoir apporté dans le monde cette signification nouvelle de la charité, d'avoir fait resplendir devant nos yeux, un amour dans lequel le goût, la complaisance, le souci personnel du plaisir ou du bonheur n'ont aucune part, d'un amour non pas stupide comme un caprice, ou rampant comme un esclave, mais énergique et puissant comme la volonté d'un Dieu.

C'est la caricature de l'amour chrétien qui tombe sous les coups de Nietzsche, ce n'est assurément pas l'amour pour lequel Jésus est mort.

Si cet amour conduit encore à la croix;— et veuillez remarquer que les croix, dans nos civilisations occidentales, sont moins lourdes à porter qu'autrefois; dix-neuf siècles de christianisme n'ont pas été inutiles, quoi qu'on en dise . . . ; les ténèbres qui enveloppent toutes les croix s'éclaircissent par moments, plus souvent qu'autrefois; les apôtres du droit des autres ont plus de chance qu'autrefois d'entendre, avant leur mort, les acclamations des délivrés — si l'amour conduit cependant encore à la croix, c'est qu'un trop petit nombre réalise l'amour dans sa propre vie; la partie n'est pas encore égale Ayant ouvert mon cœur à l'amour qui embrasait le cœur du Christ, je défends le droit des autres. Mais je ne puis défendre le mien; c'est évident. Ici Tolstoï

a raison. C'est aux autres à le faire. Sinon, je suis sacrifié. Ce sacrifice, je l'accepte par une sorte de folie, et c'est cette folie qui fait marcher le monde, de sorte que s'il y a encore des puissances tyranniques, il y a encore plus de martyrs, et que toute l'histoire humaine démontre magnifiquement que les martyrs se lassent moins vite que les bourreaux, et que les bourreaux se laisseront avant les victimes et les martyrs de la charité.

La cité de l'avenir ne sera sans doute entièrement bâtie que lorsque tous les habitants pratiqueront cet amour; c'est l'entrecroisement de toutes les volontés charitables qui seule peut constituer la voûte parfaite de l'édifice; pour l'instant, on ne voit encore que quelques grands bras d'acier qui s'élèvent dans les airs; ce sont les efforts des âmes consacrées; les uns, fatigués, retombent; d'autres restent tendus depuis des siècles et demeurent inébranlables; quelques-uns, du côté opposé, les ont rejoints, et, à l'horizon, on distingue, noyée dans une brume lumineuse, la naissance d'une voûte parfaite; celle-ci ne sera entièrement achevée que lorsque, l'amour pénétrant tous les cœurs, tous les bras se seront levés, toutes les mains, tendues pour s'étreindre; cet entrecroisement sacré sera, si vous voulez, de l'égoïsme renversé, mais ce sera aussi le triomphe de la charité. Il n'y aura plus de croix, parce que les droits de tous seront reconnus par chacun, et ceux de chacun par tous, et que leurs racines se seront enfoncées dans la substance vivante, dans la substance divine de l'humanité.

C'est vers cet avenir que marche notre race, poussée et harcelée par les porteurs de la charité du Christ, même par ceux qui la possèdent sans invoquer son nom.

Et vous, mes Frères, que Dieu a délivrés des malédictions du dogme de l'autorité, nous qui sommes, théoriquement, les plus affranchies des créatures, sentons-nous la responsabilité immense qui nous incombe? . . . Sentons-nous assez que, dans l'ordre de la charité, et dans la défense du droit des autres, dans l'acceptation des souffrances et des privations que cette défense implique, nous ne devons nous laisser devancer par personne, et qu'un libre-croyant amateur ou dilettante est une sorte de monstre . . . ?

Nous avons été rachetés à grand prix, non seulement par la charité du Christ, mais aussi par les souffrances d'un grand nombre de nos pères, héritiers de la charité du Seigneur; nous serions les plus ingrats et les moins intéressants des croyants, si notre affranchissement n'augmentait pas l'ardeur de notre charité et le nombre de nos sacrifices.

« L'amour ne périra jamais ». Mais ceux qui n'aiment pas peuvent traîner dans la vie à venir une existence affreuse, jusqu'à ce qu'ils se convertissent et consentent à aimer.

Et quand toutes les âmes seront remplies d'amour comme l'atmosphère de midi est remplie de lumière, et que les droits de tous seront reconnus, la charité, l'amour déposant ses armes de guerre et laissant tomber tous ses voiles, apparaîtra tel qu'il vit de toute éternité dans le cœur de Dieu, et reprendra ses deux véritables noms, qui sont les deux noms divins de l'amour dont la musique ne s'entend encore que dans les plus pâles étoiles, et qui sont: Perfection et Beauté.

Que la Beauté du Seigneur soit sur nous !

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

W. D. BAKER, SECRETARY

As President of this meeting at the International Congress for the
Christianity and Religion. I express my hope that the
I hope the program will be the best that the
and many others have placed upon this meeting may be realized.
The International Congress is being held in London, England
the year's opening event to be held in London. We have
this program and our Committee has endeavored to be
the program of this meeting that it should give expression to the
highest thought which is the result of the best human
the opening of human history of the International Congress.
The same time that we already were another character of the Congress.
We could not have so much as approached this noble task without the
aid and experience of our most distinguished guests
and the members of our program. We are
which should be the result of the best human
which is the result of the best human
The program is extraordinary and will be held
in the spirit of the best human and will be held
to hold our Christian meeting before the great meeting
of the world. This meeting is held with the best of
the great world of this meeting. However, we have had
quality of the meeting, which is the result of the best
It is because the program of the Congress is held in the
spirit of the best of the world generally, we have had
and all kinds of meetings have been extended with the best
have not failed to interest the public. We have had
to some extent our program necessary. It is the best



MONDAY MORNING, AUGUST 8.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY DIRECTOR KARL SCHRADER, BERLIN.

As President of this meeting of this International Congress for Free Christianity and Religious Progress allow me to offer you a hearty greeting.

I open the proceedings with the fervent desire that the hopes we and many others have placed upon this meeting may be realized.

The International Congress at Boston passed the resolution that this year's meeting should be held in Berlin. We Germans welcomed this decision and our Committee has endeavoured so to formulate the programme of these meetings, that it should give expression to the fundamental thought, which in the course of time has become embodied in the proceedings of former meetings of the International Congress, and at the same time bring out saliently what should characterize this Congress. We could not have so much as approached this double task without the untiring and experienced co-operation of our much-esteemed general secretary, Dr. Wendte. The framework of our programme is his, and whilst helping us in working out the details, he rendered us special assistance in procuring speakers.

Our programme is extraordinarily full and varied, and in order to fit our subject-matter to the time at our disposal, we found it necessary to hold four preliminary meetings before the principal meetings, which open to-day. These preliminary meetings dealt with the social aspects of the great central subject of this Congress. Moreover we have had three popular, free meetings, simultaneously held in different parts of this city. It has become the custom in Germany for a Congress to enlist in this manner, the interest of the inhabitants generally in the work it has in hand. Both kinds of meetings have been exceedingly well attended and have not failed deeply to impress the public.

In some respects our programme necessarily differs from those of former meetings. The aim of the latter was more especially to develop

and deepen a fundamental body of thought within a restricted circle, to rally round this consolidated body of thought an ever widening circle of able men and women, capable of representing the principles of our International Union and of realizing them in public life. This purpose has been accomplished, as the printed reports of former proceedings show. In the addresses of delegates to former meetings of the Congress an abundance of highly valuable information is contained, showing how widely our views are spread. At Boston the main consideration, which led to the selection of Berlin as the next meeting-place, appeared to be the desire to enter into direct relation to German scientific theology, consequently we were obliged to reserve a part of our programme for the exposition of scientific themes.

Yet another consideration weighed with us in shaping the programme.

Hitherto the meetings have taken place in countries, in which the principles of our Union were in some degree realized, as in Britain, Holland Switzerland and the U. S. of America. In Germany, owing to historical and political developments, matters stand differently. Here the conflict between rival ecclesiastical principles is in full swing and an embittered war is being carried on in the present day between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. The Reformation of the 16th century was victorious in Germany, but the counter-Reformation imbued the Roman Catholic church with new strength. As a consequence two strong ecclesiastical organizations, Roman Catholic and Protestant, both privileged by the State, stand as rivals opposite to one another at this moment. The State exercises a great power over these churches, and vice versa, these churches are intimately associated with our political institutions. Unfortunately it is not the Empire that exercises supervision over the churches of Germany, but the separate states, and often from contradictory points of view. Prussia has one church organization in its old provinces, another in each of the provinces annexed since 1866. In the old provinces the Lutheran and Reformed churches were united to form the United church.

Moreover great differences exist in the Protestant churches between Orthodoxy, which holds fast to the old creeds, and freer conceptions of Christianity. The free churches, or sects, outside state recognition play an insignificant part in the development of Protestantism in Germany, and their influence here cannot be compared with that exerted in Britain and America.

Over against this disintegration of Protestantism stands the compact edifice of the Roman Catholic church. With her customary consistency and with a stern strength she suppresses all efforts towards independence of thought, or action. These rebellious efforts are not certainly

supported by the bulk of the people, but by sections of the learned. Alongside of the Christian churches there is a large Jewish community, strong by virtue of its wealth and high degree of intelligence. By law Jews enjoy all the rights of German citizenship, but practically their rights are sometimes curtailed. Germany's rapid industrial development has caused material interests to predominate over ideal aims in national, as well as in individual consciousness. As a consequence we see large sections of the educated classes indifferent to religion. On the other hand large sections of our industrial population have learnt through the teachings of Social Democracy to hate the propertied classes. In the eyes of the first, religion and church organization are nothing but a device for keeping the working classes in subjection. Thus Germany has the unfortunate distinction of being able to shew a social phenomenon, nowhere else to be seen: A large wage-earning population in conscious and organized antagonism to the Christian church and religion! Modernists and Free Religious movements, as well as those emphasizing exclusively the ethical elements of a higher life are of course not wanting in Germany. They represent their views with the earnestness of conviction.

From the above short survey it will be seen that grounds for conflict are not wanting in Germany; they are indeed more abundant than in any other country. Differences, which elsewhere are of a purely internal character that adjust themselves within the churches, and about which no one else is concerned, assume another aspect in Germany. They immediately become questions of State policy, because they appear as a struggle for power between Church and State. The State feels it to be its duty to defend religion against Freethinkers. One cheering outlook remains to be touched upon in this survey of the religious condition of Germany, namely, the magnificent achievements of historical, philosophical and theological science. German scientific theology is rapidly becoming popular. A long series of religious books, thoroughly scientific, written in a language, which ordinarily educated people can understand, is being gradually absorbed by an increasing public. Orthodoxy is endeavouring to follow the Liberal lead, in a contrary sense of course.

A religious Congress, meeting in a land full of such elements of religious conflict, cannot avoid defining its attitude towards these various interests.

But this Congress will do so in its own way.

The Congress has no intention to pursue any course of ecclesiastical policy here, nor to meddle with existing circumstances; it only wishes to demonstrate the bearings of its principles towards existing conditions. Neither does this Congress desire to found a new church, neither

dogmatic, nor non-dogmatic; nor does it strive to dissolve any existing church organization. All, or at any rate, most of the members of this Congress belong to some religious organization, and do not dream of leaving their own denomination, nor of forsaking their sphere of activity therein. But they do wish to realize the fundamental thought of the Congress, to help to breathe new religious energy into the different religious organizations, and to furnish a basis for a better understanding between them.

This earnest desire has been embodied in our programme. The various speakers will treat their subjects from the most general point of view; where differences in fundamental conceptions exist, each side will be adequately represented.

The proceedings of the Congress are intended to show the bearings of our principles upon the questions treated. At the Congress in Boston these principles found their appropriate expression in the terms: „Freedom and Brotherhood“. The Berlin Congress has added another term, namely „Religious Progress“. There is no change implied in this addition, for where there is religious Freedom, Brotherhood and Progress result as a matter of course.

This Congress demands freedom in religion as an indisputable human right. The relation of the individual soul to God can never be regulated from without; it is especially impossible in the present day, when large sections of every nation are growing into consciousness of individual rights and responsibilities; they will not stand the tyranny of outward compulsion, in the enforcement of which their own reason and will have no share. The time has long since gone by, when heretics could be got rid of at the stake, and the only available methods of the present day lamentably fail of effect, for they only make men indifferent about religious questions, or, worst of all, hypocrites.

Our large church organizations require freedom of movement in their religious life most especially, if that life is not to be strangled altogether. Millions of men and women cannot now be sworn in upon one and the same opinion; these can only be united by some great and fundamental line of thought, guiding feeling and action.

Until it is recognized that the forms of religious conviction must be, — ought to be, — many, and diverse, conditioned, as they are, by circumstances of historical development, as well as by individual idiosyncrasy, the bitter warfare between rival churches will continue. The opinion still lurks in the background, that the man who differs in religious views, is not only mistaken, he must be immoral and dangerous; he is an individual to be shunned and hampered. But when freedom of religious conviction is allowed, we shall have peace between the rival churches, and then a friendly competition, without abuse, or perse-

cution of one another, may be allowed free play. We shall learn that the differences between churches are not by any means a misfortune, but a spur to activity and new searchings after truth. Thus progress is a natural consequence of human development, we must only be careful not to check it, but be ready to lead it into a fruitful channel and strengthen it by appropriate criticism, showing insight into its nature.

I must limit my remarks, as they are only a heading and a title-page to the Congress. The proceedings themselves will be a deeper and better justification of our ideas and aims.

One word more in conclusion. Our Congress may be reproached with not being practical. The words spoken here during the next few days will, of course, not be immediately acted upon by church and state authorities. That is not our immediate aim, and yet I believe, our meetings will not be barren of results.

Organic growth in human society is not a result of legislation, but laws and bye-laws follow the line of development in human affairs. General ideas rule the world, hence the necessity of ever renewing thought, by re-stating it under changing conditions of society and putting it to the test in practice. Such are the conditions of all progress in human affairs. We are strongly convinced of the fact, that freedom is the necessary foundation of all religious life, freedom is necessary to allow that life to develop, in whatever form, its truly inward and spiritual fervour. Therefore we emphasize our claim to freedom; let us prove how freedom acts beneficently in every sphere, in which it has been tried, and let us hope that our love of freedom will prove so contagious, that friends first here, there, then everywhere, will rally round our cause, so that step by step we shall gain ground.

I believe that in this sense our Congress meetings will not be barren of results.

It is not an insignificant fact that a large number of men and women have come from different countries of the world, to meet together in the capital of the German empire, the second largest city of the European continent. Here they come to emphasize their adherence to the fundamental principle of religious freedom, and they elucidate it with an abundance of detail. This they have done, not once, but five times and they resolve to continue these meetings, whilst many of their number are daily engaged in promoting the same principles within a narrower sphere of activity.

This Congress is no accidental assemblage of units, but a true Union and will long serve to inspire and unite those who love religious liberty.

By this means we hope to serve the cause of true religion, of peace and of progress. — May we succeed in our endeavour.

ADDRESSES BY FOREIGN DELEGATES IN RESPONSE TO THE PRESIDENT'S WELCOME.

The following Adresses, among others, were given by foreign
Delegates at the Friday Evening Reception.

ADDRESS OF THE REV. FREDERICK A. BISBEE, D. D., EDITOR OF THE
UNIVERSALIST LEADER, BOSTON, MASS.

From the time when Christopher Columbus, the Roman Catholic, discovered the Western Hemisphere, until William H. Taft, the Unitarian, sat in the Presidential chair, America has been the home of religious liberty, and from it we come to bring the greetings of those who have enjoyed and profited by that freedom which is chief among the possessions of the human mind and heart.

To the shores of America have come from every land those who have felt the restraints of tradition and superstition, to find the one field which the normal man can ask—opportunity. Not always has this field been wisely cultivated, but the harvest of four hundred years has been sufficient to enrich the world-life, and it is an honor not to be lightly prized, to bring to this distinguished gathering the record of some of our achievements, as our contribution to the common store.

The method of God's revelation reveals no chosen people for the whole truth, but each in his own order receives and gives as he is found worthy and able. To woo to divine harmony these separate notes which have been sounded in various lands and various tongues, is the privilege and opportunity of this occasion, in which each may have its true value and each, though it be the humblest, be necessary to the music of God's ultimate purpose. The orchestra of truth and liberty reaches its grandeur not through indefiniteness or sameness of instrument and tone, but through differences harmonized. To merge is often to submerge. The glory of our gathering from so many nations and so many faiths is to realize that each one is multiplied by the different appeal of each other.

In my own country this is illustrated by those two religious organizations which have been set apart from others as Liberal, — the Unitarian and Universalist. To the former we pay grateful tribute for this realization of its vision of a united Liberal church. With a history almost parallel, the Unitarian and Universalist churches had a different origin, developed a different temper and made a different appeal. The Unitarian was of the intellect, intellectual; the Universalist was of the heart, "hearty." The Unitarian came from the student class; the Universalist, from the common people. The Unitarian was aristocratic in temper; the Universalist, democratic. The Unitarian appeal was that of culture to the cultivated; that of the Universalist was from life to life. One was philosophical, the other scriptural. It took generations for us to discover that these differences were our glory and opportunity, not our shame; that we supplemented each other, enlarging the resources of free religious truth and enlarging the field of its activity. To merge one in the other would be loss instead of gain. Four hands can reach more truth and feed more souls than two. And this is the spirit in which we are coming to work, each maintaining its integrity, yet each counting the success of the other as its own.

It is in this spirit we have come to this assembly of peoples to federate and magnify and multiply, not to surrender other than that narrow prejudice which finds all truth in the little cup of water dipped from the stream of inspiration which flows through all lands and all ages and to all peoples.

We, the representatives of the Universalist Church of America, from our battles for religious freedom, come to receive encouragement from the other arms of this great service, fighting your own battles in your own way, and to bring to you the encouragement of our own humble achievement.

The Universalist Church was one of the natural products of the genius of America. It had to be. And from its small beginning, one hundred and forty years ago, it has grown to no mean proportions. Materially, it expresses itself through nine hundred churches, seven hundred ministers and three hundred thousand people, four large and successful colleges and several philanthropic institutions.

Theologically, it has always been distinctly Christian; in fact, it carries the Christianity of Christ to its logical conclusion and proclaims its ultimate success in the universal fulfilment of God's universal purpose. This gives it its name, "Universalist", of which Elizabeth Barrett Browning said on a memorable occasion, when talking with the now venerable Dean Leonard of the Crane Theological School, — "the grandest name ever chosen for a church."

But Universalism means more than the theological tenet of the ultimate future salvation of all souls; that is but a corollary of a system of universals by which the Scriptures and life are to be interpreted, until we see a God of universal perfection, whose universal purpose shall find a universal fulfilment.

And this is our contribution to you and to every worker the wide world over, for free Christianity and religious progress. We have no great literature to lay upon your altar, for our literature has been written in human hearts and but tells the story over again of good tidings of great joy to all people.

We have no great church to command by material resources the attention of the world, but this gracious faith which has been crystalized in one of the shortest creeds of history, has developed an actual church which, standing firmly on historic Christianity, is broad enough to give liberty of thought and action to any who would serve the great cause of human welfare; a church which in spirit and practice is "lofty as the love of God and ample as the wants of man."

We bring you greeting, fellow-workers. We cry "hail" to you and all other worshippers of God and lovers of men. Though your names be different, your message and methods various, in the nature of things every victory you win helps to realize the vision which we proclaim, of ultimate success. Every victory of ours is our contribution to the cause of religious freedom and human progress.

Greetings from Finland.

BY REV. RISTO LAPPALA.

Ladies and Gentlemen; I bring you greetings from Finland, the beautiful land of a thousand seas, and will make a few remarks in regard to it. As I have been living for the last seven years in America I represent more the Finnish people in America than those in Finland. But on account of my recent visit to Finland this summer I may speak in the name of all the Finnish friends of freedom, religion and progress.

When I went to Finland after seven years of absence I found Finland in some respects the same as before, but in some respects very much changed. The country still spread before me as beautiful as before, the Finnish people were there, as brave as before, but the political situation had very much changed. In fact, the political situation of Finland is at present very critical. The existence of the small nation is endangered. I am sorry to say that might seems to dominate and oppress the right in Russian politics in Finland, and I should not be surprised if this Congress was to express its sympathy with Finland in this her present struggle for existence. Because the Finnish people

are so deeply concerned with the preservation of her political freedom and autonomy they do not seem to be conscious enough of their need of religious freedom and autonomy. The State Church is the all-dominating church in Finland and its ministry as a rule seem to be ultra-Orthodox. But it would be too much to say that all its members are its obedient followers. The religious dissatisfaction and unrest is evident to the casual observer. There are masses of people who have fallen into stolid indifference, not to say hostility, in regard to the traditional interpretation of Christianity. I met representative men and women from different parts of the country who gladly welcome a more liberal and a more enlightened interpretation of religion. There is a group of writers who have been for years spreading dissatisfaction with the existing forms of religion. The separation of church and state is eagerly discussed, for and against, but there does not seem to be any unanimity as to whether it would be wise or not to separate church and state. But almost all are unanimous at least that there is a crying need of speedy reform within the State Church.

Personally, I am a late comer into the Free Christian branch. I joined the American Unitarian Church with the intention of working among the Finnish people in America. I joined it last spring and I represent the Finnish Unitarians who are not yet born. The light of Liberal Christianity is going to be started among the Finnish people of America and perhaps in Finland in the near future.

I am glad to be in this Congress. I am glad to hear the different discussions and perhaps conflicts of opinion. Nothing is so dangerous as religious stagnation, which means religious decay, and when there is discussion it means always progress. I thank you that you have remembered Finland, and I wish that this Congress would remember Finland in its present struggle, which means the end of Finland, as one of its enemies has said.

A Word from India.

BY REV. PROMOTHO LOLL SEN, OF CALCUTTA.

Brothers and Sisters: Fourteen years ago, when I left India for England, an opportunity having been offered by the British and Foreign Unitarian Association for a two-years course of study at Manchester College, Oxford, I said to my friends who had gathered at a public meeting in Calcutta to bid me farewell: "Born in this country, at this time, into the new dispensation, I deem it a very high privilege to find before me such an opportunity as the present one of making myself better fitted for the task to which the Heavenly Father has called me. With his blessing and with the blessings and good wishes of you all,

I go to learn from his children in the West what they have to teach me, a child of the East."

After my two years' study at Oxford, at the annual gathering of our Unitarian friends in London, I was asked to say a few words, and there I said that the God whom I had found living in India was living in England too. And on my return to my country, these more than ten years, when opportunities offered I have found it, my brothers and sisters, more and more true that the new dispensation in which I believe is neither of the East nor of the West, but it is that in which the East and the West have become one.

We now meet together in this hall, and let us see, brothers and sisters, the living God of the living new dispensation. It is he in whom we live and move and have our being, and it is he who greets us all, and in him let us greet one another, and each and all pray that the meetings of this Congress may be blest by Him unto his glory.

A Greeting from Denmark.

BY MISS MARY B. WESTENHOLZ.

Whenever I have thought of this Congress, one idea above all has been present to my mind — that of all these men and women, from many countries, singing together, at the moment of parting, each in his own language: "Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott." For months I have been looking forward to the great mental feast, to which we have here been invited, but to nothing do I look with greater hope, than to the moment when the many voices in the many languages shall unite in singing the praise of the one God, in singing our trust in the one common Lord of all.

The many nationalities and many languages of the earth always seem to me to lend a peculiar richness and fulness to the life of Humanity — and from my inmost heart I pray: God bless and preserve every national life. What a poor little world it would be, if we were all English or French or even Danish? What a loss of might and understanding we should incur, if suddenly we **all** began to think and speak as Germans, Americans or Dutchmen. Even the best and wisest among us can only know in part, and prophesy in part. Even the highest cultivated, most civilized races look at the world from a special standpoint. It may be comparatively wide and broad, it cannot be universal, you can only see certain aspects of the world from it. The highest knowledge is composed of fragments of truth won by all the peoples of the earth.

I believe in the right of Individualism — national as well as personal. Your nationality like your personality is a sacred trust. Only

by being true to it can you accomplish the task, that you were sent here to fulfill. Not in pride and self-sufficiency, but in humility and obedience must we hold our personality and nationality sacred. Such as I am — Dane or Dutch, man or woman, young or old, have I been called, and only such as I am, can I serve God truly and to my best ability.

I stand here as the representative of one of the smallest nations of the earth. I stand here to acknowledge gladly and gratefully the boundless spiritual debt, in which we stand to our great and powerful neighbours far and near. Never have I more strongly than at this moment realized the sacred trust of nationality. We have been invited, and we have come from all parts and countries of the earth to listen to men who stand foremost in humanity, in science, in learning, in wisdom and reverence. From our strong feeling of gratefulness to our generous hosts must spring a yet stronger feeling of responsibility. We are not here simply to listen and be mentally fed, we have come to share in and to carry away with us, as far as we are able, the visions and thoughts of prophetic minds, and to work them out to the honour of God and for the blessedness of man, as a special personal and national gift.

REPORT OF THE GENERAL SECRETARY

REV. CHAS. W. WENDTE, D. D, BOSTON, U. S. A.

(Translated from the German)

Three years have passed since the last International Congress of our Association was held in Boston in North America — years filled with laborious work, earnest endeavors, not a few discouragements and losses, but also with lofty achievement on the part of the religious organizations affiliated with us, and an ever-increasing confidence in the worth and the necessity for our international mission.

This mission is to bring into friendly relations with each other the religious liberals of all countries, to unite them for well-planned endeavors for the ideals and principles which they hold in common, and for mutual sympathy and service. By means of largely-conceived general assemblies in the seats of modern culture and religion, in which the most notable representatives of religious freedom and progress take part, it is intended to make apparent to liberal-minded theologians, and the laity, as well as to the public in general the truth, the wide-spread acceptance, the continual growth and inevitable victory of the liberal cause in Christendom.

In our century, which witnesses the institution of international associations of every possible character — industrial, scientific, political and benevolent it would be an unpardonable omission, a confession of our weakness and hopelessness, if progressive Christians and their allies in all parts of the world did not also come together, from time to time, to bear testimony to their common faith and purpose, and to strive together for its promotion.

It was such considerations as these which led to the organization of our congress ten years ago in Boston. Its membership was at the beginning confined for the most part to the small, if influential denomination of Unitarians in America, Great Britain and Hungary. In accordance with its origin, its claims and hopes were very modest. But already its first Congress, held in London 1901, gave evidence how far-spread was the scientific and modern conception of Christianity, and how urgently the need was everywhere felt for a union of all liberal and progressive

elements in all countries to resist the assumptions and encroachments of intolerant majorities in Church and State, and to advance the interests of pure and free religion. Nearly a thousand persons, belonging to 16 different nations, and representing officially or unofficially 26 different Church fellowships, were enrolled as members of this Congress. Although made up of such diverse elements the gathering was controlled by one spirit — the sentiment of mutual tolerance and goodwill, and an earnest desire for the promotion of religious freedom and charity throughout the world. We had feared to encounter a Babel of strange tongues and theological disagreements. We kept, in actuality, a Pentecost in which the Spirit of the Lord revealed itself in friendliness and mutual peace, and the consciousness of unitedly serving a common and sacred cause.

And so it remained in all our subsequent meetings. The Second Congress, held in 1903 in Amsterdam, was a repetition of these impressions and experiences, deepened and enriched by the new elements which flowed to us from the active university and church life of Holland. The Third Congress took place in Geneva in 1905. Its sessions were held in the great audience hall of the University and in St. Peter's Cathedral. The civic, church and university authorities vied with each other in bidding us welcome. That the city and church of Calvin should tender its hospitalities, among others, to those spiritual descendents of Servetus, the Unitarians, was a shining testimony to the growth of liberal opinion in our time, and a triumph of the true and inner spirit of Christianity over the dogmas of the Church and the prepossessions of the Past.

In the year 1907 our Congress returned again to the city of its origin, Boston, in order to hold its fourth session. But so many and varied were the new elements which had in the meantime entered into it that American liberals hardly recognized their humble creation of a few years previous. The membership at this Congress was over 2400. The largest halls and churches of the city often proved inadequate for the great audiences attracted by the meetings. Scholars and preachers of note, on this, as on previous occasions, made important contributions to its sessions, but the main characteristic of the Congress was, as before, its Unity of Spirit amidst a great variety of intellectual opinions, the free and frank avowal of individual convictions, and the prevailing enthusiasm for the ideas and aims of a free and spiritual Christianity which manifests itself in a just and brotherly order of society — the Kingdom of God made real on earth.

This review was perhaps necessary, to impart to those who are not familiar with the history and aims of our Association the full significance of our present gathering. For the first time our Congress today, thanks to your kind invitation, holds its sessions on German soil. This

affords our delegates from foreign countries a long desired opportunity to visit the birth-place and hearth-stone of Protestantism, and more particularly of liberal Protestantism, and to become personally acquainted with its leading representatives. We have for a long time past instructed and fed our souls with the products of the religious spirit in Germany — in philosophy, historical and critical science, in church life and in social and charitable endeavors. Now we are privileged to behold all this with our own eyes, and to quicken our spirits through living contact with eminent personalities, whom heretofore we have known only through their writings or the reports of others. Even if this contact is but slight and superficial it will be for the rest of our lives a source of grateful remembrance. We are even moved to declare that in a sense, the religious teachers and preachers of Germany owe us this satisfaction. What we are as religious thinkers and workers is largely due to you. Your theologians and men of science have in large degree redeemed us from the tyranny of the letter and of inherited prejudices in our religious life. You have helped mightily to create for us a new Bible, a new interpretation of Christianity, a worthier conception of the part played by the other great religions of the world in the moral and spiritual uplift of mankind. Does not this service justify us in seeking you out in your own home, and in visiting reverentially the shrines of a Luther and Lessing, Kant and Hegel, Goethe and Schleiermacher, Baur and Pfleiderer, to express our part in the tribute of gratitude and praise which the modern world owes to these sages and heroes of the religious spirit in man. The reception which you have prepared for us, and of which the delightful social reunion on the evening of our arrival, and yesterday's impressive church-service were a foretaste, gives us the assurance that we shall spend refreshing and inspiring days among our German brethren. The published program of speakers and their topics shows that perhaps no international Congress has ever been held which offered such a wealth of intellectual riches expended on themes of timely interest.

The returns which the delegates from other lands can make their German hosts may not be equally great and notable. We, indeed, hope that many an instructive and encouraging word will be uttered by our orators and essayists. The main advantage, however, which will accrue to our German friends from this assembly will be the impression produced upon the public mind by the spectacle of a large gathering like this, recruited from many nations of the earth and many religious fellowships, representing a great variety of differing theological and philosophical opinions, and yet animated by a common spirit and purpose — the love of truth and freedom and the service of humanity. The principles of our

society do not permit any aggression on the civil or religious institutions of the country in which we meet, or any propaganda for any special doctrines or forms of worship. But that this Congress will exercise a considerable and in every way beneficial influence on the religious life of Germany is a belief warranted by our experience in every land in which its sessions have thus far been held. So deep was the impression made by the Fourth Congress in Boston on the American religious community that shortly after its prorogation the liberal religious elements in the United States came together and formed a National Federation of Religious Liberals which has already held important and largely attended meetings, and promises to become for the New World what our International Congress aims to be to all the nations of the earth. The encouraging fact that in the preliminary work of planning and preparing for the present session of our Congress four German free-Christian associations, with different historical and religious antecedents, have found it possible to come together, for the first time, for a common purpose, strikingly indicates the reconciling influence and mission of our international association. It warrants us in indulging the hope that for Germany also, in the near future, a permanent union of free religious forces is not unthinkable.

The occupation with large international view-points and interests raises us above the tendency to become petty and provincial in our religious life. Religion is world-embracing. Christianity is destined either to become a universal religion or to remain a local and private interest, in which case it will inevitably, in the course of time, pine away and die.

The last president of this Congress, Rev. Dr. Samuel A. Eliot of Boston, whose absence from our present meeting we greatly regret, and whose special greeting I am charged to bring you, recently expressed himself on this point as follows: „The International Council is a body which emphasizes our unities rather than our dissents. It brings men together out of separate and peculiar traditions, out of legitimate preferences for certain familiar beliefs and hopes, into the unity of the universal religious consciousness. The Council is the unfettered servant of truth and freedom and brotherhood. It enjoys the stimulus of intellectual variety, it broadens our horizon, it refreshes us with nobler reaches of vision. As we meet in the confederated family of religious liberals, each open-minded ally grows at once wiser and broader, each discovers the excellencies of others and at the same time the merits of his own heritage. We learn to practise the forbearance that is so often violated by personal egotism or sectarian pride. We emphasize the convictions that all good men hold in common, We form enduring friendships and renew our faith and courage.“

The truth and excellence of these words are particularly displayed in the features of our present Congress. In the confidence of its faith and in broad-mindedness it has opened its doors wide not only to the members of the great historic churches of Christendom (Catholic as well as Protestant) but to smaller and hence often under-estimated religious bodies as well, and to isolated free-thinkers; not only to Christians but to the representatives of the other great world-religions, Judaism, Buddhism, the Wisdom of the Brahmins, the Mahometans, and others which lie outside the Christian pale. In lofty confidence in the basic truths which are common to all good and reverent men and women, and in the spirit of mutual tolerance and good-will, our Congress has even invited to participation in its deliberations the representatives of non-religious ethical and humanitarian bodies. Such a display of the large-heartedness, the manifoldness, and the indwelling unity of the modern religious consciousness enables our assembly to justly call itself a World-Congress, an ecumenical council. It ought not to fail to produce a widely extended impression on the religious mind in the various countries of the world.

So far as the internal affairs of our association are concerned it is to be reported that the general secretary has been in constant inter-communication with its executive committee and has conducted a large and extended correspondence with its members and friends in various countries and tongues. He has also contributed more or less to the liberal religious weeklies and monthlies which in various lands and languages support the principles of a free and progressive religion, and whose services to our common cause are hereby gratefully acknowledged. We are sometimes asked why we do not establish a separate and special organ for our Congress. It has appeared to us far more preferable to spread the knowledge of our ideas and movements through the journals now existing, which reach a large and varied constituency. To worthily sustain these existing publications seems to us a duty of the first order. If a liberal in religion can do nothing else for the cause he believes in, he can and ought to be a subscriber, and so far as possible to him in other ways a contributor to the free religious journals of his own and other countries.

In the autumn of 1908 the general secretary prepared a report of the Fourth, or Boston, Congress, which appeared in an edition of 2,000 copies in a volume of 600 pages. Professor Heinrich Weinel of Jena has placed us under great obligations by his German version of a large portion of this report, published by the well-known house of J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) of Tuebingen. The Hungarian Unitarians also printed a similar compilation in their national tongue.

In the summer of 1909 the secretary made an extended journey to Europe in the interests of the present or Berlin meeting, visiting seven countries and some twenty cities and towns, and conferring with the friends of our cause in its behalf. In Berlin on the 21st of July the program of the meetings was finally decided upon.

The Boston Congress of 1907 authorized a collection among its membership in behalf of the monument to be erected at Geneva in memory of the labors of John Calvin and his associates in establishing the Protestant faith in that city. It also decreed that a similar collection should at the same time be taken for the monument to be erected at Vienne, France, to commemorate that martyr of free and independent thought, Michael Servetus. The total sum received in answer to these appeals was something over 500 dollars which, applied according to the wishes of the donors, yielded a nearly equal amount to both monuments.

We greet today new religious and ethical forces which appear for the first time at our Congress. They need not be enumerated in detail, but the long, wearisome and expensive journeys undertaken by our Asiatic brethren from India, Ceylon, Armenia and Japan in order to take part in our meetings entitle them to our grateful acknowledgment. Their presence, in view of the present crisis in the foreign missionary movement, should be of much significance. From distant America over 200 pilgrims of the spirit have come to attend our Congress, which, taken in connection with the fact at our first Congress in London only four American delegates appeared, is an interesting exhibition of the growth of international sentiment among religious liberals.

The large-minded priests and laymen who advocate among us the cause of an enlightened and progressive Catholic Church are doubly welcome to us. To recognize and advance the good in all systems of faith and worship is a leading aim of our association.

Gladly would we mention by name many of those present who in their own countries and churches render invaluable service to religious freedom by their brave and unselfish labors, but want of time will not permit it. We can only bid them welcome, one and all, in the spirit of truth and love, and give them the assurance that the pleasure of meeting them and learning to know them better, and of hearing more of their work has been to us one of the chief attractions of this meeting.

The more highly we prize this bond of friendship in our Congress the more deeply we feel the loss of noble and faithful fellow-workers who in the course of the years are removed from us by death. Since our last meeting highly honored and influential friends of our Society have departed from us, and to them is due a word of grateful commemoration.

Particularly painful and irreplaceable for us was the universally lamented death of our fellow member Professor Otto Pfleiderer. He was the first religious teacher of German nationality to join himself with this movement. He took part in all our congresses and at the time of his death was a valued member of our executive committee. How bodily and mentally vigorous he was at our last meeting in Boston! His genial greeting and our looked-for intercourse with him were for our foreign delegates among the chief inducements to an attendance at these Berlin meetings. His recognition and help were of great importance to our association in the earlier days of its history. For he believed in our cause, he believed in the possibility of an international union of free but reverent thinkers in all the countries of the world, and he did his utmost to make this faith actual. He spared no pains or fatigue of travel to attend our meetings. His only reward lay in the appreciation which we so universally bestowed upon him and which we now render to his works. The latter translated into various languages are an unceasing influence in the emancipation of the religious mind and the growth of true conceptions of religious truth and amity. Our common teacher, because of his sterling character and personal loveableness, he remains a revered and precious memory to his friends and fellow-workers.

His admirable counterpart we may behold in a second member of our Congress whose loss we deplore today, Professor Jean Réville of Paris. University teacher and scholar, leader of the radical wing of the church of the Huguenots, valued adviser in the affairs of our association, and zealous worker for a better understanding between the religious communities of the earth, his great service in the founding and conduct of the Congress of the History of Religions, as well as his activity in the cause of religious freedom and enlightenment in France, will long continue his influence. But for those who best knew him the impression of his genuine, modest, affectionate and deeply religious character remains the most abiding memory. He was a consummate flower of French Protestantism, and discloses with irresistible power to what a high development of mind and heart a genuine piety, free, truth-loving, tolerant and devout, can elevate mankind.

To these worthies must be added a third — their spiritual equal — the late Rev. Dr. Edward Everett Hale, Unitarian preacher in Boston, and at the time of his death Chaplain of the United States Senate in Washington. Dr. Hale took much interest in our Congress and although advanced in years, at its last session in Boston gave a powerful address on international peace and amity. Highly esteemed and beloved in all circles for his gifts as a preacher, public speaker and author, and organizer of the public charities of the American community, Dr. Hale was an

encouraging illustration of the manner in which a truly large-minded and genial personality, living an unselfish life devoted to the larger welfare of his kind, disarms the existing prejudices and animosities against free-thought, and wins inspiring victories for religious breadth and charity. But his chief merit lay in his early and prophetic recognition of the great transformation which is taking place in the Christianity of our day, which places the emphasis of religion not on dogmas, or modes of worship, but on mutual love and service, on unselfish devotion to the common weal, and the improvement of human society. To bring about the Kingdom of Heaven on earth was his supreme endeavor. For America the names of Theodore Parker and Edward Everett Hale will ever be associated as prominent leaders in the movement for a more just and friendly, and therefore also, a more truly religious order of human society.

The mention of the name of Theodore Parker prompts the reminder that we celebrate during the present year the one hundredth anniversary of the birth and the fiftieth of the death of that eminent American teacher of religion and citizen of the world. His influence on the religious, social and political concerns of his own country was great, and has been commemorated in a worthy manner by memorial meetings in the leading cities of the United States. Similar gatherings have taken place also in European cities and in India and Japan. Parker was a cosmopolitan as hardly another man of his time. He was master of 20 languages and was familiar with their literature. He also visited Europe and made the acquaintance of the great religious and University teachers of his day, especially in Germany. His works, which have just been issued anew in a centenary edition of 14 volumes, give evidence how deeply he had drawn from the wells of German learning and scholarship. His translation of De Wette's Introduction to the Old Testament was almost the first tribute paid in America to German learning and science. Parker's selected works appeared in the German version of Dr. Johannes Ziethen at Leipzig in 1835. They have since been published in other modern languages, as well as in the vernaculars of India and Japan.

The most important and abiding thing in Parker was, however, his lofty and devout character and his consecrated, heroic life. Often told and in various languages, it remained for one of our members, Rev. Alfred Altherr of Basel, to produce a German biography of Parker, both accurate and readable. A perusal of this admirable work would be for the German-speaking public the worthiest observance of the natal year of this eminent representative of religious free-thought. At the close of this month a delegation of members of this association returning from the celebration of the 400th anniversary of the Unitarians of

Transylvania in Hungary, will visit Florence, Italy, and seek out the grave of Theodore Parker in the little Protestant cemetery in that city to lay a wreath of commemoration upon it.

The reference made to the Unitarians of Hungary calls our attention to another of the heroes of Religious Freedom, their first Bishop, Francis David, who in 1579 breathed out his brave spirit, after long suffering, in a prison cell of the Castle of Deva. The names and services of the martyrs of religious enlightenment should be forever sacred to us. It is therefore with pleasure that we hear that after the adjournment of this Congress a considerable number of its delegates will visit Hungary to take part at Kolozsvar in the exercises commemorating the 400th anniversary of the birth of Francis David.

In the same connection we may allude to the recent observance of the 300th anniversary of the eminent liberal theologian Jacob Arminius, and of the men who in Holland, in 1610, signed the Remonstrance against the rigors of the Calvinistic creed — both notable incidents in the history of freedom of conscience.

We have not yet enumerated all the noble spirits who have been removed from our circle of friends and coworkers by the event of death during the past three years. In France the late Baron Ferdinand de Schickler, the highly esteemed layman who for so many years devoted his culture, wealth and deep religiousness to the upbuilding of the Free Protestant cause in his native country; the deceased Genevan professor Gourd, who at our Congress in that city, read before it a thoughtful paper; John Fretwell, English by birth, citizen of the world by preference, who, after long journeys in all parts of the earth, devoted the remainder of his days to the advancement of liberal Christian interests in both hemispheres, all should be gratefully remembered by us; Subba Rau, a gifted young Brahmin, who spoke at our Boston meetings in behalf of the principles of Hindu Theism, and passed away all too early for the realization on earth of the hopes that were centered in him; finally, the recently deceased Professor Goldwin Smith of Toronto, Canada, who, prevented by age and infirmities from participating in our meetings, sent us his adhesion and God-speed. In him passed away one of the most gifted and influential of the men of British race who, during the last century, have labored for the elevation of humanity.

The withdrawal from active service of several of our fellow-workers, because of increasing years, should be referred to here. Revs. P. H. Hugenholz of Amsterdam, James Hocart of Brussels, and Kristofer Janson of Norway, have all rendered important service to reverent free-thought in their respective communities. While we gratefully recognize their activities we wish them in their retirement many years

of leisure and enjoyable occupation with the ideals and movements of their time, and shall expect from them the ripe fruits of their personal and professional experience.

Truly the losses of our Congress during the past three years have been great. But great also are our encouragements and gains. The Lord calls his prophets to himself, but He ever raises up new bearers of His message to humanity. New forces continually stream to us from all parts of the world, new occasions for testimony and usefulness open before us.

May our World-Congress by its reports and addresses, still more by its breadth of view and reconciling spirit, strengthen in us the faith that the religion of freedom, sincerity and love is ever increasing in the hearts of mankind, and in God's own time will win the victory over all that opposes it.

WHAT RELIGIOUS LIBERALS OF GREAT
BRITAIN OWE TO THE RELIGIOUS LIFE AND
THEOLOGICAL SCIENCE OF GERMANY.

BY THE REV. EDWARD CARPENTER.

I.

WHAT RELIGIOUS LIBERALS OF
OTHER NATIONS OWE TO THE
RELIGIOUS AND THEOLOGICAL
SCIENCE OF GERMANY.

WHAT RELIGIOUS LIBERALS OF GREAT BRITAIN OWE TO THE RELIGIOUS LIFE AND THEOLOGICAL SCIENCE OF GERMANY.

BY DR. J. ESTLIN CARPENTER.

The religious life of Great Britain has been organised for more than two hundred years in groups of Churches which inherited in various ways the principles of the Reformation of the sixteenth century. They might differ in their polity, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Congregational, but they all alike regarded the Bible as the fundamental source of revealed truth. They saw in it an authoritative declaration of the will of God, every part of which was equally divine, and therefore infallibly correct. Even the little group of Churches which repudiated all formal creeds as "human impositions", professed themselves ready to believe whatever could be proved out of its pages with unquestioning submission. "The Bible", said the commanding voice of the philosopher Locke (1703), "has God for its author, salvation for its end, and truth without any admixture of error for its matter." It was reserved for another Oxford scholar less than fifty years ago (1861), Dr. Burgon, to declare from the University pulpit — "Every book of it, every chapter of it, every verse of it, every word of it, every syllable of it (where are we to stop?), every letter of it, is the direct utterance of the Most High, faultless, unerring, supreme." This was the sphere of Revelation; thus had God chosen to make himself known. The task of religious liberalism has been to test this conception, together with the doctrinal and ecclesiastical systems founded upon it, by the light of growing knowledge and clearer moral insight; to claim for the human spirit the right to examine all assumptions concerning the ways of God to man without reserve; to see that the same canons of evidence should be applied to the origins of Israel as to those of Rome; to use the same method in the investigation of the sources of Christianity as in that of Buddhism or Islam; and finally, when historical research has done its work, to gather out of the rich and varied story of religious experience, interpreted by philosophy, new modes of thought and feeling in which the great im-

pulses imparted by the mighty personalities of the past shall still quicken and exalt our life.

This movement really began in England in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Through the writings of the Deists in the first half of the eighteenth century it passed into Germany. There Reimarus and Lessing were to open new lines of historical enquiry; and Griesbach and Eichhorn were to attack the literary problem of the origin and relations of the Synoptical Gospels. The Unitarian philosopher Priestley, the discoverer of oxygen, might at the same time (1782) formulate the task of what he designated the "historical method", just as Eichhorn five years later expounded the function of the "higher criticism." But the religious life of England was absorbed by the Evangelical movement. The Universities, in the hands of the Established Church, were equally opposed to "enthusiasm" on the one hand and free enquiry upon the other. The dread of the French Revolution proved an additional restraint. Archbishop Newcome's work (on the basis of Griesbach) in favour of New Testament revision was met by the dictum that to suggest inaccuracy in the Authorised Version was almost as bad as holding French principles. When Herbert Marsh (of Cambridge) returned from Göttingen after studying under Michaelis, he resolved to repay his teacher by translating his Introduction to the New Testament. He concluded the work (1801) with an elaborate investigation into the composition of the first three Gospels. It was immediately denounced as dangerous, and no one was found bold enough to follow in his steps. It was reserved for another young Cambridge student, Connop Thirlwall, by a translation of Schleiermacher's Essay on Luke (1825), to open new lines of historical enquiry; but the time was not ripe, and the unfamiliar paths remained untrod. Meantime, two Oxford scholars, destined powerfully to affect the religious life of England, were both learning German. Thomas Arnold (afterwards headmaster of Rugby) read Niebuhr's History of Rome in 1825, and made friends with Bunsen in the papal city two years later. The ferment of the new knowledge was revealed in his "Essay on the right Interpretation and Understanding of the Scriptures" (1831), which he regarded to the last year of his life as the most important thing he ever wrote. The Bible, he urged, must be interpreted humanly, and questions of history and criticism, and science, must not be confounded with Christian faith. So he boldly affirmed (1840) that the Book of Daniel must belong to the time of the Maccabees; its pretended prophecy about the kings of Greece and Persia was mere history, like the poetical prophecies in Virgil and elsewhere. Thus Arnold became the Father of the Broad Church. Very different was the course of Pusey. He studied

under Eichhorn and Schleiermacher; he made friends with Tholuck and Neander. He commended Lessing for his services to Christianity, and declared that he had restored the key to the right understanding of the Old Testament as the preliminary education of the human race, while the teaching of Kant had led many to listen to the voice of Nature, the revelation of God within them. The publication of such views (1828) involved him in bitter accusations. It was a youthful indiscretion, and the book was soon withdrawn. Forty years later he was willing to rest the whole fabric of Christian truth on the authenticity of that same book of Daniel, which Arnold, like the Deist Collins a century before, assigned to the Maccabean age. It is part of the irony of history that his successor in the Regius Professorship of Hebrew at Oxford teaches with unquestioned authority the critical results which Pusey would cheerfully have laid down his life to avert.

More than a generation was, in fact, to elapse before any real advance was possible. The Anglican church, torn with the strife of the Tractarian controversy, and still in the grip of Biblical literalism, could pay no heed to Strauss or Baur. The universities turned away from all discussion. The Evangelical Nonconformists had then no scholars who could grapple with the new problems. The Unitarians were fearlessly teaching the documentary theories of Genesis, and the composite character of the book of Isaiah. Their boldest voice brilliantly expounded the Tübingen principles; but they were condemned to an ineffective seclusion without access to the general ear. The awakening shock was delivered just half a century ago (1860) by the famous volume of "Essays and Reviews", reinforced two years later by the enquiries of Bishop Colenso into the origin of the books of Moses. His investigations might be prompted by a Zulu; they might be conducted at the outset by the principles of arithmetic; but they soon outran the limits of the multiplication table, and had to call German scholarship to their aid. The result was to break down all barriers within the Church of England against free enquiry into the sources and history of the Scriptures, and a new era of Bible-study was begun.

The turn of the Old Testament naturally came first, and in the glowing pages of Ewald on the lives and writings of the Hebrew prophets we saw them presented no longer as the mechanical organs of supernatural prediction, but as the agents of a mighty providential purpose, the training of Israel as the depository of the loftiest truths concerning God and man. His construction of the Mosaic age might be erroneous; his judgments might be often fanciful and arbitrary; his historical method defective. But in England he rendered us an inestimable service. He treated the whole story with a kindling enthu-

siasm as part of a vast divine process, — what Augustine had designated the education (**eruditio**) of the race; he redeemed criticism from the reproach of unbelief; he conciliated scholarship and faith. So the way was prepared for the next advance by which Reuss and Graf came to their own, and the modern view of prophet and priest and psalmist was established. When Wellhausen contributed the articles on "Israel" and the "Pentateuch" to the ninth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, the peaceful victory of Germany in this field was complete, and the real significance of the long religious development enshrined in the Old Testament became the common property of the English-speaking peoples.

Of no less moment has been the progress in the study of primitive Christianity. It is true that the hesitation has been greater, and the advance more slow, for the issues are graver, and the end is not yet. The first *Leben Jesu* of Strauss, though admirably translated by the woman of genius who chose afterwards to be known in the sphere of fiction as George Eliot, produced no effect on English thought. The atmosphere in which alone it could be understood did not exist. For a similar reason the researches of Baur were long ignored, and the few who showed any acquaintance with them fell under grave suspicion. But little by little they began to produce an impression which could not be evaded. The brilliant and witty poet and critic, Matthew Arnold, set himself to popularise the questions connected with the Fourth Gospel in language and by methods which all could understand. The group of Cambridge theologians vigorously controverted the extremer forms of the Tübingen scheme, but they could not restore the older view which had maintained the harmony of the Four Evangelists. That the Pauline epistles are the earliest products of Christian literature; that the Synoptic Gospels present different aspects of the person of Jesus, and have not been unaffected by the circumstances of the Church out of which they emerged; that the fourth Gospel contains elements due to later interpretations of Christian experience, and, whether of apostolic origin or not, can no longer be regarded as literal history, — these results are familiar to teachers of all schools. The Anglican scholar still says (with Prof. Sanday at Oxford) that he "agrees more with his own countrymen", but he also admits that he "learns more from the Germans". From Germany came the idea of systematic exposition of Biblical theology, whether in the Old Testament or the New: from the same source also came the conception of the history of doctrine, which revolutionised Church history. Even before the days of Darwin the application of the historical method had made it clear that no great religious personalities could be independent of contemporary condi-

tions. Their message must be couched in the language of their own time; they must begin from the thoughts and hopes and expectations of their countrymen, however much they may expand or transcend them. The English student welcomed the translation of the works of Keim or Schürer or Hausrath, not only to profit by their splendid industry, their comprehensive erudition, but also to realise — what is much more important — the manner in which they seek to envisage the whole complex phenomena of the age, first of Jesus, and then of the early Church. Whatever may be the ultimate significance of the person of Christ, he cannot be severed from the race to which he belonged, or the land in which he wrought and taught. The long series of studies in the life of Jesus which Germany has produced, — the witness of so much toil and courage and devotion — is only imperfectly known in England. But its latest developments, aided by the eschatological studies of Dr. Charles (himself starting from Dillman's *Henoch*) are now arousing serious attention. The student of today is compelled to face problems from which twenty years ago he turned away. The energy of new methods is at work; and the schools on both sides of the North Sea are learning to understand, if they cannot wholly share, each other's points of view.

The process which I have thus roughly sketched has completely changed the conception of Revelation. The old controversies about inspiration are silenced for ever. Slowly but surely the authority of the Bible as a body of supernaturally communicated truth has faded away. Divested of claims which it never made for itself, it stands forth as the supreme witness of God's ways to man, the guide and helper of our religious life. But the believer no longer seeks the foundations of his faith in external sanctions. The bases of trust have been shifted from historical events known only by testimony to the constitution of human nature itself. On this path, also, Germany has led the way. In the long roll of her famous men of letters, theology, and philosophy, there are names which do not perhaps count for much in the eyes of the ordinary Englishman. But from Lessing and Kant, through Herder and Fichte, Goethe, Schleiermacher and Hegel, influences have proceeded which have profoundly modified British thought. They were the promoters of that *Aufklärung* which Kant had heralded in 1784. True, these lofty thinkers needed interpretation in a language which Englishmen could understand. The German accent of Coleridge and the stormy voice of Carlyle were at first almost equally strange. They were pioneers in fields which our later teachers began to tread with surer foot and liberal theology learned to call the philosophy of religion to its aid. Whether the ultimate secret lies in the moral idealism of

Kant, or in Schleiermacher's consciousness of dependence, or in the evolution of spirit as expounded by Hegel, — to say nothing now of more recent speculation — the meaning of the whole movement was not obscure. It was an appeal from authority without to a process within. It sought to relate man to the world about him, and to the powers implanted in him yet transcending him. It found in his own nature, in the correspondences of reason and the surrounding scene, in the imperative of conscience, in the sentiments of awe and reverence and love, the witness of a divine origin, and the open way to the fellowship of heaven. That which seemed lost when the miracles of the Bible could no longer be accepted as historical guarantees, was now restored upon a universal basis, the mind of man, the interpretation of the order of the universe, and the ideal ends of life. Here is that which made the great prophetic voices of the past intelligible; here is a sphere of experience, nurtured chiefly under the guidance of the Church, which enables the believer to respond to the highest impulses of Christian teaching, and apply the truths and principles of Jesus to fresh conditions and new social forms. We stand in fact at the beginning of a movement which is sometimes designated the New Reformation. No single personality, indeed, is its begetter. It does not bear the stamp of an immense and powerful individuality; it has had no Luther. But it has been prepared by many influences, as the progress of science beyond the range of Biblical study has annexed new fields of knowledge, and explored fresh territories of thought. The whole history of religion now lies open to it. The English pioneers of Sanskrit learning, who first gained access to the treasures of the East, were too busily concerned in making known their contents to realise their full significance, while the dogmatic restraints which encumbered English theology no less withheld students at home from appreciating their value. It was the persuasive voice of a German scholar of genius, Friedrich Max Müller, which won British ears to respect the prayers to the Heaven-Father in the ancient Vedic hymns. When, under the sanction of Stanley, Dean of Westminster, Max Müller lectured, a generation ago, in the Jerusalem chamber, within the precincts of the Abbey, on the teachings of the early Hindu seers, it was no longer possible to isolate Christianity as God's sole gift to the world, or to ignore the wider scope of the history of religion. In diverse tones and struggling utterance mankind has sought to frame some conception of the Infinite, and the long procession of its philosophies and faiths testifies that God has in truth never left himself without a witness. The debt of modern liberal theology in Great Britain to the patience and scholarship, the poetic insight and the true piety, of Max Müller, cannot be estimated too highly. The

philosophy of religion must never cut itself adrift from its historical development. One of the foremost of recent German scholars, the late Otto Pfliederer, a member of this Congress from the beginning, has surely taught us that the enduring constructions of thought must ever rest upon the actual forms and phases of experience.

And now in this vast field where anthropology claims its place with the associated study of psychology, at the basis of the immense pyramid of the theological sciences, we have begun to learn from Germany the lesson of the fearless pursuit of truth which is the first condition of all progress. A year ago it was my privilege to hear Dr. Harnack, who is honoured in Great Britain hardly less than in this country, express the earnest desire that this community of labour may endure. In the Bible we all alike recognise the historic foundations of our spiritual culture, which Germany has done so much to enrich with illustrious example, with noble philanthropies, with a poetic hymnody and exalted musical creations. Here are the links of common faith and work. May the ties that are thus formed in the spirit of Christ be of lasting value for the maintenance of peace and goodwill among all nations.

THE OBLIGATIONS OF LIBERAL CHRISTIANS IN AMERICA TO GERMAN THEOLOGY.

By FRANCIS GREENWOOD PEABODY, D. D. PROFESSOR OF
ETHICS IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

The obligations of American students to German theology are too varied and permanent to be briefly described, and I shall venture to approach the subject, not along the broad highway of historical testimony, but by the modest footpath of personal confession. An American youth, bred in the limited tradition of New England Puritanism, sets forth, like a pilgrim seeking a distant shrine, in search of a consistent and rational theology. He comes, by a fortunate accident, to Halle in 1872, when the liberal orthodoxy of Tholuck and Beyschlag were giving to that university pre-eminence in the work of religious reconciliation. Very timidly the young stranger approaches the great man's door, and in halting German inquires: "Wohnt Professor Tholuck hier?" only to be confounded by the rebuke of the attendant: — "Der Herr Oberkonsistorialrat empfängt um vier Uhr." Such was the unpropitious beginning of an affectionate intimacy with one of the loveliest of souls. On this youth, as on so many others, Tholuck lavished the wealth of his teaching and companionship; and up and down the famous arbor in the garden the disciple walked, not with his teacher alone, but with the great company of mystics, reformers and poets, of whom Tholuck delighted to discourse. "Unless a man be born again," it is written, "he cannot see the Kingdom of God"; and as the "Reden" of Schleiermacher were read and commented on in Tholuck's study, and the large horizon of Riehm's Biblical criticism and Haym's aesthetic sympathy disclosed new views of God and the world, a new birth of the mind, with much travail of the spirit, occurred, and the kingdom of Truth seemed not far away. Then, on one happy morning, there lay before the youth on a bookseller's counter the first edition, fresh from the press, of Pfeleiderer's: "Die Religion, ihr Wesen und ihre Geschichte". Amplified and reaffirmed as these volumes have been in many subsequent forms, it may still be doubted whether any later expression of his thought has had the freshness

and communicative force of that original treatment; and to at least one reader it opened a new door of thought, through which one might enter into the companionship of Kant and Fichte, of Hegel and Schleiermacher, and hear the prophecy of some golden age, like that of which the Psalmist sang, when philosophy and history should meet together, and ethics and faith should kiss each other.

Such an experience of exhilaration would be reported by hundreds of American students, if they might have the privilege of joining in this grateful confession of intellectual and spiritual indebtedness. If, however, one wishes to trace the influence of Germany on the religious thought of America, he must begin at a much earlier point in history, and recall, in the first place, not the migration of American scholars to Europe, but the migration which began two centuries before, when German Pietists crossed the sea in search of a new world of religious freedom. As early as 1683, two years after the Royal Charter had been given to William Penn for his Quaker colony, a young German lawyer, Francis Pastorius, moved, as he wrote, by "desire in my soul to continue in their society and with them to lead a quiet, godly and honest life in the howling wilderness", sailed forth with a little company of pious friends and founded the settlement in Pennsylvania, still known as Germantown. Pastorius said of its straightened circumstances that it might fitly be known as "Armentown", and over the house-door of his own rude home he set the verse: "Parva domus sed amica bonis, procul este prophani", translating the motto into vigorous German:

„Klein ist mein Haus,
Doch Gute sieht es gern,
Wer gottlos ist, der bleibe fern.“

Here also, in 1743, the entire Bible of Luther was printed in German, being the first edition of the Scriptures published in America in a foreign tongue. Hither also, and to neighboring States, soon flowed a great tide of German migration; much of it from the region devastated by the thirty years' war, but much of it swept across the sea by the fresh wind of religious zeal. Lutherans and Moravians, Mennonites and Ammenites, Dunkards ("Eintinkers") and Quietists, found in the new world a peaceful refuge of their faith and a rewarding opportunity for their works, and prospered both in religion and in trade. John Wesley crossed to Savannah in such a company, and in a storm at sea had his fears rebuked by the calmness of his German companions, so that he turned to the Moravian Bishop for spiritual help, and wrote: "I, who went to America to convert others, was never converted to God". Events like these could not fail to stamp with a special character large areas of the United States, and their influence is still perceptible among that great

multitude of descendants — now numbering, it is said, not less than twenty millions, or one quarter of the total population of the country, — in whom there flows some German blood and with it something of the ineradicable strain of German piety.

These incidents of primitive history are, however, difficult to detach from the general development of American life, and the German element in the United States has in large degree become merged in the unity of national character. The case is different when we turn to the counter-migration of American scholars, which turned about 1820 to German learning. The vast tide of the German migration was, for the most part, of plain people, moved by an emotional faith. The returning wave was, on the contrary, of selected American youths, moved to their academic adventure by the love of learning. The first movement was of millions; the second of hundreds; yet it is probable that the effect upon American thought of the few who have thus migrated to Germany, has been more radical and reconstructive than the piety of the multitude who found a spiritual refuge in the New World. The story begins when in 1819 three American students, whose names were destined to have much distinction, returned from Göttingen, bringing with them a fresh enthusiasm for the German idealism of Kant, Schelling, Fichte, and Jacobi. George Ticknor was to be known as a historian; Edward Everett as ambassador to Great Britain; and George Bancroft as minister to Germany; but their youthful voyage had in it, in the popular opinion, something of the daring of a dash to the Northpole.

German learning had been as unexplored as the Arctic Sea, and was believed to be as cold and as shifting. There were few German books available even in the public libraries of the United States. Ticknor wrote that he "sent to New Hampshire, where I knew there was a German dictionary and borrowed it". The return of these venturesome scholars happened to coincide with the most dramatic period in the history of free religion in America. Indeed, their journey may be regarded as a premonition of that period. The Calvinism of the seventeenth century had been displaced in many minds by the English Sensationalism of the eighteenth century, but this, in its turn, appeared to offer a meagre interpretation of the religious life. The time was ripe for a spiritual renaissance, and for a new appreciation of the experiences of the soul as a sufficient evidence of communion with the Eternal; and this need of American Idealism was now confirmed by the hitherto unfamiliar teaching of German masters. Three great personalities, Channing, Parker, and Emerson, represent this transition, and the German influence may be traced in each. Channing was not a German scholar, but he was weary of what he called "the heart-withering philosophy then dominant in

New England", and wrote, "I fear that we must look to other schools for the thoughts which thrill us, which touch the most inward springs and disclose to us the depths of our own souls". German Idealism, interpreted by Coleridge, touched him with this thrill; and of Coleridge he said that "he owed more than to the mind of any other philosophic thinker". "It was with intense delight", writes one of his biographers, "that he made acquaintance with the master minds of Germany through the medium, first, of Madame de Stael and afterward of Coleridge. He recognized in them his leaders. In Kant's doctrine of the Reason he found confirmation of the views which, in early years received from Price, had quickened him to ever deeper reverence of the essential powers of man. To Schelling's sublime intimations of the Divine Life everywhere manifested through nature and humanity, his heart, devoutly conscious of the universal agency of God, gladly responded. But above all did the heroic stoicism of Fichte charm him by its full assertion of the grandeur of the human will". Thus, while it must not be imagined that the sanity of Channing's reasoning or the serenity of his faith were imported products, it is beyond question that his thought was stimulated and his view of life confirmed by the news which reached him from Germany; and it is pleasant to remember that among the earliest and noblest appreciations of Channing's place in religious history was the judgment of a German scholar, who was quick to perceive his affinity with the German type. "We pause now", said Bunsen in his 'God in History', "to consider the prophet of man's religious consciousness in the United States. * * * Channing is an antique hero with a Christian heart. He is a man like a Hellene, a citizen like a Roman, a Christian like an Apostle". Never were greater words spoken by one great man of another.

In Theodore Parker, the second of the American triumvirate, the indebtedness to Germany is more conscious and explicit. Parker was a prodigious reader of German, as of all literature, and among his first literary works was a translation of De Wette's "Introduction to the Old Testament". "I found most help", he wrote at one time, "in the works of Immanuel Kant, one of the profoundest thinkers in the world, though one of the worst writers, even in Germany". Later, according to one of his biographers, there became perceptible in him the influence of Jacobi. In Parker's most admirable utterance, however, the "Discourse on Matters pertaining to Religion", there becomes obvious, both in the title of the work and in its doctrine, the formative influence of Schleiermacher. The definition of religion is the same in both. Where Schleiermacher says, "The essence of religion is that we are conscious of absolute dependence", Parker says, "We cannot be conscious of ourselves except as dependent beings". The "Discourse" of Parker is, in

short, the "Reden" of Schleiermacher adapted and expanded to meet the spiritual needs of American Christianity.

Finally among these American prophets must be named the most permanent influence in American literature, the work of Emerson. Like Channing, Emerson was not a master of German, and like Channing also, Emerson's originality in genius and style emancipates him from any single tradition. Yet the word, selected to represent the movement which he began, was derived from Kant and loosely applied to its new usage. Transcendentalism, or the transcendence of demonstration in the perception of truth, though Kant might not have welcomed the extension of the meaning, carried with it the weight of German authority. "We know truth", said Emerson, "when we see it, as we know when we are awake that we are awake". To fortify this autonomous authority of the soul, Emerson called to his aid a long succession of spiritual seers, Plato and Plotinus, Boehme and Swedenborg, the Oriental scriptures and the poems of Wordsworth. As with Channing, Emerson's way to German Idealism was through Coleridge, of whom he says, "What a living soul, what a universal knowledge!" Emerson, in short, was, in the finest sense of the word, an eclectic. He selected for his intellectual food whatever the table of history might provide to his taste. "Any history of philosophy", he said, "fortifies my faith, by showing me that what high dogmas I had supposed were the rare and late fruit of a cumulative culture, and only now possible to some recent Kant or Fichte, were the prompt improvisations of the earliest inquirers; of Parmenides, Heraclitus, and Xenophanes". Yet, among these fortifying influences none was so substantial as the great succession of German idealists, through whom the transcendentalism of Kant had been developed and enforced; and it remains a fact of permanent significance that a movement of thought, which was essentially indigenous to New England and was the product of original genius, still bears a German name.

When we pass, finally, from these historical witnesses to the condition of free religious thought in the United States today, we find ourselves still in the line of this spiritual tradition. There are two traits of the American character whose force and even whose existence some critics might be inclined to deny. These characteristics, which scholars share with others, are, first, an instinct of conservatism, and, secondly, a tradition of idealism. Nothing could seem at the first glance more remote from the American type than the spirit of conservatism. Is not the United States, it may be asked, an aggressive, self-confident, irreverent democracy, the breeding-place of novel philosophies and improvised religions? These expressions of radicalism, however, conspicuous as they are, lie on the surface of the American character. They are the

foam tossed up by a swiftly moving stream, and beneath them the main current moves more steadily in its flow. Behind an air of self-assurance, as often happens with aggressive persons, there is hidden in the United States a constitutional quality of self-distrust, which turns to great masters and respects great scholars with a peculiar docility and responsiveness. American theology is on the whole disinclined to novelty, and not easily captivated by audacity or paradox. Ibsen's social pessimism, Nietzsche's defiant immoralism, Tolstoi's quietistic anarchism, revivals of Pagan idealism, and romances of Biblical criticism, — these expressions of Old-World restlessness command slight attention in America, except from those sophisticated and satiated students who have, in a measure, expatriated themselves in their thought. For the most part the American people are a simple folk, practical and pragmatic, as modest in philosophy as they are bold in business. Perhaps it is their business sagacity which makes them conservative in speculative thought. They are keenly alert for a safe investment, whether in a copper mine or a creed.

This conservatism of temper is, still further, reenforced by an inherited and persistent idealism. The German migration to the wilderness of America was but one of many enterprises of religious faith and moral protest.

Jesuit missionaries explored the continent to the Mississippi; English Puritanism conquered the sterile shores of New England; and these, and many other traditions of idealism stamped themselves upon the primitive type and still control the deeper issues of the nation. Commercial prosperity has, indeed, vulgarized and materialized many lives; but when any great decision of political morality or social progress confronts the American people, then the call of Idealism is still imperative and the heart of the nation proves itself sound. No popular leader can anticipate permanent acceptance in the United States unless he be — or be believed to be — supremely concerned with ideal ends; no cause can secure popular enthusiasm unless it address — or pretend to address — the conscience of the nation; and no discovery of foreign students of the United States within the last few years has been more surprising to these explorers, than the discovery beneath the coarse and boisterous commercialism of American life of its fundamental and refining Idealism. These traits of American civilization have led to a surprising effect of German thought on American theology. The influence has not operated as was once anticipated, or as is even now often believed. German learning is still vaguely imagined by great numbers of Americans to be radical and destructive, threatening theological peace as a formidable navy may seem to threaten the peace of the world. Timid teachers still warn their students against German tendencies and dissuade them from German teachers. "Schleiermacher"! once said a distinguished American theo-

logian in the Seminary which I have the honor of serving; — "Well called the veil-maker". And yet, it is not too much to say that the maintenance of a rational theology and a spiritual conception of Christianity in the United States — so far as these precious possessions may be gained by intellectual methods — is chiefly due to the influence of German theology and the leadership of German learning. If it were true, as has been often feared, that the American student seeking German masters is capricious and superficial, fond of novelty and paradox, a modern Athenian, concerned with "nothing else than to hear and to tell new things", then the liberty and daring of German thought might be a peril, like the exploration by an unskilled climber of some pathless and precipitous height. But if, on the other hand, the American character is steadied by native conservatism and inherited idealism, then such a student is peculiarly qualified to walk with a firm step along these dizzy heights. That is, in fact, precisely what has occurred. American students of philosophy and theology in Germany have not, as a rule, been swept away by temporary influences, and have not even kept pace with many modern movements of German criticism. They have found their conservatism and idealism satisfied by those great masters of the nineteenth century, whom some German students have come to regard as historical monuments rather than living inspirations. If one wishes, for example, to hear Hegel sympathetically interpreted, or to be led back to Kant, or to acquire a fresh enthusiasm for Schleiermacher, it may be doubted whether he will find this companionship any more intimately in German than in American lecture-rooms. The master most akin to the spirit of American idealism is the teacher and seer, whom the University of Berlin specially honors in this centenary year. The sanity and the passion of Fichte, his administrative wisdom and his social prophecy, his genius for abstraction and his summons to practical morality — all these traits conspire to perpetuate his influence on the ethical idealism of the Americans. Theology to them must be a moral theology, and its centre of gravity must be set, as with Fichte, not in the reason, nor the emotions, but in the determining significance of the will. To these calm heights of thought the thirsty minds of the American students still turn for the water of life. A great dry land of feverish commercialism and hot competition cannot be irrigated by any trickling stream of modern romanticism, or revived neo-paganism. It needs an ample reservoir of spiritual confidence, stored high up among the ideals of the race, and whatever other sources of refreshment may run dry, the springs of German insight remain un failing, and the stream of power flows down among the needs of the present age as though it repeated the ancient promise: "I am come that they may have life, and may have it abundantly."

REMARKS

OF PROF. EDWARD C. MOORE.

It is greatly to be regretted that Prof. Peabody is not here to deliver his own address which he had prepared. He himself has expressed to me deep disappointment in that fact. Shortly before I sailed he had, however, been advised by his physician not to take the journey at that particular time. So far as I know, however, he has it fully in mind to greet his Berlin friends in October, at which time he is to represent Harvard University in the celebration of the Hundred Years Jubilee of the Berlin University. He asked me to read you his paper, all the more because he knew that I felt upon my own part the deepest sense of indebtedness to German theology and German Science in general. I gladly consented to do so. I learned, however, upon arrival in the hall this morning that the paper had already been printed in the *Christliche Welt* and was in the hands of the members of the Congress, and because of the pressure for time, it seemed hardly advisable to read a paper which was already printed. The Presiding Officer, however, has asked me to say a brief word, in order that America might not appear at the moment to be unrepresented. I am glad to do that, although, of course, I should have been glad to have opportunity for preparation. It is not altogether an easy thing to do, especially if one is not fully master of the language. But in view of the papers which we have just heard, you will surely pardon me if I speak for but a few moments.

Perhaps what I have to say may be presented first and typically in the form of a personal reminiscence. Twenty-six years ago I came to Germany and settled in Giessen, meeting there in the first few days of my residence the Presiding Officer of this morning, Prof. Gustav Krüger, and entering then upon an acquaintance with him which has ripened into one of the most precious friendships of my life. We had both gone to Giessen to be with Harnack. I had been born and brought up in the Presbyterian Church, was of the Puritan inheritance and of pietistic leanings; at the same time, the total view of the world which I had inherited had largely vanished and what little was left of it had become most uncertain. It is not too much if I say that I owe to the winter which I spent in Giessen with Harnack, to the stimulus and guidance which I received from him, not merely an intellectual rejuvenation but one may almost say the saving of my soul. For, after all, the intellectual relations of faith are necessary and the period just previous had been to me one of profound disturbance and distress.

I said a moment ago that, in a way, this was typical. It is the experience of one man, but in some measure like it is the history of the people.

At the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, ancient Puritanism in America had declined. There were violent efforts to bolster it up, but no inconsiderable portion of the community fell a prey to Rationalism, either of the English or of the French form, and I do not know what would have become of us had not the influence of German idealism begun to make itself felt. This was first, no doubt, through Coleridge, who, to Americans as well as to Englishmen made the substance of the teaching of Kant and Schleiermacher known in the English tongue. But it was also through the fact that some American youth studied in Germany and that gradually German books of significance became known in America. The movement was slow, It is difficult for us to realise how remote the land then seemed, how formidable the journey was and how few Americans had knowledge of the German language. None the less, the great idealistic movement which was connected with the names of Kant and Schleiermacher, Schelling and Fichte made itself felt. The historical-critical interpretation of the Bible began to take the place of the supernaturalistic view which had before prevailed. The conflict was acute concerning the conception of the Bible and revelation about a generation ago. For a considerable portion of the nation, at any rate, that conflict may be said to be over. But we now perceive that that question was but one aspect of a far larger question, namely, the total question of the relation of man and God, of God and the world. The question of the sense in which we may believe in the supernatural at all, or of the sense in which, rather, we must believe in nature as supernatural and man divine, God dwelling in him and fulfilling his own purposes through him. There would arise numberless questions in which to this day our great leaders are the Germans and the best of our native leaders are those who have been trained in the German schools. It is not too much, therefore, if I say, both for myself and for my country, that we owe an unspeakable debt to German theology and German learning, for which we give heartfelt thanks to God.

LA DETTE DU PROTESTANTISME FRANÇAIS

ENVERS LA PIÉTÉ ET LA THÉOLOGIE DE L'ALLEMAGNE

G. BONET-MAURY.

Il faut écarter, d'abord, un préjugé: on a l'habitude, dans certain camp catholique romain, d'accuser le Protestantisme français d'être une importation étrangère, venue d'Allemagne ou d'Angleterre. Rien n'est plus contraire à la vérité historique. Le Protestantisme en France, c'est-à-dire la protestation de la conscience chrétienne contre la déformation du christianisme par l'église romaine, est bien antérieur à Luther, même à Jean Hus et aux influences d'Outre-Rhin. Sans parler de la protestation séculaire des Albigeois et des Vaudois, « cet Israël des Alpes », personne n'a soutenu les idées de réforme avec plus d'éclat que Saint-Bernard, Jean Gerson, Nicolas de Clamenges et les chefs de l'Eglise gallicane*). Bien plus, dès 1512, Lefèvre d'Étaples, professeur au Collège du Cardinal Lemoine (de l'Université de Paris), dans ses **Commentaires sur les Epîtres de Saint-Paul** énonçait le principe du salut par la foi.

Mais, après avoir fait cette réserve formelle, que la Réformation évangélique plonge ses racines, très profondément, dans le sol gallican, je n'hésite pas à reconnaître que nous devons beaucoup à l'Allemagne: avant tout à Luther, parce qu'il a sonné le coup de trompette, qui a stimulé le courage des Français, partisans de la réforme religieuse; en second lieu, aux Princes allemands qui, tant de fois sous le règne de François I et de ses successeurs, ont intercédé en faveur des Huguenots, victimes de la plus atroce persécution et qui, après la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes, ont accueilli nos Réfugiés. Il n'est que juste de rendre hommage au Grand Electeur de Brandebourg, **Frédéric Guillaume**.

On pourrait écrire, là-dessus, un volume pathétique, sous ce titre: « **Relation des Princes évangéliques d'Allemagne avec les Protestants français persécutés et exilés**** ». — Aujourd'hui, il faut me borner à

*) V. F. Rocquain: *L'esprit de Réforme avant Luther*, 2 volumes, et Bonet-Maury: *Les Précurseurs de la Réforme dans les pays latins*, Paris, 1902.

**) Quelques chapitres en ont été écrits par Ch. Weiss, dans son *histoire des Réfugiés protestants, depuis la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes jusqu'à nos jours*. Paris, 1853. 2 volumes et dans le bulletin du *Huguenotten Verein*, par H. Tollin.

dire en bref, ce que les protestants français doivent: à la vie religieuse et à la science théologique de l'Allemagne.

Vie religieuse. — Avant tout, il faut rappeler, qu'un groupe important de Protestants français se rattachent à la « Confession d'Augsbourg », et se réclament tout spécialement de Luther. Ils ont célébré en 1908, le centenaire de l'organisation de leurs églises en France, sous Napoléon Ier, et il résulte de l'exposé de leur vie religieuse qu'ils ont beaucoup reçu du luthéranisme allemand. Ceux d'Alsace ont donné un bel exemple de sagesse et de liberté de conscience; en effet, jamais la majorité orthodoxe n'a pu décider le Directoire supérieur à exclure de l'Eglise la minorité libérale, par voie d'autorité.

Or, ce n'est pas seulement l'Eglise de la Confession d'Augsbourg; mais encore toutes nos autres églises protestantes, réformées ou libres, qui ont fait des emprunts à la vie religieuse de l'Allemagne. Nous lui devons principalement quatre choses: 1o Un grand nombre de chants, aussi beaux par la mélodie que par l'inspiration religieuse; 2o Le réveil de la piété dans le midi de la France et en Alsace; 3o La Mission intérieure; 4o Les Diaconesses.

1o **Cantiques.** — Le chant est l'expression spontanée d'une puissante émotion patriotique ou religieuse. Il suffit de rappeler « La Marseillaise » improvisée au début de la « Révolution française », et le choral « Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott », qu'on a si bien surnommé la « Marseillaise de la Réformation luthérienne, (Cobourg, Juin 1530). Eh bien! ce cantique traduit en français, avec sa mélodie, a eu un tel succès, qu'il est devenu un des chants favoris des Protestants français; on l'exécute en chœur dans toutes nos fêtes religieuses*. L'Eglise luthérienne, sur ce point, a été la grande médiatrice. Dès l'année 1618, on publiait à Montbéliard, un recueil de cantiques, dont soixante-seize étaient traduits de l'allemand. En 1662, Balthazard Ritter, ci-devant chapelain de l'ambassade de Suède à Paris, y introduisit plusieurs autres cantiques, en usage dans l'Eglise française de Francfort-sur-Mein**. Les cantiques 8, 125, 187 et 210 du Recueil luthérien se chantent sur la mélodie de Jacques Prætorius (de Hambourg) *Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme*; les cantiques 87, 97, 113, 321 sur la mélodie de G. Neumark (Weimar) *Wer nur den lieben Gott läßt walten*.

Un grand nombre de nos cantiques réformés se chantent aussi sur des airs allemands ou moraves:

* On sait que Meyerber, tout Israélite qu'il fut, l'a introduit dans son célèbre opéra *Les Huguenots*.

** V. J. Viénot: *La Vie ecclésiastique à Montbéliard, au XVIIIe siècle*, Audincourt, 1895. Chapitre VI. Le Chant sacré.

Exemple: Le Cantique 129: « De quoi t'alarmes-tu, mon cœur », dont la poésie est d'Oberlin, se chante sur la mélodie de Severus Gastorius (Jéna 1673). **Was Gott thut, das ist wohlgetan.**

C. 31: « Brillante étoile du matin » est la traduction du cantique allemand: « **Wie schön leucht' uns der Morgenstern** », mélodie de Scheideman (Hambourg 1601).

C. 36 (Cant. Luth 54) « Chef couvert de blessures, » se chante sur une mélodie de Léon Hassler (1601) mise en choral par H. Schein.

C. 123 (Cant. Luth 231) « Jamais Dieu ne délaisse » est imité du cantique: « **Befiehl du deine Wege** », mélodie de Léon Hassler.

Il en est de même pour les cantiques 65 (Entonnons un Saint Cantique), 113, 125 (Aimons Dieu, j'abandonne), mélodie de Prätorius, 145, 147, 159 (Soleil de justice), 160, 246.

2^o **Réveil de la piété.** — Il y a, entre le chant et la vie religieuse, un rapport étroit, on ne s'étonnera donc pas que ce soient les Frères moraves, excellents crétiens, qui aient commencé à stimuler la piété en France, au début du XIX^e siècle. « C'étaient en général, dit Samuel Vincent, des gens paisibles qui dogmatisaient peu, plaçaient la religion dans l'amour, surtout dans l'amour de Jésus, et exerçaient un prosélytisme modéré. Ils ne cessèrent pas de se joindre au culte de notre temple, mais, dans leurs réunions, suivaient quelques formes du culte morave, et chantaient les cantiques de cette Société* ». Ils ont exercé leur influence dans le pays de Montbéliard et en Suisse romande, Ami Bost, l'un des « leaders » du Réveil genevois était un ancien élève des Moraves.

En Alsace, le Réveil de la vie religieuse n'a pas eu besoin de stimulants étrangers, il n'a eu qu'à s'inspirer des exemples et des écrits du fondateur du piétisme, Ph. Spener, qui était lui-même Alsacien. C'est à Strasbourg que le mouvement a commencé en 1831, avec le pasteur Härter, un ancien rationaliste. Celui-ci stimulé par Ami Bost, critiqua le rationalisme desséchant et y substitua une conception de la foi plus intime. Il fonda dans cette ville une foule d'œuvres de charité et de relèvement, et une maison de Diaconesses. Luthérien sans étroitesse, Härter collaborait avec tous ceux, même réformés qui entendaient la vie chrétienne à sa manière.

3^o **Mission intérieure et 4^o Diaconesses.** — Härter à Strasbourg, avait déjà fait de la mission intérieure, mais à partir de 1841, l'idéal tracé par Wichern (de Hambourg), inspira certainement le pasteur Louis Meyer, MM. Rumpf et A.-F. Krauss, laïques, quand ils organisèrent à Paris la Mission intérieure de la Confession d'Augsbourg. Bodelschwing, un peu plus tard, fonda à La Villette, un centre d'évangélisation fécond.

* Vues sur le Protestantisme français, chapitre XIX, du Méthodisme.

A son tour le pasteur Vermeil (ancien pasteur à Hambourg), fondait à Paris, une maison de Diaconesses qui est devenue florissante. Ce dernier, comme Härter, avait pris pour modèle l'institution fondée par Théodore Fliedner à Kaiserswerth (1836—38).

Science théologique. — Passons maintenant au domaine théologique. Ici, sans même remonter au-delà du début du XIXe siècle, notre dette envers l'Allemagne est considérable. Les premiers médiateurs, entre la science allemande et l'esprit français furent deux officiers d'artillerie français et un pasteur de la Cour de Berlin descendant de Huguenots.

Le premier, Charles de Villiers (1765-1815) était né à Boulay (Lorraine), d'une famille catholique et apparentée à celle de Jeanne Darc. Destiné à la carrière militaire, il fut élève de l'Ecole d'artillerie de Metz et envoyé comme lieutenant à Strasbourg. C'est là qu'il apprit l'allemand, le grec et l'hébreu (1782-91). Devenu suspect aux Jacobins par ses idées républicaines modérées, il s'enfuit en Allemagne jusqu'à Lübeck, où il se maria et fut appelé, ensuite, à une chaire de philosophie à Göttingen (1797). Villiers était donc bien préparé pour les circonstances de sa vie, à servir d'intermédiaire entre les deux pays. Bien plus, ce rôle lui fut proposé par un groupe de Protestants français, qu'il rencontra à Paris (1801). La baronne de Staël, Benjamin Constant et l'illustre créateur de la paléontologie, Georges Cuvier, désolés de voir l'indifférence et le discrédit où les croyances chrétiennes étaient tombées en France, l'engagèrent à « faire reflorir la religion en France par les idées allemandes (sic) ». Et notre capitaine d'artillerie, avec une décision toute militaire, accepta ce rôle et se mit aussitôt en campagne. Cette année même, il publiait à Metz deux volumes sur la **Philosophie de Kant (1801)**. L'année suivante, le jour même où notre ministre Portalis (5 avril 1802) faisait au Corps législatif son célèbre discours sur l'organisation des Cultes, la classe des Sciences morales et politiques de l'Institut, mettait au concours le sujet suivant: **Quel a été l'esprit de la Réformation de Luther? Quelle influence a-t-elle exercé sur la situation politique et sur le progrès des lumières en Europe?**

Charles de Villiers concourut et obtint le prix (1803). Son livre, très bien documenté fut aussitôt traduit en plusieurs langues et eut jusqu'à 1832, cinq éditions; il a grandement contribué à modifier le jugement qu'on portait dans la France catholique sur la Réformation allemande. Encouragé par ce succès, il publia coup sur coup: un **Coup d'oeil sur les Universités et le mode d'instruction publique de l'Allemagne protestante** (Cassel, 1808), qui était dédié à Jérôme, roi de Westphalie, et **Coup d'oeil sur l'état actuel de la littérature et de l'histoire en Allemagne** (Amsterdam et Paris, 1809). Dans ce dernier, à propos de la littérature

Orientale et de l'histoire ecclésiastique, Villiers signalait au public français, l'importance des travaux d'Eichhorn, de Michaëlis, de Bretschneider, de Plank, de Wette...

C'est aussi à Strasbourg qu'un autre français, **Saint-Martin*** (Louis-Claude), 1743-1830, dit le « Philosophe inconnu », était venu apprendre l'allemand, afin de s'initier aux idées de J. Bœhme, né à Amboise (Touraine), d'une famille catholique dévote, il était entré aussi dans la carrière militaire. Il était enclin au mysticisme et fut d'abord l'adepte de la théosophie du Juif portugais, Martinez Pasqualis. Il passa à Strasbourg les années 1788 à 1791, en rapport avec Jung-Stelling, avec le baron de Liebisdorf; mais c'est surtout à Mme Boecklin, une strasbourgeoise, qu'il attribue sa connaissance du théosophe de Gœrlitz. C'est avec son aide qu'il traduisit les ouvrages suivants: **L'Aurore naissante** ou la racine de la philosophie, l'astrologie et la théologie. Paris 1800. 2 volumes in-8; **Trois principes de l'essence divine** ou de l'éternel, sans engendrement d'origine de l'homme. Paris 1802; 2 volumes. La version des **Quarante questions de l'Ame**, Paris 1807 et de la **Triple vie de l'homme**, selon le mystère des trois principes de la manifestation divine. Paris 1809. Ces versions se propagèrent assez vite chez les Protestants français; nous en avons retrouvé des exemplaires dans la bibliothèque de l'église de Monneaux (Aisne). Saint-Martin a, en faisant connaître chez nous les écrits du grand mystique, contribué au progrès d'une religion plus intime et du spiritualisme en France.

Vers la même époque, **Ancillon (Jean-Frédéric)** (1807-1837), le célèbre prédicateur de la Cour de Berlin, sous le règne de Frédéric Guillaume III, faisait aussitôt profiter les Protestants de sa patrie d'origine du fruit de ses veilles. Né à Berlin, d'une famille de Réfugiés messins, il vint deux fois à Paris, en 1789 et 1816. On appréciait beaucoup, dans son église, ses **Sermons français prononcés à l'Eglise des Réfugiés de Berlin**. Notre célèbre Fr. Guizot ne dédaigna pas de traduire et d'annoter son livre « **Ueber Souverainität und Staats-Verfassung** (1818).**

Nous en extrayons cette maxime sur l'union nécessaire de la religion et de la liberté, qui s'applique si bien au Congrès de Berlin: « Le besoin de la vraie Liberté et de la vraie Religion est immortel comme la nature humaine. Ce besoin ne saurait s'éteindre, quand même les peuples auraient été mille fois trompés par de faux simulacres de Religion et de Liberté. Mais il faut poursuivre, découvrir, signaler ces simulacres trompeurs, car ce sont les plus grands ennemis de la Société, et

* V. M. Matter: **Saint-Martin. le philosophe inconnu**, Paris, 1862.

** P. 119, de la **Souveraineté et Constitution du Gouvernement**, Traduction de Guizot.

ils en deviennent souvent le fléau. Il y a, en fait de Liberté comme de Religion, une superstition et un fanatisme également funestes à la liberté véritable comme à la vraie foi.»

La baronne de Staël-Holstein (1766-1817), plus connue sous le nom de Madame de Staël, fut, sinon la première, du moins la plus brillante et la plus enthousiaste médiatrice de la philosophie et de la théologie allemandes en France. Les rapports politiques entre les deux pays s'étaient tendus et, tandis qu'en 1808, Jérôme Bonaparte acceptait la dédicace du livre de Ch. de Villiers sur les Universités d'Allemagne, Napoléon, en 1810, donnait l'ordre au ministre de la police, de saisir chez l'imprimeur et détruire 10.000 exemplaires de l'ouvrage de Mme de Staël sur l'Allemagne, et signifiait à elle un ordre d'expulsion. Tout son crime, aux yeux de l'empereur, était d'avoir osé louer les vertus familiales et les qualités des écrivains et philosophes d'Outre-Rhin. On sait que Bonaparte méprisait les idéologues. Mais, le despotisme n'a jamais pu tuer les idées; d'ailleurs, les livres défendus ont toujours eu beaucoup d'attrait pour les Français. L'ouvrage de Mme de Staël a survécu à la puissance de Napoléon, et a fait beaucoup, après le livre de Villiers, pour faire mieux comprendre et, donc, apprécier davantage les idées religieuses de l'Allemagne. Mentionnons entr'autres la 2e partie où l'auteur met en relief G. Lessing, comme champion d'un christianisme libéral et analyse les livres de Kant sur la critique de la raison. Dans sa 4e partie, elle mentionne les œuvres des mystiques: Lavater, Novalis, et la première, elle signala au public français les discours du docteur Schleiermacher sur la religion: « Il n'est pas non plus, dit-elle, un théologien orthodoxe, mais il combat l'indifférence qu'on appelait tolérance. Il montre dans les dogmes, qu'il adopte, de la force de croyance et une grande vigueur de conception métaphysique. Il a développé, avec beaucoup de chaleur et de clarté, le sentiment de l'infini. On pourrait appeler ses opinions une « théologie philosophique ».

La postérité a ratifié ce jugement porté en 1810, par Mme de Staël, et nous avons le droit de dire que nos Congrès prolongent la tendance de Schleiermacher dans le domaine religieux.

Tandis que Napoléon I, par sa passion des conquêtes, soulevait l'une contre l'autre, deux nations faites pour se comprendre, « une alliance, ou plutôt, comme dit Alexandre Vinet, une conciliation se négociait en dehors de lui: il s'agissait de mettre en rapport l'esprit français avec la science germanique. Stapfer (Philippe-Albert) fut, avec Ancillon, un des signataires du traité. »

Qu'était-ce que ce Stapfer? Un Suisse, né à Berne (1766-1840), ancien ministre de la Confédération Suisse auprès du Consulat, qui avait étudié à Göttingen, mais s'était fixé ensuite à Paris: « C'était,

did Vinet, surtout dans l'intérêt de la religion qu'il voulait conquérir pour la France, cette rive gauche du Rhin*, que la pensée à défaut de la politique, redemandait sans cesse», Stapfer, présenta tour à tour au public français, dans des articles substantiels de la « **Biographie universelle** », les principaux savants allemands: le philologue Adelung (art. de 1811), Büsching, l'auteur d'une curieuse histoire des églises luthériennes en pays slave (1812), Kant (1818), J. David Michaëlis, le grand orientaliste et théologien de Göttingen (1821). D'autre part, l'un des pasteurs de l'Église réformée de Paris, Jean Monod, ami de F. Ancillon, ayant publié une version du livre de F.-V. Reinhard, intitulé: « **Geständnisse meine Predigt und meine Bildung zum Prediger betreffend** », Paris 1816; Stapfer y ajouta une notice raisonnée sur les écrits et le système moral de l'auteur.

Jusque là, c'étaient Strasbourg et Paris, qui avaient servi d'intermédiaire pour ce commerce d'idées: maintenant, nous allons voir entrer en scène Nîmes, la métropole du protestantisme languedocien.

C'est à deux jeunes pasteurs: Samuel Vincent et Ferdinand Fontanès, que revient l'honneur d'avoir été, de 1820 à 1831, les médiateurs les plus intelligents entre l'Allemagne et la France. Ils étaient, d'ailleurs, bien secondés, par des professeurs de la Faculté de théologie de Strasbourg, qui leur signalaient les ouvrages récemment publiés, et leur faisaient envoyer le Catalogue semestriel de la librairie de Leipzig. S. Vincent fonda les « **Mélanges de religion, morale et critique Sacrée** » (1820-25), qui fut repris en 1829-31 sous le titre de « **Religion et Christianisme** ». On y trouve des analyses des principaux livres de théologie de l'époque, la « **Geschichte der theologischen Wissenschaft** (Göttingen, 1811), de Stäudlin; le Manuel de la dogmatique, de Bretschneider (1814-1818); l'introduction à l'Ancien Testament, d'Eichorn (1821); la *Théologische N. Z.*, de Schleiermacher; des notices nécrologiques sur Blessig, Jean Tzschirner. Stimulés par ces articles, quelques-uns de nos pasteurs entreprenaient la traduction d'ouvrages allemands: Alphonse Diacon (de Genève) traduisit l'« **Histoire du Christianisme et de la Vie chrétienne** », de Neander (Paris et Genève 1829), Théophile Bost traduisit la « **Sainteté parfaite de Jésus** », par Ulmann, et Ami Bost, l'« **Histoire générale du Christianisme** », de Blumhard. Le « **Semeur** », journal bi-hebdomadaire, qui paraissait à Paris (depuis 1831 à 36), publia aussi quelques extraits d'ouvrages allemands; par exemple de la vie de Luther, de Lavater, de Herschell, mais il avait un caractère surtout apologétique et Vinet, son principal rédacteur, avait alors les yeux tournés vers l'Angleterre plutôt que vers l'Allemagne.

* Notice sur la vie de Ph.-Alb. Stapfer, en tête de ses *Mélanges*, Paris, 1844.

Cependant, les **Mélanges** de Vincent de Fontanès avaient attiré sur la théologie allemande l'attention de nos savants. Même en dehors du clergé protestant; ils avaient été une révélation pour beaucoup d'entre eux qui, à ne juger que d'après la théologie catholique, se figuraient que la théologie était immuable et incompatible avec le progrès scientifique. En conséquence, on assista alors à un spectacle nouveau, inouï en France: des laïques s'occupant de questions religieuses.

Le premier de ces théologiens laïques fut **Edgar Quinet** (1803). Il avait lu, à la bibliothèque nationale de Paris, les écrits de Herder dont l'esprit exerça sur lui une influence décisive: « Jamais, a-t-il assuré, il ne m'est arrivé de le quitter, sans avoir une idée plus élevée de la mission de l'homme, sans croire plus profondément au règne de la justice et de la raison ». Ce fut par lui, qu'il comprit le génie germanique, et se sentit attiré en Allemagne où il demeura de 1826 à 1837. Il y noua des relations avec Creutzer, l'auteur de la *Symbolique*; traduisit en français les « **Ideen zur Philosophie der Menschheit** », et publia son « **Essai sur Herder** » (1827), ces publications eurent en France des échos sympathiques et décidèrent quelques écrivains à fonder une **Nouvelle Revue germanique** (Paris et Strasbourg, 1829-36). Cette revue, tout en ayant un caractère classique, rendit compte de plusieurs ouvrages théologiques, tel que l'**Allgemeine Religions-Lehre**, de Schreiber; les **Lettres sur la Religion et la Politique**, de Tzschirner (Leipzig et Strasbourg, 1838), et les **Beiträge zur Geschichte der Reformation**, de A. Jung (Strasbourg, 1840).

Cette publication ayant cessé en 1836, fut reprise vingt-deux ans après par deux Alsaciens: Aug. Nefftzer* et Ch. Dolfuss (1858). Le premier se chargea du bulletin théologique et signala entr'autre le « **Bibelwerk** », de Bunsen, et les travaux de Lücke sur la littérature apocalyptique. Ernest Renan, de son côté, y faisait le tableau des études philologiques et orientales en Allemagne. Michel Nicolas (de Montauban), y résumait les travaux de la critique biblique en Allemagne.

Cet intérêt pour les choses religieuses protestantes gagnait même des milieux, qui s'étaient montrés jusque là hostiles au Protestantisme, les Saint-Simoniens. Le P. Enfantin ravi de trouver dans Lessing un argument en faveur de sa thèse d'un **Nouveau Christianisme**, et de la nécessité du progrès des religions, fit traduire et publier « **L'Éducation du genre humain** » de cet illustre précurseur du Protestantisme libéral (1832).

D'autre part, Edgar Quinet, dans la **Revue des deux Mondes** (1838), et Littré, le philologue et publiciste médical, signalaient au public français,

* C'est le même qui fonda, en 1860, à Paris, le journal « **Le Temps** », qui se plaça bientôt au 1er rang de la presse indépendante et libérale et a pour rédacteurs, Aug. Sabatier et E.-J. Roberly.

a **Vie de Jésus**, par D.-F. Strauss; le second en donnait une version française excellente et qui eut un grand retentissement (1839). Quelques années après, Guignaut et Alfred Maury traduisaient la Symbolique, de Creutzer, qui fut, chez nous le point de départ de la science des religions comparées (1847-51). Henri Martin, dans l'introduction à la traduction du « *Gott in der Geschichte* », de Bunsen et le soussigné dans une thèse de Strasbourg, intitulée, « **Bunsen, un prophète des temps modernes** » (1868), recommandaient l'ancien ambassadeur de Prusse à Rome et à Londres comme un théologien libéral et planant au-dessus de l'esprit sectaire.

Enfin, Ernest Renan est le plus éminent de ces théologiens laïques, qui durent beaucoup aux travaux de la science germanique, mais, avant d'en venir à son œuvre, qui est considérable, il nous faut exposer les travaux de l'École de Strasbourg et d'Édouard Reuss, auxquels Renan est grandement redevable.

La Revue de Strasbourg (1850-70). — En effet, depuis le milieu du XIXe siècle, ce fut la « **Revue de théologie et philosophie chrétienne** » * de Strasbourg, qui pratiqua avec le plus de talent cet échange d'idées et de découvertes religieuses entre les deux pays. Ce rôle de Strasbourg n'était pas nouveau: dès l'aurore de la Réformation, c'est là que Lambert d'Avignon traduisait les écrits de Luther, pour les répandre en France, et que S. de Hohenlohe entretenait une correspondance avec Marguerite de Navarre, un sujet de la réforme de l'église. C'est là, que Calvin, pendant son exil de Genève, fut en relation intime avec les réformateurs allemands de cette ville. A Bucer, il emprunta sa belle confession des péchés et fit beaucoup d'emprunts à la liturgie allemande de Strasbourg. En 1850, ce rôle fut repris par deux jeunes théologiens, Timothée Colani, fils d'un pasteur français, originaire de l'Engadine, et Eug. Scherer, professeur de la Faculté libre de Genève**. La Revue, ayant pour objet, le libre développement de la pensée chrétienne, n'avait d'autre lien entre ses rédacteurs que l'amour de la liberté et une foi profonde au Christ et en la vérité. C'est cette foi qui stimulait leur zèle dans les recherches et qui fit vivre la Revue pendant vingt années. Les articles, tout en ayant un cachet original, s'efforcèrent de traduire à l'usage de notre public les résultats des travaux de la critique biblique en Allemagne.

La cessation de la « **Revue de Strasbourg** » (1869) n'interrompit pas le mouvement théologique, en France, qu'elle avait si énergique-

* En 1848, elle prit le nom de « Nouvelle Revue de théologie », et en 1863, celui de « Revue de théologie ».

** Ils eurent pour collaborateurs principaux: E. Renan, Charles Secrétan, Colenso, Michel Nicolas, Albert Réville.

ment provoqué. La plupart de ses collaborateurs continuèrent isolément chacun dans sa spécialité, les critiques, dans l'exégèse et la critique biblique; les mystiques de leur côté, s'efforcèrent de développer la psychologie religieuse.

Pour les critiques, Edouard Reuss (1804-1834), élève de Silvestre de Sacy et Gésenius, mérite une place à part parmi ces théologiens de l'Ecole française de Strasbourg. Ses livres sur l'« **Histoire de la théologie chrétienne au siècle apostolique** » (1852), sur l'« **Histoire du Canon des Santes Ecritures** » (1862), et surtout son admirable **Bibelwerk** en français (1879. 12 volumes in-8o), non seulement ont vulgarisé dans notre clergé protestant, les éléments de la Critique sacrée; mais ont pénétré jusque dans les séminaires catholiques et les milieux laïques, où ils ont conquis une légitime influence.

Sous cette vigoureuse impulsion venue, de Strasbourg, la **Revue des deux Mondes** et d'autres périodiques ou éditeurs non protestants, accueillirent souvent des articles sur des sujets de théologie allemande. Ernest Renan, dès 1855, y rendait compte des ouvrages d'Ewald, le nouvel historien du peuple d'Israël. En 1863, il ouvrait la série de ses volumes sur les **Origines du christianisme**, par cette **Vie de Jésus**, qui n'eut pas moins de retentissement en France, que celle de Strauss n'en avait eu dix-huit ans auparavant en Allemagne. Soit dans ses introductions à ces sept volumes, soit dans la préface à son **Histoire du peuple d'Israël** (1886-94) qui fut son « chant de cygne », il reconnut tout ce qu'il devait aux travaux des Baur, des Zeller, des Wegscheider, etc.

Dans la même revue, Albert Réville faisait connaître les études de l'école de Tübingen, sur les origines du Christianisme (1863), la version du psautier juif par Ed. Reuss (1871) et les recherches de Roskoff, professeur à Vienne, sur la légende du Diable (1870).

De son côté, Ernest Fontanès, fils d'un des fondateurs des « Mélanges » de Nîmes et l'éloquent prédicateur du protestantisme libéral, publiait son « **Christianisme moderne** » (1867). Reprenant les indications de Mme de Staël, il y étudiait Lessing, comme théologie, comme critique et comme champion de la tolérance. Le comparant à Voltaire, son contemporain qu'il avait d'ailleurs connu; Fontanès avait montré qu'il lui était supérieur, parce qu'il avait su dégager la pure idée chrétienne des formules de l'orthodoxie et des subtilités du dogme*.

En 1854, Edmond de Pressensé, effrayé des conclusions radicales d'Eug. Scherer dans la **Revue de Strasbourg**, s'était séparé de lui, pour fonder la **Revue chrétienne**, qui subsiste encore.

* Comp. l'art. de Ch. Dolfuss sur G. Lessing, dans la *Revue germanique* de janvier 1860.

« La théologie, disait-il dans son programme, doit pousser à sonder les choses divines. . . elle procède de la vie chrétienne, l'amour ayant le désir de toujours mieux connaître son objet. Ce noble besoin n'est pas seulement dans la tête, mais dans le cœur ». Il groupait autour de lui des écrivains de talent, Ch. Secretan, Lutteroth, Hollard, Jean Monod, Eug. Bersier. Ce groupe correspond à ce qu'on appelle en Allemagne la **Vermittelungs-Theologie**. C'est un jeune professeur de Strasbourg, Fritz Lichtenberger, qui rendit compte dans cette Revue des publications théologiques allemandes; plusieurs articles ont été reproduits dans sa belle **Histoire des idées religieuses en Allemagne**, depuis le milieu du XVIIIe siècle jusqu'à nos jours, Paris, 1873, 3 volumes in-80.

C'est de ce milieu que sortirent les deux hommes qui ont présidé à la fondation de l'Ecole de théologie protestante de Paris, F. Lichtenberger et Aug. Sabatier. Héritiers des traditions de l'ancienne Ecole française de Strasbourg, où ils avaient été professeurs, ils entreprirent, avant tout, de faire l'inventaire des résultats acquis par les théologiens, et le publièrent sous ce titre de **Encyclopédie des Sciences religieuses** (1877-82, 13 volumes). Dans sa préface, Lichtenberger reconnaissait tout ce qu'il avait emprunté à la **Real-Encyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche**, de Herzog et il déclarait qu'il avait eu pour idéal: « d'unir l'ardeur du sentiment religieux à l'indépendance de la pensée, soumise aux lois de la Science ». N'est-ce pas le même idéal, que poursuivent les nobles initiateurs de ce Congrès de libre christianisme?

F. Lichtenberger fut le premier doyen de notre Faculté de théologie protestante de Paris, fondée en 1877 par le ministre W. Waddington, gendre de Lutteroth et qui a fait partie intégrante de l'Université de Paris, jusqu'à la Séparation de l'Etat et des Eglises (1905). Le plus bel hommage lui a été rendu par M. Lippmann, professeur à la Faculté des Sciences, quand il a dit d'elle dans son Rapport au Conseil de l'Université: « La Faculté de théologie protestante n'a jamais cessé de faire le plus grand honneur à l'Université de Paris ».

J'ajouterai seulement qu'elle s'est acquis un titre spécial à l'és-time des penseurs religieux, par le fait qu'elle a toujours montré une grande indépendance dogmatique.

Auguste Sabatier, qui fut notre second doyen et a jeté sur elle un si vif éclat, par son talent d'enseignement, ses ouvrages et son **Esquisse sur la philosophie de la Religion**, nous a souvent assuré combien il était redevable, pour le développement de ses principaux écrits, à Schleiermacher, à Rothe et à Lipsius. Eugène Ménégoz, sorti du camp luthérien, se reconnaît disciple de Thomasius, de Schürer et de Holtzmann et de Harnack. A eux deux, ils ont fondé cette **Ecole symbolo-fidéiste**, qui sépare nettement la religion de la théologie, attribue le salut, non

das à telle ou telle croyance dogmatique, mais à un sentiment d'union intime en Dieu par J.-C. Edmond Stapfer, le troisième doyen, s'avouait aussi, pour son livre sur la « Palestine au temps de J.-C. », grandement débiteur de votre Schürer. Enfin, Jean Réville, le digne continuateur des travaux de son père Albert, acclimatait en France les travaux de Gebhart et Harnack sur les Pères apostoliques et sur les origines de l'épiscopat. Nos hébraïsants, qui sont MM. Ph. Berger, Lods, ont aussi beaucoup appris des travaux de Welhausen.

En somme, on n'exagère pas en disant que la vie religieuse et la science théologique des notre pays ont été stimulés et fécondés par l'influence de l'Allemagne. Dans le premier domaine, nous lui devons les meilleurs éléments de notre chant d'église, en partie, le réveil de la piété intime et mystique et, enfin, plusieurs œuvres excellentes de la mission intérieure et de l'assistance aux malades.

Mais, c'est surtout, la théologie et la philosophie française qui ont reçu une puissante impulsion des penseurs germaniques, avant tout de Herder, Kant et Schleiermacher; Baur, Rothe et Lipsius, pour ne parler que des morts. Mais nos plus éminents théologiens, depuis Quinet jusqu'à Sabatier, sont allés s'asseoir au pied de la chaire des professeurs allemands; et tout en s'appropriant la moëlle de leur pensée, ils l'ont clarifiée et adaptée aux besoins de l'esprit français. C'est sous leur influence, que nos théologiens, qui au commencement du siècle et même à l'époque (1835-81) du Réveil, professaient l'orthodoxie calviniste ou luthérienne la plus surannée, se sont peu à peu affranchis de ces jugs et ont conquis la glorieuse liberté de l'esprit. Par le fait même, qu'ils séparaient soigneusement la religion de la théologie, ils ont retrempe la première à sa vraie source, l'esprit et le cœur de Jésus, et contribué à un réveil de la piété intime et vivante.

On a souvent reproché à la théologie d'être un artisan de haine et de discorde, et il faut avouer que, dans le passé, elle n'a pas été exempte de ce reproche; mais depuis un quart de siècle, animée d'un meilleur esprit, l'esprit de liberté, elle a souvent rapproché les hommes par-dessus les frontières de race et de nationalité. La célébration du jubilé, de Calvin, l'an dernier, à Prague, à Genève et à Paris a été une manifestation éclatante de ce sentiment de solidarité protestante. Et, aujourd'hui, la présence d'un bon nombre de Français à Berlin, n'est-elle pas la preuve que la théologie, cultivée dans un esprit libéral, peut servir de trait d'union entre des hommes qui ne séparent pas l'amour de leur Patrie, du progrès et de la paix de l'Humanité?

WHAT RELIGIOUS LIBERALS OF AUSTRALASIA OWE TO GERMANY.

BY REV. W. TUDOR JONES, PH. D., OF LONDON.

In February 1906 I went to New Zealand as representative of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, to found a Unitarian Church in Wellington and to preach and lecture in other important centres of the Islands. I returned to England at the end of April 1910 after an absence of four years. On my way home I visited the chief centres of Australia — Sydney, Melbourne, and Adelaide — and delivered several lectures in each of these cities.

In four years many opportunities presented themselves to me of seeing what Religious Liberals in Australasia owe to Germany.

The influence of Germany has been felt: (a) through the Universities and Theological Colleges, and (b) through the pulpit.

(a) There are four Universities in Australia: Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide and Perth. In connection with several of these, theological Halls belonging to various denominations are affiliated.

In New Zealand there is one University made up of four University Colleges at Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin. Theological Halls are affiliated with several of these Colleges. The Theological Halls prepare candidates for the ministry. These candidates generally attend courses at the Universities and many of them graduate there. The staffs of the University and of the theological Halls are quite distinct. The theological teaching is in the hands of the Professors at the Halls; the teaching in other subjects is in the hands of the University Professors. Most of the candidates for the ministry attend the courses in Philosophy at the University. The Professors are largely drawn from Great Britain, and are men who have graduated with high honours at one or other of the British Universities. This means, that such men are well-equipped in their particular subjects. The Professors of Philosophy are acquainted with the works of the great German Philosophers of the past and the present. However narrow the training of the young candidate at the Theological College may be, the influence

of the philosophical teaching at the University is bound to exercise a liberating influence on the student. Any young student who is taken through honours courses in Kant and Hegel cannot of necessity be narrow and dogmatic when he enters the pulpit. Several ministers in Australia and New Zealand have been deeply influenced in this manner by the philosophical teaching at the University, and have accordingly modified very largely the theological conceptions of their boyhood and of their church. Such men have become aware of a deeper meaning of religion than is to be found in traditional theology or in a rigid adherence to the letter of the Bible. They know that the human mind, through its own activity, has something to say even in religion. Struggling with the meaning of religion as given by such men as Kant, Hegel, Lotze, Eucken, and others, the young student of theology realises that religion is far larger and vaster than the theological Professors would make him believe. Such a teaching at the Universities has modified already the harsher tones of the preaching, and has brought a more philosophical note into it; — a note which is none other than the conception of religion as a metaphysic of the Present. I am looking forward with interest to great work being done by philosophers of the type of Professor William Mitchell of the University of Adelaide.

(2) Important changes have taken place within the last few years in several of the Theological Colleges, and more changes still will be visible in the near future. In the Presbyterian Theological College at Dunedin, N.Z., several years ago, Dr. Salmon was transferred from the Theological Hall to the University on account of his advanced views on Evolution. Dr. Salmon has trained several able students from the University of Otago, Dunedin, and these are to-day occupying pulpits in various parts of Australia and New Zealand. The Professor is now in his 80th year, but teaches still. He has been all his life-time a faithful student of German Theology and Philosophy. His knowledge of German religious and philosophical literature is very extensive, probably more so than that of anyone else South of the Equator.

But on the whole the newer aspects of Theology and Religion are only just beginning to be in evidence at the Theological Halls. Several of the professors are now advanced in age, and visit the Old World but seldom. And yet they are forced to move. They proclaim themselves to be acquainted with the newest and most important theological literature of Germany. But I am under the impression that a newer type of men is necessary. And this is what is being done: When an old Professor dies or retires a young minister from Great Britain is generally appointed. Such a man receives the appointment on the recommendation of some eminent theologians in Great Britain. The appointment

of the Rev. John Dickie, B.A. to the chair of Theology at Dunedin, N. Z. is a proof of my statement. Mr. Dickie is a brilliant young scholar of the New Testament. He has studied under Professor Jülicher at Marburg, and is thoroughly acquainted with all the best work that is issued in Germany to-day. Besides this he has written several articles in Professor Allan Menzies's Journal "The Review of Philosophy and Theology". These articles show that Mr. Dickie is a man who knows the present-day problems of Theology and who sees the necessity of theological reconstruction. Doubtless the students for the ministry in New Zealand will receive during the next few years a training of immense value under Mr. Dickie, and they will be made acquainted with the writings of the great liberal religious leaders of Germany.

(3) The history of the theological and religious literature of Germany in Australasia is a subject of great interest, but time forbids more than a few words in connection with it.

The remarkable translations of German theological works issued during the past twenty-five years have exercised an immense influence. The books are to be found in the public libraries, the University libraries, the libraries of the Theological Halls, and ministers' libraries. This fact is probably more prevalent than in Great Britain.

A large number of German works on Theology and Religion translated into English have been issued by Messrs. T. & T. Clark of Edinburgh. It is true that the position occupied by most of the authors of these books is conservative, for it has often been the habit with some orthodox publishers in Great Britain that when a theological work is on the point of dying in Germany it is time to translate it into English. The book is then old enough to be safe.

But this is not true of all the books. Notable exceptions published by the above-named firm are some of the writings of Professor H. H. Wendt of Jena. Professor Wendt is probably the most widely-read German author in Australasia. It is impossible to over-estimate the influence of his "Lehre Jesu" on the ministers of Australia and New Zealand. I have come across the book in the most out-of-the-way districts in New Zealand. It has been and is to-day a great factor in the theological reconstruction which is going on in Australasia. Mention must also be made of the great influence of the late Professor Beyschlag's "Introduction to the theology of the New Testament". Lotze's "Mikrokosmos" is known to a large number of ministers, and many a minister has struggled with its difficult meaning in those far-away Islands of the Pacific Ocean.

At a later period came the translations of the well known firm of Messrs. Williams and Norgate and of the British and Foreign Uni-

tarian Association. The writings of Wendt had prepared the way for the writings of Harnack. Harnack's "Das Wesen des Christentums" is known everywhere. Although probably as yet the majority of the ministers of the various denominations have not accepted its point of view, yet, I believe, they are on the way to it, and are intensely interested in it. Besides Professor Harnack, Professors Hermann, Jülicher, von Soden, Delitzsch, Bousset, Weinel, Wernle, von Dobschütz, Otto, Krüger and other German theological writers are well known. These writings are to be found in the large booksellers' shops in the chief towns and their contents are read with avidity. The German writers in "Hastings Dictionary of the Bible" and in the "Encyclopaedia Biblica" are also known.

All these writings are to-day exercising a profound influence on the theology of ministers and laymen in Australasia. The majority of young ministers are acquainted with the results of the criticism of the Old Testament. These results they have adopted. But they have not as yet faced New Testament problems with the same eagerness and courage. But a beginning is witnessed in this latter direction, and we may safely predict fundamental changes in the view of young ministers during the next ten years. Germany will have helped much more than England to bring this change about.

When we turn to the Philosophy of Religion I find that the writings of the great German Philosophers are well known. Probably the best-known writers are Hegel, Lotze, Paulsen, Wundt, Eucken and Münsterberg.

Hegel has been carried to the Islands of the Southern Seas by the Scottish Presbyterian ministers who emigrated there. Many of these ministers were educated at the University of Glasgow under the brothers Caird — the two great exponents of Hegelianism in Great Britain. The writings of Hegel have affected their thought and preaching in rendering them more metaphysical. For it is certainly true that although many of these Presbyterian ministers still hold to the miraculous and mythical in Christianity, this takes a secondary place to the conception of the Christian Religion as being largely a religious metaphysic. The secondary element in Christianity will through the growth of a Christian Metaphysic of the Present fall away as a withered leaf has to make room for the coming bud.

A great deal of work has been accomplished in Great Britain in connection with the writings of Lotze. This work has been carried South, and has helped to give a more scientific tone to Theology than was possible through the writings of Hegel.

The writings of Professor Wundt are coming prominently forward through the excellent American translations which have appeared during the past few years. The same is true of the writings of the good and lamented Paulsen. The writings of Professor Hugo Münsterberg (of Harvard) are read by many ministers and appreciated as yet probably only by a few. That there is a great future for his "Philosophie der Werte" I feel confident. Mention should be made of the large sale of the English editions of Nietzsche. These seem to appeal very strongly to many readers in a young country like New Zealand.

But the most widely read German teacher of Religion at the present time is Professor Rudolf Eucken of Jena. The value of Eucken's writings was recognised about twelve years ago in New Zealand by a young schoolmaster of the name of Dr. John Smyth, who is at present one of the Directors of Education in Australia. Dr. Smyth published a book entitled "Truth and Reality" which was based very largely on Eucken's „Kampf um einen geistigen Lebensinhalt“; I found in New Zealand and Australia the greatest interest shown in Eucken's works. I lectured for nine months on his Philosophy of Religion in Wellington, the Capital of New Zealand, to 150 men and women. Many of these walked miles to the lectures, often through torrents of rain. In Australia I found the same ready response. My lectures on Eucken's Philosophy were attended in the chief cities of Australia by very large audiences of the most prominent citizens belonging to various denominations and to no denomination. In some cases a charge was made for admission, and yet large audiences assembled everywhere.

Dr. Charles Strong of the Australian Church, Melbourne, through the pulpit and his journal "The Commonweal", has done much to make known the writings of the great German scholars of the present. Dr. Strong was an eminent Presbyterian minister, but was expelled from his church on account of his supposed heretical views. He started a church of his own in the city of Melbourne. It has had a great liberating influence on Australian thought. Dr. Strong clings bravely to his post in the midst of great difficulties. He preaches from Sunday to Sunday a Christianity free from creed, dogma, or miracle, and deals with the spiritual meaning of the gospel of Jesus. This is not done to any large extent by any other church in Australia or New Zealand, with the exception of the Unitarian Church.

The ministers of the Unitarian churches in Australia and New Zealand have been taught the necessity of freedom in theology. This they have learned in the Unitarian Colleges in England. They value this freedom, and have suffered much for it, and their days of isolation are not yet over. These Unitarian Churches are centres of in-

tellectual and moral activity. They are composed mainly of men and women who have failed to find religion in the traditional theology of the churches. The ministers are well-equipped; they can read German; some of them have studied at German Universities, and probably know more about modern German theology and philosophy than not a few ministers in Germany itself. These men are doing a great work for freedom of thought in those far-off Islands. They, together with all men and women who care for the things of the spirit, can never feel too grateful for the impetus they have received and do receive from the great religious teachers of your Fatherland.

time is Professor Rudolph Bultmann of Jena. The value of Bultmann's work was recognised about twelve years ago in New Zealand by a young scholar under the name of Dr. John Smyth, who is at present one of the Directors of Education in Australia. Dr. Smyth published a book entitled "Faith and Reality" which was based very largely on Bultmann's "Kampf um einen genuine Existenzialismus"; I found in New Zealand and Australia the greatest interest shown in Bultmann's work. I lectured for nine months on his Philosophy of Religion in Wellington, the Capital of New Zealand, to 150 men and women, many of these walked after the lectures often through torrents of rain. In Australia I found the same ready response. My lectures on Bultmann's Philosophy were attended in the chief cities of Australia by very large audiences of the most prominent citizens belonging to various denominations and to no denomination. In some cases a charge was made for admission, but very large audiences attended everywhere.

Dr. Charles Strong of the Australian Church, Melbourne, through the paper and the journal "The Commonwealth" has done much to make known the writings of the great German scholar of the present day. Strong was an eminent Presbyterian minister, but was expelled from his church on account of his evangelical bent. He started a church of his own in the city of Melbourne. It is a fact worth noting that his influence on Australian thought. Dr. Strong changed bravely to his part in the midst of great difficulties. He preached from Sunday to Sunday, and a Christian life was lived, or rather, as it were, and lived with the spiritual meaning of the gospel of Jesus. This is not due to any extent to any other church in Australia or New Zealand, with the exception of the Lutheran Church.

The ministers of the Lutheran Church in Australia and New Zealand have been taught the necessity of freedom in theology. They have learned in the Lutheran College in England. They value this freedom and have suffered much for it, and their day of freedom is not far off.

THE DOUBLE GOSPEL IN THE NEW
TESTAMENT

II.

A PRESENTATION OF GERMAN
THEOLOGY AND GERMAN
CHURCH LIFE.

THE DOUBLE GOSPEL IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

BY PROFESSOR ADOLF HARNACK, BERLIN.

Perhaps there is no other word amongst the great central conceptions of Christianity which has gone through so manifold and rich a history in Christendom as the word "Gospel" (Evangel, Evangelical). This history, already begun in apostolic ages, has not even to-day reached its end, for the word Gospel (Evangel, Evangelical) is ever being laid claim to in new senses. Some of these have only the geographical or limited meaning of a state church. Therefore I am by no means sure that all the meanings in which the word is to-day used in the different churches are known to me. If we look at German Christendom we see that the Protestants call themselves Evangelical in contradistinction to the Roman Catholics, and that by the word "Gospel" they understand first and foremost the message of the free grace of God in Christ in contradistinction to the Law, as well as the hierarchy and the priesthood. We, however, see also that amongst them small circles, desirous of uniting their members more closely, and feeling a lack of real earnestness in the great Churches, claim for themselves the term Evangelical in quite a special sense, perhaps under the title of "Evangelical Community" or something similar. We further recognize that the words "Evangelical" and "Protestant" produce a certain amount of friction, as the more liberal Evangelicals prefer to call themselves "Protestants", the Conservative Protestants preferring to be known as "Evangelicals". We notice also that the term "Evangelical" is used in such a manner as to indicate that one is neither strictly Lutheran nor strictly a Calvinist, but adheres to the great and fundamental ideas of the Reformation.

But in addition to this it must not be forgotten that in German Protestantism the "Gospel" means Jesus' preaching of the Kingdom of God.

Just at this point a contradiction arises in the common use of the term, for whilst on the one hand the definition of "Gospel" in the sense of the message of the free grace of God in Christ is so conceived that the teaching of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, alone is the Gospel, in other quarters the Gospel is looked upon as the Gospel of Jesus in contradistinction to this apostolic announcement. The same word is used both

for the teachings of St. Paul, and for the message of Jesus in sharp contrast to the Pauline teachings. In the latter sense the thought of the Kingdom of God as the specific content of the Gospel is urged, or also the Sermon on the Mount, the Beatitudes, or simply the "ethics" of Jesus. With this one approaches the Roman Catholic way of speaking, which, especially since the time of St. Francis — the matter and the term are however much more ancient — designates certain sayings of Jesus "Evangelical Counsels" (*consilia evangelica*) and attempts in its rules for the monks the reproduction of the highest commands of Jesus for the attainment of Christian perfection. According to this in certain commands of the Sermon on the Mount and in Matt. 10. the culmination of the Gospel is to be sought, and "Evangelical" in its fullest sense (*adsertor evangelii*) is he only who literally fulfils these commands, and at the same time withdraws himself from the life of the world. With this is connected the thought of wholly following in the steps of, and imitating the apostles, but above all Christ Himself (*imitatio Christi*), and the Gospel appears as the direction to order one's life as far as possible according to the pattern of the humble life and bitter sufferings of Jesus. Something of this has been transmitted to Protestant Christians also by means of devotional literature; the Evangelical Communities especially, to whom we have already alluded, have been more or less strongly influenced by this conception ever since the 17th century.

At this point then (*les extrêmes se touchent*) Liberal Protestantism comes into touch with Pietism, in so far as they both, even if in very different ways, look on the Gospel as a rule for the direction of life.

So extraordinarily manifold, then, and in some instances contradictory, are the current meanings attached to the words "Gospel" and "Evangelical" in a single ecclesiastical domain. In face of this it is doubly important to go back to the oldest times and to determine definitely what the word Gospel means in the New Testament.

Have the many different meanings, which the word receives today, their roots already in the New Testament? As a matter of fact it is so. No one can deny that already there the word Gospel is used in very different senses. I will here go into no learned investigation, especially as I have already proved the facts of the case as regards the New Testament in another place.

This much however is certain, that one must speak of a Two-fold Gospel in the New Testament. There "Gospel" is a message of joy preached to the poor, the meek, the peacemakers, and them that have a clean heart: it is a message that the Kingdom of God is nigh, and that this Kingdom will take away the sorrows of the poor in spirit, will fill them with righteousness, and will bring them all the blessings which

attend the accepted children of God. And there is also in the New Testament the teaching that the Son of God came down from Heaven, was made man, and through His death and resurrection, has redeemed believers from their sins, from death and Satan, and so has made real the everlasting salvation of God. Here also the Gospel is the message of the Kingdom of God, but it appears fully accomplished in the preaching of Jesus Christ, since it is only through belief in Him as the Crucified and Risen Saviour that man can win the Kingdom of Heaven. The question as to how the second Gospel arose, and how it is related to the first is well known to be one of the most disputed problems of church-historical investigation. It has constantly been maintained — and lately with especial vigour by the commentator Wrede — so early taken from us — that the second Gospel in contradistinction to the first is something quite new, that so far as it contains what we call historical Christianity, it depicts a new religion in which Jesus Christ Himself has very little or no part, and that the Apostle Paul was the author of this religion. Some, and indeed the majority, of those who hold this opinion, hold this second Gospel to be new only as distinct from the first, but in itself to be much the older.

Their opinion is that it existed already before the time of Christ, and that it had already perhaps existed in and with the, at that time, current dogma of the Jewish Messiah — it may be in some syncretistic Jewish Group — or it may go back to the widely spread heathen representation of a God dying and rising again.

In order to find out which of these fundamental suppositions is the right one it must first be clearly laid down that the idea of the importance of the Apostle Paul in laying the foundation of the "Second" Gospel must be much, or I would rather say, very considerably modified.

The declaration that "Christ died for our sins, according to the Scriptures", St. Paul indicates to be a traditional, therefore a generally accepted article of faith of the first rank; and he says the same concerning the Resurrection of Christ.

According to this it is certain that the first apostles also, as well as the congregation at Jerusalem, shared this conviction and doctrine. This is also proved by the first chapter of the Acts of the Apostles — the credibility of which is indisputable in this respect.

Therefore the problem must be moved chronologically from St. Paul to the period of the first disciples of Christ, who had already preached the dying of Christ for sin and His Resurrection. If they preached it, however, they recognized it at once as the main factor, therefore as the Gospel within the Gospel, and this, indeed, is clearly shown in the oldest written Gospel that we have, namely in that according to St. Mark.

The whole work of St. Mark is so disposed and composed that Death and Resurrection appear to be the aims of the whole presentation.

Even if St. Mark was admittedly influenced by the preaching of Paul, yet the Gospel specially written for the Jews — that according to St. Matthew — had the same form. It could not then have been new to the Christians of Palestine.

If, therefore, the earliest conception of the Gospel stands nearer to that of St. Paul than many critics admit, St. Paul, on the other hand, stands also nearer to this conception than many of his judges imagine. The Gospel of Christ is with St. Paul not the Gospel concerning Christ but the Gospel which Christ preached.

St. Paul has indeed expressed himself in some places in his Epistles, that Christ is the content of the Gospel; full of meaning and important however as this is, it is nevertheless to be regarded as an abridged mode of speaking.

The Gospel according to St. Paul is the announcement, predicted by the prophets, of the salvation of God brought about by the death and resurrection of Christ.

In addition to this one must further notice, what an important part the idea the "Kingdom of God" also plays with him in order not to become a more rigorous Paulite in the representation of the theology of St. Paul, than the Apostle was himself. The idea of the founding of the Kingdom and its fulfilment through the Son is for St. Paul also the first and most comprehensive one.

If therefore the most ancient teaching of the Kingdom of Heaven, and St. Paul's preaching of the Crucified and Risen Saviour — i. e. the "first" and the "second" Gospel — draw historically nearer together than would at first sight appear, still the question arises as to where the sources of the "Second Gospel" are to be sought.

One may at once premise, that however one may seek the answer to this question, the task will be no light one. A belief that has penetrated so quickly and so victoriously, and has taken the place of the teaching of Jesus Himself, must possess many and strong roots; it must in fact have proceeded from interlacing roots of especial strength.

If my standpoint be correct there are four conceptions which have worked together here. They lie (1) in the teaching of Christ Himself, (2) in the messianic views of the then existing Judaism, (3) in the theology of St. Paul, and (4) in certain religious conceptions regarding widely circulated myths of the heathen world. All these could not but co-operate, and have co-operated in producing the Church's belief in redemption as connected with the person of Jesus Christ, and causing it to appear as the groundwork of Christian teaching.

I. The message of Jesus comes into consideration here, in as much as He preached not only the necessity and the reality of the remission of sins, but also undoubtedly associated His Person and work with it. He not only claimed the power to forgive sins, but at the celebration of the Last Supper He also associated His death with the setting free of souls.

But even if one were to deny this, this much is at any rate certain, that the attachment to His Person, i. e. the body of disciples, was willed by Him.

He, however, who followed Him, could not but discover and know Him to be in some sense "the way" to the Father, and to all the blessings of Heaven. ("Come unto me.")

II. That the Messiah would suffer and die was certainly not the general expectation of Judaism in the time of Christ. This expectation, however, was not entirely lacking, for after John the Baptist had been beheaded, many in spite of this held him to be the Messiah, and believed that he had risen from the dead. His death, therefore, had no validity against his Messiahship. One sees from this that in the case referred to the question of a suffering Messiah occupied their minds, and was not disposed of by a simple negative.

But the Old Testament prophecies also must have prepared the way for a suffering Messiah, especially Isaiah 53. If its acceptance was striven against in wide circles, an evasion of it, because of the ruling Exegesis, was not easily possible.

As soon as the personal Messiah was brought into the foreground — and just at the time of Christ the Messianic expectations seemed to have grown stronger — it could not be otherwise than that at least individual teachers would see themselves forced to the acceptance that in passages like Is. 53 the discourse is of the Messiah.

If, however, the personal Messiah was referred to in Is. 53, then not only were His suffering and death to be expected, but also the meaning of salvation through His death appeared to be taught in plain words.

III. The reasoning of St. Paul was throughout antithetical, and his spirit never rested till he had led everything up to great and moving contrasts and brought it to a paradoxical form. If he had on the one hand learnt from the Old Testament: "Cursed be he that hangs on the Cross", and on the other had gained the belief that "Christ died for us sinners according to the Scriptures", then the bald "according to the Scriptures" could not suffice him; much more was it necessary to clearly show the "wherefore" of this. It must be proved that Jesus, through the very fact that he was accursed, had brought salvation to man.

This could, however, only be proved when the Death on the Cross appeared as the most necessary, and therefore the main factor of the life of Christ.

It was the most necessary factor, because nothing is more necessary than to satisfy the justice of God and His holy laws, which demand the death of the sinner. This satisfaction was consummated in the obedient death of Christ, and the demands of the law are now satisfied; they have moreover also become void, because Christ suffered death not as an individual man, but as the Second Adam and Son of God. But this logical and juridical consideration of the matter was not sufficient for the Apostle, since the other great event, the Resurrection, did not get its just recognition, nor did it suffice for his reasoning when directed towards the actual condition of man. Man is, as experience shows, ruled by the lusts of the flesh, which lead to death. He can then only be helped, when this sinful desire has been taken away, and the Spirit of God, the Spirit of Life, has been instilled in him in its stead.

Christ through His death has overcome and put an end to the sins of the flesh, and as He manifested Himself through His Resurrection as Spirit, he now begins an inworking upon man which overcomes the carnal flesh and sets in its place the Holy Spirit as its guiding principle. Thus the heavenly Christ, who died and rose again, is not only the great exemplar of the overcoming of the flesh by the Spirit, but also the moving power in the new creation of mankind, which, through Him, becomes "a new creature".

IV. It is utterly improbable that St. Paul arrived at the central conception of a Son of God, who died and rose again, through the myths of Western Asia; the premises of his reasoning and the historical premises which lay in the Death on the Cross and the belief in the Resurrection of Jesus must of themselves have led him up to it. But it is quite possible that the idea underlying those myths had won some influence over him, without his being aware of it, not only upon the cosmological development of the idea, but also upon the determination and power with which the Apostle advanced it. Wherever St. Paul came, from Syria to Corinth, the myth of a God dying and rising from the dead must have confronted him in various forms.

This myth, which originally was symbolical of the most general and most important natural occurrences, had had a history extending over a long period, in which it had become the expression of hopes of immortality and moral purification without losing completely its original meaning.

But however this may be, and whether the Apostle Paul was at all — and if so how much — indebted to this myth, of one thing at any rate there

can be no doubt, and that is that the preaching of a Crucified and Risen God must have touched in a wonderful and liberating manner the hearts of thousands, who had hitherto received this belief from uncertain and obscure sources, and who now obtained it from a history, which had as it were, taken place only yesterday, and the witnesses of which they now saw before them.

The message of the Death and Resurrection of the God Jesus Christ, who had become man, became the Gospel of the Church at large, and has taken its place side by side with Christ's teaching of the Kingdom of Heaven, its benefits and its ethical demands.

Apparently — and especially so when one takes the doctrine of the Churches into consideration — the "second Gospel" almost supplanted the "first". But this is not even true as regards doctrine. Not only does the "first Gospel" live in the hearts of those who take the Christian Religion in earnest, but it is also not lacking in the dogmas of the churches; it is, indeed, a decisive point of departure among them.

The currents of both Gospels flow through the whole of Church history and doctrinal development; one may distinguish the one from the other, though they are not separated, and the strength of the life of Christendom seems to depend on the fact that neither one of these two currents is victorious over the other, and that they indeed have one source.

How then does the present age stand with regard to both these Gospels? A superficial review would incline one to the conclusion that it goes forth to welcome the one, that is free from miracles and mythologies, but refuses to accept the other all the more decisively because it contains the representation of a God become man, and His death and resurrection. But this conclusion is not the final one. The paramount issue today is not the miraculous or non-miraculous, but the question whether the soul of man has an eternal value which distinguishes it from all else; whether moral goodness is a conventional product, or a life-principle of the spirit; and whether there be a living and saving God or not.

He who denies these questions — and they are denied in large circles at the present time, practically as well as in the name of Science — must reject Jesus' Gospel of the Kingdom of Heaven, and all the ideas, thoughts and prescriptions of the Sermon on the Mount. He must put in their place an entirely new ethic — if indeed an ethic can be spoken of at all.

That is what is actually taking place, and so the First "Gospel", the Gospel of Jesus, is to-day engaged in a bitter struggle for its ultimate premises, and with them everything else is attacked. On the other hand one can say that the times are to-day more favorable to the

"second Gospel" than they were in some former periods. Not only does "modern positive" theology defend it in its transmitted form, but also the latest phase in the development of philosophy meets it half way. Philosophers of the School of Hegel and Hartmann assure us that the profoundest philosophical and religious knowledge is contained in the "Second Gospel". But here in truth comes in the saying: "Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes". The agreement of these philosophers with Christian theology can matter little or nothing to the latter if they thereby eliminate the personality of Christ, and frame an ideal poem out of His appearance, His suffering and death. The support, which they offer to Christian belief, is therefore of slight value.

The "Second Gospel" is untenable in the form of a "Twofold-Nature" Doctrine since it is contrary to historical, and in fact every possible form of knowledge.

Every assertion about Jesus Christ which has not as its framework that he was man, is not to be accepted, since it is at variance with the historical portraiture of the life of Christ. But the "Second Gospel" is in no way refuted through this admission. Even if it is certain that no God appeared, and that no God died and rose again, it is equally certain that we know absolutely nothing of God through our senses and knowledge of Nature, and that therefore the personal higher life and ethics are the only realm in which we can come into touch with God.

God is Holiness and God is Love. If this be so, God is then only manifest in the personal life, that is, in men. He works by means of men, saves through men, and completes His work through men. And for men in this sense there is no conception of a species since they here come only into consideration as individuals and separately. To what degree however God has endowed the individual and made him His instrument for others we can learn solely from the facts themselves, i. e., from history; no philosophy is able to enlighten us or determine hard and fast lines here.

The "Second Gospel" teaches that God has made Jesus of Nazareth Lord and Christ for mankind, that his work was God's work, and history has set its seal upon it. This seal is not the seal of the Church — for the great spread and dominion of Christianity can of itself prove nothing — but it consists in the fact that for almost 1900 years, and to the present day, faith in Jesus Christ has produced children of God who know that they are redeemed; who lift themselves above the world without despising it, who are filled with burning love and energy towards their brethren, and who joyfully go their way because they have found God, and hence even in the midst of time live for eternity.

This "Double Gospel", as it is set forth in the New Testament, is just as necessary at the present day, as it has been necessary in all periods of the past.

The "First Gospel" contains the **Truth**, the "Second" contains the **Way**, and both together bring **Life**.

It is by no means necessary that every one be fully conscious that Jesus Christ is the way by which he has come to the Truth. Christ is thereby also Christ that one brother becomes a Christ to another.

It is always personal life in God, which communicates itself to others, and whereby alone new Life can be produced, for not only in the case of the prophets does it hold good that one must anoint the other.

Behind them all stands Jesus Christ. To him belongs whoever has found God, and whoever has found Him, the more he advances the more will he go forward in the certainty that Jesus is the Christ.

DOES THE NEW TESTAMENT GAIN OR LOSE IN SIGNIFICANCE FOR RELIGIOUS LIFE BY HISTORICAL CRITICISM?

BY PROFESSOR VON SODEN, BERLIN.

The expression historical criticism is, as we know, applied to the method which does not unconditionally accept tradition as fact, but examines as to whether the tradition tallies with facts handed down to us and confirmed by history. This inquiry is not only concerned with the contents, the authenticity of the incidents reported; the form into which they are put, the circumstances under which they were written, the views of the writer, and the period when he wrote are all inquired into — in short, the reliability of the documents is subjected to searching investigation.

This method has long been recognised in the whole scientific world as the only possible scientific mode of procedure. For some generations, at first with less and then with greater confidence, historical criticism has been brought to bear upon the documents we find in our New Testament relating to the rise of Christianity, although the Church has not ceased to declare — since she began to collect them — that they contain absolute truth and are of Divine origin. Therefore those who hold this belief look upon the application of the historical method to Holy Scripture as idle curiosity and sacrilege, while those who conduct the inquiry are conscious of following the dictates of duty and of their own conscience.

Men of science no longer dispute as to the right, we may say as to the duty, of applying this much-contested method to the New Testament. The results obtained were so many and various as to prove it indispensable. Theological schools of the present day are only distinguished from one another by the results obtained, and not by their historical methods. These results are extremely diverse and that they are so does not lie alone in the difficulty of judging documents correctly. Personal bias will always play its part in valuing psychological and historical possi-

bilities. The investigator is just as strongly influenced by his frame of mind with regard to tradition. One will examine tradition with his soul void of feeling towards it; the other, clinging to tradition with every fibre of his heart, will strive to avoid the necessity of its abandonment. It is principally this attitude of mind which causes the diversity.

Outside clerical Trades-unionism the historical treatment of the Bible is considered today the characteristic of so-called Liberal theology. Amongst the laity we find two lines of thought which diverge primarily and sharply at this point: belief in the letter of the Word — criticism of the Word. The former, and indeed many who would permit criticism, are convinced that Christianity stands and falls with the infallibility of the Scriptures.

In the short time permitted me I cannot follow up this question in detail. Firstly, I must restrict my remarks to the New Testament, which is of infinitely greater significance for us than is the Old Testament, owing to its genesis, and the nature of its contents. Secondly, I wish to emphasise the question as to whether historical criticism of the New Testament is calculated to diminish the significance of the New Testament for religious life — which many fear and others bring about — or if it will increase its significance when we have accustomed ourselves to and acknowledge the right of such criticism.

I begin with a successful result, lying before us. Historical criticism has helped to make the historical picture of the beginning of Christianity much clearer, more lively, and therefore more attractive. In rejecting as false what tradition has wrongly reported of the leading men of the time, they stand out once more as clearly defined individuals; we understand them, they impress us. The veil of legend is lifted from the events; we view them in their simplicity and elementary greatness. To mention only one example: the death of Jesus loses nothing in majesty, nay, rather, it gains in solitary grandeur, when unaccompanied by earthquake or eclipse, or by the dead rising from their graves. The picturesque language impresses us more deeply and powerfully when we recognise that it speaks in symbols of the spiritual effect of that death. Has there ever been a generation to whom Jesus and Paul were so living and real as they are to ours? — we can only except the generation that knew them. To whom have they spoken more distinctly and in their very own language than to us? And besides these great and conspicuous names what a clear picture do we get of all the others, how attractive is their personality! The three writers of the Synoptic Gospels, the first, the teacher of the Churches; the second, the devout narrator; the third, who was primarily interested in the bearing of Jesus towards the different classes of men. Beside them — and now no longer hidden

behind Paul and obscuring his personality — is the preacher from the Alexandrian Schools, to whom we owe the Epistle to the Hebrews. Then, again, the simple, fervent shepherd of souls, who wrote the First Epistle General of Peter, and who is no longer confused with the powerful figure of Peter himself. Last of all, the pensive, mystic, and yet practical John, and, in contradistinction to him, the writer of the Book of Revelation who, passionate and excitable as he was, could still strike the deepest notes.

This method also gives the New Testament world its place in the course of historical events of the time, judges it together with them, and shows its **connection with the rest of the world**. We are enabled to understand, even to become familiarised with the undeniable peculiarity of the New Testament which, otherwise, so easily surprises us. What is antique in it only increases its charm. It seems natural for it to speak the language of past times, to express views and ideas of a past world. It becomes more human, and thus touches the reader more nearly, the gulf of centuries is bridged over, we are no longer offended by much that was conditioned by the times and to which we cannot adapt ourselves to-day.

And when we see these writings and those who composed them, as well as those of whom they relate, in the world of their day, influenced by and exercising influence upon it, then the New Testament gains the power of making our piety part of our lives, so that it is no longer a breath hovering over life, a Sunday mood, but it takes its stand in the middle of life, harmonises with it and dominates it. The New Testament itself ceases to be a devotional book, or a lesson-book, it becomes once more for us what it was from the beginning: a book taken from life for life.

Further, historical criticism discovers the lines leading from the previous religious development to Primitive Christianity, and running through the same. We see how much was inherited or, at least, we see how the way was prepared for Christianity. We understand more clearly what the Apostle Paul calls "the fulness of time", and what the Epistle to the Ephesians speaks of as being God's plan: "Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone." The New Testament leaves its artificial isolation and again takes its place in the living current of development from which it came. It will, therefore, not only interest, but also more easily convince a generation so imbued with the idea of evolution as our own.

Historical criticism does us a still greater service in showing us the many and various views held by the Primitive Christians, the refraction of the light in the prism on which the rays fell. How different was the

conception of Christianity formed by a Matthew and a John, a Paul and a James, and, again, by a Luke! What a different experience each had of Christ, how differently they interpreted salvation through Christ! The superstition — born later of fear — that Christianity must be uniform, is thus silenced. The New Testament represents this diversity of religious experiences, without narrowness and without losing sight of their manifold differences; it sets up no uniform type. And, therefore, the more clearly we recognise this diversity in the New Testament, the more encouraged we shall be to recognise it joyfully and unreservedly in our own day as legitimate and as necessary. We shall strive too to banish all narrow-mindedness, all intolerance and claim to infallibility from the rich life of Christianity. The New Testament demands the recognition of individuality and shows that only the tolerant are really religious and full of love to God. We shall learn greater insight from it, it will teach us to practise the art and duty of understanding and acknowledging conceptions different from our own. This art is indispensable in a generation like ours — in which the individual claims his rights — if churches are to exist, bodies of Christians to live in unity, and Christianity be prevented from breaking up into innumerable little conventicles, which again divide until at last they lose all vitality.

The result of all this is that **an attitude of mind has arisen with regard to the New Testament** which, at least, harmonizes better with the idiosyncrasies of most classes of our race. We no longer swear to the letter, or blindly accept, as the words of an oracle, what the Scriptures say; we examine them without fear. We listen and we ask the writer: what experience have you had, are you correct in what you say? We resolve to apply his teaching to our own lives. We feel no compulsion to do this, but only a strong stimulus. And under this stimulus, and with the best conscience possible, our relations to God take form and shape. In this way religion becomes more surely our own possession, a part and parcel of our own life. Christian piety loses its remoteness from life and its narrowness, caused by the worship of the letter, and the New Testament now impresses us quite differently in the sense of Paul's words: "to his own master he standeth or falleth." "Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit. And there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all." And far from eliminating personal research the New Testament incites us to reflect and to investigate, to strive after personal and inward conviction. The reader enters once more into that intimate personal relation with the New Testament which, though expressed in a very different way, was the strength of the old religious sects. Outside these circles it has been impossible to establish such relations.

Symptoms of this result are not wanting. New translations constantly appear and find buyers. Books intended to elucidate the New Testament are published in formerly unheard-of editions. Lectures on the subject are everywhere well attended by an eager, interested audience.

When we now defend Christianity against its adversaries the historical attitude with regard to the New Testament gives us a better position, and provides us with more effective weapons. We meet our adversary on the same ground, he must take us seriously, and only the inherent strength of the cause decides the struggle. Historical criticism may force us to sacrifice many details, unless we wilfully alter or ignore the documents. But when we read these documents with an open mind we feel certain of the principal facts they relate and require no further confirmation of them. Let their genesis be what it will, the documents speak for themselves. We no longer ask: who said this? but: what has he said? Truth is its own champion.

But now the decisive question. Can the New Testament, when considered historically, maintain its peculiar position as a document of revelation? Must it not give up every claim to this? Misconception of the terms revelation and document of revelation lies at the bottom of this question. Although historical criticism has claimed the New Testament for its own we need have no fear, even when we are convinced — as I am — that the spirit of man cannot experience God without revelation, and that Jesus Christ is the perfect and crowning revelation of God. Revelations in the New Testament are not dependent upon the question: who testify to them, and by what historical processes have they been communicated to us? It is enough that they have been expressed and have reached us. No historical criticism can prove or disprove their being revelations; that they must bear in themselves.

Historical criticism is only concerned with the form, and this fact guards against a misconception of the term revelation, with which criticism has nothing to do. Revelations are not thoughts, words, processes, but powers which bear testimony to their having come from a higher and hidden world. Thus the historical method obliges us not to cling to the form when we thirst for revelation, but to seek the power, not to believe in revelation, but to experience revelation.

But the historical method teaches us something else. Every revelation experienced by man is an individual experience. It is at once given expression to in forms peculiar to man, it is tinged with his individuality. No one can experience revelation in exactly the same way, it is somewhat different with all. And so we are again obliged not simply to believe a thing is true, because others declare it to be so, but, stimulated by them, to strive in our own way to experience the truth to which they

testify. We are saved from being lulled into the belief that we have it down in black and white, and therefore we may go home content.

The conception of the term faith — by which alone revelation can be experienced and which is the essence of New Testament testimony — is preserved from misconception by the historical method. — Such misconception can only be brought about by human indolence. — New Testament faith has nothing to do with narratives which are told or taught; faith is trust and confidence, it may be in a person, an ultimate aim, or an idea, in short, it is belief in a power which testifies to itself. This belief is in no way disturbed when we see clearly how different and personal is the experience others have had of this power. Therefore any examination of the form, by means of which religious experiences have been communicated, has nothing to do with belief or disbelief. It would be more correct to say that we investigate in consequence of our faith; and that our not becoming disquieted by so doing is a testimony to our faith. The historical method helps the New Testament — if I may use the expression — not to stand in its own light; not to call attention to itself, but to divert it to the faith which it will awaken and quicken. How many a preacher and teacher discovers, to his grief, that the hearts and minds which he will lead to God remain half way, clinging to the person who only may and will be their guide to Him.

Let us only overcome the crises which are certain to accompany such a complete change of thought with regard to this decisive point for our entire religious attitude and position, and then the New Testament will once more become for us what it was for the Primitive Christians and for Luther. For the Christian Fathers the New Testament was an instrument, an arsenal of dogmatic phrases, a code-book; for the Catholic Middle Age it became more and more unintelligible and was at last an almost forgotten devotional work; for the orthodox in the Reformed Churches it was a canon of dogma; for the religious sects it was God's direct revelation. But for Primitive Christianity and for Luther it was living testimony, calling forth new life and tinged with the personality of the writer. It was a sanctuary, in which God's voice was distinctly heard, in which the pure and holy spirit of Jesus dwelt. A sanctuary, but not the Holy of Holies; it did not take the place of God. And it remains the Book of Books, an outcome of that period when man's religious development was at its highest and ripest. It will become for all of us — even for those, I venture to say, who look upon it as an oracle of God — what it should be, and as such is necessary and indispensable, a trusted friend, an indispensable vademecum on the road which leads through the changing shadows of time into the light of eternity.

THE HISTORY OF RELIGION AND OLD TESTAMENT CRITICISM.

BY PROFESSOR HERMANN GUNKEL, GIESSEN.

I should like to speak to you of Old Testament Criticism, of its present position, and its future problems. Whoever, a hundred years ago, heard of German Biblical science, understood as its underlying element the words "Biblical criticism"; at the present time that element is the words "history of religion". From these two words we can best understand how the situation has lately changed. If I may be allowed to try and make plain to you the difference, as I conceive it, I would draw your attention to two of the more important works which are typical representatives of the two kinds of Old Testament study; namely the two recently published works on the Bible: the 3rd edition of Kautsch's "Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament", and on the other hand, "Selections from the Old Testament Scriptures", which are being at present edited by Gessmann, Strack and others. Kautsch in his work, gives an account of the earlier prevailing style of interpretation. Here the most prominent place is given to criticism: the introductions to the several books treat principally of the conditions under which the books originated, the questions when and where they were written and by whom; the notes supplementary to the text endeavour chiefly to improve it, and to correct its traditional mistakes. The other work is quite different. In this case criticism is applied only as a preliminary to another and higher object. The emphasis is laid on the explanation of the books themselves, particularly on the understanding of their religious conditions. The author is profoundly convinced that the religion of the Old Testament can only be understood if an attempt is made to comprehend the inner history through which it has passed. "Criticism!" — "History of Religion!" This is everywhere the cry. You see at once then from this example, that in both these scientific tendencies the one has not supplanted the other, but they stand, at present, on the same footing side by side. At the same time, however, this also is plain, that the one cannot possibly supplant the other; it is impossible for

the investigation of religious history ever to think of doing away with that of criticism. For, without criticism, which means without any scientific testing of tradition, scientific knowledge is absolutely unthinkable. The question then which confronts us is from a rational standpoint, not whether criticism is to disappear, but whether it is not to be supplemented by other considerations. Now, in bare justice, it must be added, that critical enquiry has brought this knowledge, in the last few decades, to a high state of perfection; indeed, we can go so far as to say, without detracting from the merit of other nations and creeds, that the accomplishing of this has been the pride and glory of German Protestantism. More recent scholars gratefully admit the splendid achievements of their predecessors. It cannot and must not be their endeavour to destroy what others have built up, but rather to preserve the results of their investigations for the benefit of a new generation. And so we must not feel that we are the opponents of our fathers, but that we are their true sons who keep alive the rich heritage they have left, and if we can, increase its value.

Now in what sense are we to bring about this increase in our scientific possessions? What are the fundamental points of the new teaching? What is the real meaning of "History of Religion"? It is usual, in superficially deciding upon a definition of this idea, to start out, consciously or not, with the notion that those works which are concerned with the religions outside the Bible, generally bear the title "general history of religion". According to this, enquiry into the religious history of the Old Testament, means treating the Old Testament in such a way as to bring up for consideration, as well, the foreign religions, — in this particular case those of the ancient Orient. Now there is no doubt that hereby a very considerable part of modern Old Testament study is affected. You all know that the great civilised peoples of the East, the Egyptians and the Babylonians, have in the last few decades become much better known to us, and that in a way which we should not have expected, and to an ever increasing degree. Consequently our study is confronted with new and unavoidable problems, the difficulty and extent of which, it was impossible for our predecessors to know. What is the relation between the religion of Israel and that of these peoples? Is it in some, or perhaps in many important ways dependent upon them? The second question has become all the more urgent, as we have learned at the same time, that the people of Israel is, compared with the other Orientals, very young, and in matters of external culture, undoubtedly deeply influenced by them. The more our knowledge of the Orient has become widened, the more have we

altered our opinion about the religion of Israel itself. The old school, represented chiefly by the great names of Wellhausen and Stade, had, in conformity with the position of Oriental study at that date, employed the old Arabic pre-Islamic religion, at a somewhat low stage of development, as a standard for judging that of the ancient Israelites. At that time it seemed right to consider the religion of the ancient Israelites pretty closely connected with the old Arabic. Now however, new religions have to be taken into consideration which stand on a much higher plane. The result is that the level to which the religion of Israel is lifted, is something quite different and far higher. And so this unavoidable question had to be raised: must not a great deal in Israel which was held not to be very ancient, be really very much older than was formerly thought? The school of Wellhausen for example, ascribed the Biblical Psalms to a period later than the Babylonian exile i.e. considered them comparatively late. But now we are in possession of Babylonian and more recently of Egyptian songs similar in material and form, and which in comparison with those of Israel are pre-historic. Is it possible to regard these Babylonian poems as being very old, and the Israelitish ones as very young? The same thing is true of the Proverbs for which we have strikingly similar analogies from Egypt. Or to come to religion itself, ideas such as these: that God dwells in heaven, and has created heaven and earth and rules over them, were formerly denied with great emphasis by such scholars as Stade, as having formed any part of the old Israelitish religion. But we have now learned that the uncivilised peoples around, thought of their chief gods as gods of heaven, and that all of them owned the creation myth. Could ideas which were quite taken for granted among those peoples have been unattainable for Israel? So the old conception of the history of the Old Testament religion, as formed by the previous generation, began to fluctuate and change. Till then, it had been supposed that the actual mouthpiece of God in his relation to Israel, was the voice of those who represented the highest plane of thought, namely, the prophets like Amos, Isaiah, and Jeremiah. But could this undeniable personality of the prophets have been, nevertheless, over-estimated? Was it not possible that the prophetic ideas could have had a history previous to the prophets themselves? Was it not still possible that the idea of tradition might be the correct one, according to which these thoughts had been already proclaimed by Moses, and then consecutively followed up by a long chain of successors, so that we ought to regard the inner history of Israel as a continual fight of a higher tendency against the lower notions of the people? And so the historical structure of Wellhausen's school, which once — it is not so long ago — appeared to be

so substantially grounded, has at the present time become seriously questionable. That is the reason why we can to-day speak with less confidence than ever before of firmly-established result in the science of the Old Testament. Already the opponents of criticism rejoice; they say, the critical school is refuted and their chief idea, the notion of evolution, has fallen to the ground! But their rejoicing is premature; the individual statements of the critics can be refuted indeed; but the spirit of criticism is indestructible. Moreover the evolution idea which we must discuss further, has quite a different support from the mere history of a people; even if the conception of the development of Israel's spiritual life has collapsed, scholars will replace it with another. Even the fundamental idea of Wellhausen has been, as yet, by no means proved to be false; on the contrary, it has come victorious out of all its battles. This fundamental idea is, that the mighty system of law which was proclaimed in the code of the priests really belongs to a later period of Israelitish history, and that the people of Israel have not always been the people of the Law, but have only become so in the course of a lengthy history.

But with the importance which attaches to all this, only the external side of the consideration of the Old Testament from the point of view of the history of religion, is characterised. The actual transformation which has taken place in our knowledge does not consist in the fact that new light on the subject has come from the outside, but rather that scholars themselves have changed their tactics. This is most easily discernible; when we see that one part of the material for the science of the Orient, which, in its importance for the Old Testament, has only now become properly recognised, has been really for quite a long time at our disposal. For instance, the Egyptian proverbs have been known for several decades, without the investigators of the Old Testament having hit upon the idea of comparing them with those of Israel. Hence it comes that an inner change has taken place in the enquirers themselves — a change which has made them more inclined to examine what is really outside Israel itself. In order to understand the underlying motives of this revolution, let us turn to the words "Religion", and "History".

We will take the word "Religion" first. Lately much emphasis has been laid on the religion of the Old Testament. This is not to be understood as if the older school had not dealt with the religion; on the contrary the older scholars, — headed by Wellhausen in his "Prolegomena" — has rediscovered important fundamental points and many particulars of the Old Testament religion. Still one may

say that for many years it is the problems of literary criticism which have come to the front. For a long time, the creation (genesis) was looked upon as the problem, and in many quarters the question of sources of the history of the creation is still the important one. On the basis of such enquiries, the scholars have been classified — unreasonably enough — and divided into positive and liberal thinkers. Particularly in the smaller department of the subject, literary criticism has triumphed; one need only refer to the 3rd edition of Kautsch to assure oneself of this. It has been harmful to the study of the Old Testament, in so far as the problems of the history of religion have often been treated along with those of literary criticism. This gave rise to the temptation to attach our religious ideas to just that part of the history of which we had chanced to become first convinced. But hence arose the danger of arguing in a circle; so that the history of religion was constructed on the basis of the sources, critically treated, and at the same time, the history of religion formed a basis for the reconstruction of the sources.

Now we may admit that the prominence formerly given to literary criticism was once quite justified. The traditional chronology of the Old Testament which we find in the books themselves, or which were suggested by the synagogue, undoubtedly required critical examination. And so it was necessary to settle such critical questions before the problems of religion could be discussed. Now however, since this has been, to some extent, accomplished, the chief study must be given to religion. The tendency is therefore towards the history of religion. But this was what the age demanded, and it is characteristic of our time that after a long period of abstention and slackness, a new searching and questioning concerning religion has sprung up. Historical research in many departments at once, is being ruled by this spirit. If it was formerly possible that historians, linguists and philosophers could pass over the phenomena of religion, we see arising at the present day both here and abroad, a many-sided investigation of religion in which the most prominent and eager part is taken by just those who are not theologians. The religions of the various peoples are now undergoing examination at the hand of Assyriologists, Egyptologists, and students of the Indian, Hellenic and Germanic races, and many others. Biblical science has entered into the sphere of their studies, and is proud to find that here it is treated with understanding and sympathy.

Now on what phenomena within the province of religion is particular emphasis to be laid? The question is justifiable enough; for the nature of religion has a very large number of aspects. It is that which obtains the most powerful grip on men, and which strives to perfect

their whole life in all its forms. Now the Evangelical church, almost from the beginning, has laid the chief emphasis on dogma, and through many hundreds of years of study has most particularly examined the teachings in the Bible, and has regarded the Biblical books more especially as didactic writings. Thus it is clear that exegesis has constantly endeavoured for a long time, to realise, above all, the logical connection of the scriptural writings, and that the so-called "Biblical theology" — the department in which the German scholars, until a short time ago used to publish the results of their studies in the religion of the Bible — has resolved itself into a methodical collection of the Biblical teachings. For a long time, however, a more profound conception of religion has arisen. We know from the Pietists, and from the teaching of German theology since Schleiermacher's day, that all religious teaching arises in the hearts of men and is only the expression of a far deeper feeling; that the actual well-spring, out of which religion eternally flows, is the heart of the pious man touched by God. Objective truth comes into the consciousness of humanity through persons, who have been mightily stirred and lifted above themselves. If then, we wish to understand religion in its innermost recesses, we must try to understand the inner life of good men. It is, therefore, the problem of Old Testament science to become acquainted, as intimately as possible, with those who best represent the religious atmosphere of the Old Testament. We must penetrate so deeply into their experiences that we can sympathise with them, that we can repeat them in ourselves, and become the interpreters of them to our own generation. Therefore — we may say it is now already — exegesis which has so often been considered wearisome, will in the future be worked at with a peculiar affection. Its problem will no longer consist merely in the minute dissection of the thoughts, or in the collecting of all kinds of learned notes, but it will rather be to create afresh for us the mighty personalities of the Biblical writers. We must take as a pattern the best commentaries which the older generation has left us — only to mention Duhm's Isaiah, and Cornill's Jeremiah. Modern impressionism ought to teach us to see new colours and to hear fresh notes. Let us catch up and reproduce the religion of the ancient time — a melody tossed about in the storms of the ages, and reaching our ears only in lost chords, so that it may sound forth again in its old beauty and strength.

Now with this religious life, all the rest of the spiritual life of Israel will come to the surface again. We find in the Old Testament an unmistakable wealth of spiritual life spread out before our eyes. There is no other people of the East which so minutely reveals itself to us.

It is a peculiar advantage of the Old Testament science, that it treats not only of religion but at the same time of all spheres of action in which ancient Israel had a part. If we study profoundly and sympathetically this whole branch of knowledge, we may hope to gain a vivid picture of this ancient people, and to obtain a true insight into the religion of the Israelites, which was once the central point of this people's life.

Next to the religion, that part of the spiritual life of Israel which we must study most particularly — that part, namely, which has grown up together with the religion, is its literature. We can have no religious history without a literary history; for how can we hope to understand the contents if we do not trouble ourselves about the form? On this subject, we shall be filling up a void which our predecessors have left. The true history of the literature has received comparatively little attention, in spite of the powerful suggestive influence of Herder on the Old Testament scholarship of the nineteenth century. Indeed for a long time the opinion prevailed among scholars that it was impossible, on account of the uncertainty about the chronology of the books, to write a literary history at all. It is indeed improbable that the present generation will see a literary history of the Israelites, but the foundations for such a work can and must be laid in the present. Now, in what are these foundations to consist? The ultimate aim of such an investigation will anyhow be close acquaintance with the great writers whom Israel has given to the world. But we must go far to attain this, for such writers move and act in forms which have a long history behind them. And so our first labour must be to examine those literary forms which a more popular literature has — in conformity with the character of an ancient people, — given out in actual speech. Such popular forms have different characteristics according to the different species of the popular literature, which, at the time of its existence, had its home in particular places. Such kinds of literature are: the preaching of the prophet, the law of the priest, the proverb of the sage; the thanksgiving-song of him who has been healed, the lamentations of the sick, who are purified at the sanctuary, the wailing of the community at times of public disaster, besides many more. All these various kinds of speech can be studied and commented upon according to their form and content; so far as it goes, their history may be written. On the basis of this knowledge of the various kinds of language used, we can build up our knowledge of the great writers and their personal characteristics. — It is indeed a rich province for enquiry, which is thus opened to us. The language of the Old Testament writings is the finest to which the ancient Orient

has given birth. And he must be indeed a barbarian who cannot find enjoyment in the wealth of variegated beauty which here lies beneath his gaze. But all those investigations should not draw us away from our chief study — that of religion, but on the contrary, they bring us still nearer to it. Our aesthetic sensibilities must give us strength to be spiritually conscious of that which at present lies outside our reach, and which otherwise would ever remain closed to us.

But if, behind all this, critical questions take a place of less importance with us, it is also to be expected that the answers to such questions will be deferred. If to the critical understanding which has often been the sole guide of the scholar, there be now added loving intelligent sympathy, many critical problems will appear in quite a different light. Many far too ingenious and over-bold decisions, of which there have indeed been many, will be tested anew; many lifeless fragments lacking in any cohesion seen from a higher point of view will appear as a united whole; much that has been prematurely declared to be false or late, will be once again recognised to be genuine and old. Let us be careful that in the course of this retrograde movement, which we greet as in reality an advance, and which we are ourselves helping onward, nothing be lost of that which has already been admitted to be right and proper.

Now if the religion of Israel steps into the centre of our sphere of investigation, we are convinced that the religion can only be recognized if we conceive it as bound up with history. In doing so we are starting out from the ground-thought which, at the present day, rules all true historical investigation, namely, that the spiritual life of mankind is a unity, and that it is, by a certain orderly arrangement, bound together as a whole. In this mighty cohesion which moves towards mysterious ends which only faith can comprehend, everything has come into being by a continuing process, operated upon and still operating, nothing is isolated, everything is connected with everything else, each with its own special character and yet in some measure to be brought into comparison with the rest. Just as one cannot understand a plant if one sees it dead in the herbarium, but only if we examine it living and growing in nature; so one can only properly recognize the separate phenomena of history, if one looks at them as they grow, and places them in the connection to which they belong. And so to understand religion, we must study the history of religion. And in this sense, not in the shallow one mentioned at first, are we to understand the watchword of the modern school — “history of religion!” In this sense, however, “the history of religion” is not the discovery of newcomers; it has been

studied for a long time more or less. It is the great idealistic poets and thinkers of Germany who originated this conception of History, and great masters such as Vatke, Baur, Wellhausen and Harnack, have transferred it to the sphere of religion. In spite of this, however, the modern school is nothing else than a new wave appearing on the surface of the old historical stream, a tendency which strives anew for serious recognition together with the old well-known principles of historical enquiry. This explains the fact that the demand arose for historical treatment, at the same time, in other spheres of activity; just as now one places the history of religion, with ever-increasing confidence, in the place of "Biblical theology", which made a systematic arrangement of the materials, instead of the so-called „Introduction to the Old Testament" in which critical enquiries stand side by side without any internal arrangement, a new literary history of Israel. — In both subjects a different material, but the same historical spirit. And so we need not cudgel our brains very long to discover out of what strange and hidden sources the religious-historical school has grown up; for its fundamental ideas are only the conclusions to which the pupils have arrived, from the words of the teachers; and the question can only be one of difference in the method of expression, and not of the introduction of anything entirely new.

These fundamental ideas are the conditions for any deepening and widening of our knowledge. Let us take the first point; that of **deepening** our knowledge. If every historical phenomenon represents something particular, something which cannot be repeated, then the problem for investigation must be looked upon as itself individual and peculiar. This explains the object kept in view by the more recent school of thought: not only to give prominence to the chief outlines of these phenomena, that which is understood at the present day and which we can lay before our community as worthy of their careful attention, but also that which is peculiar in it, and which cannot be repeated — its birthmark, so to say, the smell of its mother earth. Now the spirit of a people like Israel which has lived under other skies than ours, which is of a different race and from whom we are separated in time, is widely dissimilar from our own spirit. It is them a task which promises rich reward, for us to realise the keen directness of the antique, the passionate fire of the Semitic race, as it appears in the Old Testament; and to do equal justice, in all its manifestations, to the wonderful wealth of the spiritual life, revealed to us in the Bible. More especially do we thus see the prophets in a new light, with their peculiar and deeply rooted ecstasy, with the burden of their flaming passion, with all the quaint ideas which sprang

from their unbridled fantasy. Let no one be afraid that such investigation will overlook all those things which alienate the ingenuous reader — and that which is really great and human. For just as the sun shines upon the castle of the king and the garret of the beggar, so the historian should be able to see everything, the small as well as the great in all its possible manifestations. Now to the second point: the widening of our knowledge. If everything of importance in history is connected with many other things, the problem must be to understand them in connection with these other things. The comprehension of history means the understanding of the historical chain of events; and further, if everything, even that which is most peculiar to itself, bears relationship with other things in the world, it is our duty to look everywhere for the analogies. Such a system of argument by analogy follows a different law from the analogy drawn from the historical dependence of one thing upon another, and must be distinguished from it. Still we are convinced that in many cases we can only understand an isolated phenomenon if we take into consideration those which are related to it in other spheres of activity. To take an example: whoever wishes to judge the present Russian revolution correctly, is utterly wrong if he naively imagines that this is the only revolution which has ever taken place. He must, if he acts sensibly, take note of other revolutions — the German for instance of 1848, the French, the English; then by means of an intelligent comparison, he will recognize the immutable order in the phenomena of all revolutions, besides that which is peculiar to the Russian. Such procedure is to-day, in political history — in affairs of any importance — a matter of course. The history of a single people can only be written if one has a general idea of the history of mankind. And it is the same in the sphere of religion. Phenomena like mysticism, asceticism and many others are not peculiar to any particular religion, but have appeared in many; the inquirer concerned with them in his own special province must know this fact if he wishes to avoid grave mistakes.

The specialist therefore, in his search for historical cohesion and analogies, must always look far beyond the limits of one particular sphere. Thus appears the other side of the spirit of religious history which plays such a prominent part at the present day. The historian of religion must in perfect simplicity overstep the boundaries of his special subject, and must be able to recognize everywhere the actual special relation of the parts to the whole, and the truly significant analogies. In opposition to the spirit of this endeavour we have that old negligent comfortable feeling — a power of incredible strength — and

the incapacity of the individual worker which may perhaps be overcome, if many co-operate; but above all the dogmatic prejudice, which regards the religion of the Bible and Christianity as something so peculiar to itself that it cannot possibly be explained on the analogy of other religions. It is not my present business to ask how we are to answer the question of dogma which thus arises, which means ultimately the problem of the "absoluteness" of Christianity. The question I raise at present is that the historian in whose eyes the history of mankind is a Unity, cannot separate into two halves the evolution of what is Christian and what belongs to other religions.

This is the fundamental thought which has led us to search throughout the whole of the Orient for material which may be brought to bear upon the religion of the Bible, to seek throughout the whole world for analogies to Biblical phenomena. And so it is not from the outside that the flood of the history of religion has broken in upon biblical study, we ourselves opened the gates to it. And this spirit of the history of religion must and will work its way into all branches of theology. The historian of the Church who treats of the monks may not overlook the fact that quite a similar institution exists in India. He who turns his attention to the origin of the Bible must consider also the fact that the divine inspiration has been attributed to a large and different collection of writings; and the student of dogma must not lose sight of the existence of other religions as well. This spirit of religious history will take its own course, which will not be stayed by any anxiety or ill-will, by any mistakes which at the beginning of such an enquiry are unavoidable and are well-known — by any politics of university or government circles. The enthusiasm to which its thoughts give rise (for the widening of all problems does awake enthusiasm) will overcome all obstacles. On all theological tendencies it will have its effect, and we can see its traces even now; it will work its way more and more into the enquiries into the Old Testament. The better we understand the great civilised peoples of the East, the more shall we recognize their inner and outer relation to Israel. The future commentaries on the books of Psalms and Proverbs will treat also the other similar productions of the East. He who will describe the priesthood and the sacrificial code of Israel will collect and give an account of all kinds of priesthood and sacrifice which have ever existed, as well as the place which Israel takes in the general history of priesthood and sacrifice. One problem will be well worth solving, and that is a comparison between the Israelitish narratives with those of the whole world, for there is indeed nothing so international as narrative literature. A work of comparison which will afford

material enough for whole generations of scholars. The total result will certainly not be the disappearance of the separative peculiarities of Israel and its religion; it will be rather that this religion will shine forth all the more brightly in its marvellous greatness. Moreover the impression which one previously had, that this religion was originally a most primitive one will also disappear. We shall see more and more what a long and undeniably great history mankind had already behind it before any such religion could possibly appear. And perhaps one day the time will come when the Christian community will realize that this study is really capable of serving it, in as much as it makes the treasures of the Bible dearer and more valuable than ever, and places the wonderful picture of the history of Biblical truth ever more luminously before it.



PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY IN GERMANY DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

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In those religions which have a developed Theology (Brahmanism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism), Theology and Philosophy enter into relations which in each instance are dissimilar. So much is this the case in Christianity, that the formation of Christian doctrines cannot be understood unless the influence of Philosophy be taken into account. If it be the task of Theology to elevate the essence of Christianity and the content of the Christian Faith into the sphere of scientific consciousness, it is plain that the aid of Philosophy is indispensable, and any difference in regard to this influence can only be one of kind or degree, in proportion as emphasis is laid on the positive character of Christianity as a Religion of Revelation in contrast to the elevation of Gnosis above Pistis, or to the idea of a philosophical or even of a natural religion, in contrast — briefly speaking — to all attempts to rationalise religion. But it is not only the emphasis laid on Revelation which can impose the greatest restraints on this philosophical influence; the very structure of the religion in question may have this effect. Similarly, this influence is conditioned by the development of Philosophy itself, by the position it takes in the general intellectual life, and by its very content, this being sometimes more and at other times less favourable to a combination with Theology.

If we consider the past century (which, up to 1850 or thereabouts has been termed the Century of Philosophy) we see that the development of Philosophy was so powerful and its attention so particularly directed towards the absolute foundations of the world and to religion, that Theology although becoming its vassal, was enriched in multifarious manner by its comprehensive researches. The investigation of Christianity to determine the content of truth in it and its significance as an Absolute Religion, is essentially of a speculative nature, but the consideration of the historic side of Christianity was also influenced

by philosophic speculation and its principle of development. Only a few, in a one-sided adherence to Revelation and the historico-supernatural character of Christianity, strove to stem the rising tide of philosophy. In the second half of last century, on the other hand, the practical ousted the theoretical moment from its place in intellectual life; speculation abandoned the field before empiric investigation. Hence the influence of Philosophy on Theology has been naturally less marked here, though of course the dependence of Theology on Philosophy, on the scientific currents of the time, did not wholly cease.

Kant had given a new impulse to German speculation, and this was supplemented from the religious side by Rousseau, Jacobi, and the Romantic movement. Kant was followed by Fichte, and the Schelling-Hegel speculative school of which Herder may be regarded as the forerunner. As philosopher, theologian, and historical investigator Schleiermacher has received many a stimulus from Kant, Fichte, Schelling and the Romanticists. He worked out these hints independently and sought to distinguish between Religion and Theology as also between Philosophy and Theology, without wholly separating them; he even treated philosophic theology as a part of theology. Schelling himself, in his later philosophical period, completed an approach to Theism through his Doctrine of Freedom (1809) and in his Philosophy of Mythology and Revelation he also developed it from the religious-historical side with the help of his doctrine of Potencies.

The last phase of comprehensive German speculation is represented by speculative Theism in its manifold forms. Then came not only the rise of empiric science in Germany, but the inrush of a wave of scepticism which, as long as it prevailed, covered all attempts at supersensuous speculation with obloquy and contempt.

Let us first consider the speculative tendency in its influence upon Theology.

At the head of this development stands Kant, who in his critical principles represented a combination of Leibnitzian and English thought. On the one hand he emphasised the a priori character of the forms of thought and perception, while on the other hand he upheld the empiric nature of the sensuous world of phenomena, given with the sensations, in the domain of theoretic cognition. From the world of phenomena he distinguished the 'thing per se', holding the latter to be unknowable, just as in the domain of theoretic cognition he held a cognition supersensuous in content to be impossible, through lack of intuitive perception. Hence there could be neither a rational Psychology, nor Cosmology, nor Theology. He allowed the validity of a practical rational belief. The autonomous practical Reason postulated God,

Freedom, Immortality; herein he taught a Metaphysic with a practical basis. When he speaks of "Belief", it is not as a resolve of the will or a belief in authority, for the rational belief is necessary, and the practical Reason is autonomous and does not depend on a recognition on the part of our will, but rather prescribes laws to the will. He speaks only of Belief, because the content cannot be verified by intuitive perception. Of the greatest importance for Theology was the notion of Religion which Kant propounded. In contrast to the religion of "pure" doctrine, with historic dogmas, he based religion entirely on morals; religion is to will the moral law as a divine commandment. Of decisive importance is the fact that Kant with his notion of religion set up an ideal of Religion by which all empiric religions — Christianity not excepted — could be measured. In this we have Philosophy's claim to supremacy over Theology. Christianity is the Religion of that humanity which is well-pleasing to God, the specifically ethical religion, and since the moral consciousness is present in each heart Christianity is also the only Universal religion, which at the same time lacks the esoteric character of an intellectualistic doctrinal religion. It really needed no revelation, seeing that all is contained in the practical Reason; indeed, the latter alone supplies the standard by which the value of empirical religious conceptions can be determined. In this way Kant has created a natural Theology which should be based on practical belief, — but rational belief, — and was completely the product of the necessity of the idea of Reason. From this consideration arose the ideal of a Church, to realise the idea of humanity well-pleasing to God. All the old traditional doctrines of faith were revolutionised by this ideal of Religion, the contrast between the purely rational belief and the legalistic belief being maintained throughout. Here Kant made certain concessions to the empiric Church in his doctrine of radical Evil which, it is true, could be fundamentally abolished by the action of intelligible freedom, but which at the same time necessitates a gradual reform of the empiric man consequent on the fundamental intelligible change. The church is specially adapted to carry this reform through. The presence of the consequences of the "radical Evil" make legalistic institutions necessary for the Church, in order that the pure rational belief may be introduced and fostered. So too the Church needs a Holy Book, the joint participation of the congregation in holy ceremonies and observances, but she must beware of making such legalistic institutions an end in themselves; wherever that is done you have clericalism and Mumbo-Jumboism. Historical Christianity should not be made an object of Faith, historical belief should not be made a condition of salvation, for the great requisite is not the assent to historical events but

the moral revolution which every man in defiance of the radically Evil can bring to pass by virtue of his intelligible freedom. Thus one may recognise Christ as the representative of humanity well-pleasing to God, but belief in his person should not be made a condition of salvation; we must adhere to the axiom that each one has to appropriate to himself the principle of the life well pleasing to God. In this way the Bible can maintain its place as a means of education, provided it be morally interpreted throughout; the historical exegesis is a matter of theological learning and is devoid of religious value. It is interesting to note how Theology made use of these opinions. Out of unwillingness to abandon the belief in Revelation, the doctrine of radical Evil was adhered to, in order to afford support for the justification of the assumption of a Revelation, the formal revelation and general proclamation of the moral faith in God being considered necessary for the sake of human infirmity. Karl Ludwig Nitzsch, for example, held this, while Krug and others regarded the form of revelation for the introduction of truths of reason as useful though not permanently necessary; Ammon and Bretschneider rather followed Lessing's principle and held that the effect of Revelation was educative, bringing Reason to its full development. In short, while the Kantian theologians were substantially in agreement with Kant, they could only characterise Theology by a formal belief in a revelation, which brought the content of the Reason to full consciousness but was, after all, superfluous.

Kant may be called the Socrates of modern times, in so far as he has inaugurated a whole series of standpoints. In the same way Fichte's system of thought is closely akin to Kant's, the former aiming at the filling up of the chasm between the practical and the theoretic Reason (which Kant himself sought to bridge over in his Critique of the judgment) by means of the Unity of the absolute Ego. He again is closely followed by Schelling with his intellectual intuition, which Kant had recognised hypothetically as the structure of Absolute Being. When Kant further emphasises the agreement of the theoretic and the practical Reason from the point of view of End, and is inclined to derive the expedient Knowledge of the world from God, he may be termed also the forerunner of Ethical Theism. In respect to the theoretic metaphysics Kant is, however, sceptically inclined as well, and is for a sundering of the Knowledge of nature from the practical Reason; hence it came about that Neo-Kantianism, after the dissolution of the Absolute Philosophy, allied itself to Kant. Indeed, since he had also rejected the rational Psychology, we might say that Empirical Psychology which professes to concern itself only with Phenomena, and in this sense aims at promulgating a science of Psycho-physics as a part of theoretic Natural science,

can similarly be traced back to him. All these are phenomena which also played a part in the development of Theology. Yet, before we consider the influence exercised on Theology by those different trends of thought, we must take notice of a supplementation which Kant received. His standpoint was subjectively determined through and through, he investigated the power of cognition and the practical Reason. Religion is for him a matter for the intelligence, which is associated with the will; it is a practical belief, but a rational one, and that only because God cannot be seen. The idea of God remains for him *necessary*, both as a regulative for the theoretic and a postulate for the practical Reason. Only in a very restricted sense can the Kantian position be termed voluntaristic, inasmuch as he demands the attitude of mind well-pleasing to God, which is however a rational direction of the Will. In his mode of thinking, however, Kant had subordinated feeling to the coolness of the Reason and the Critique.

This standpoint of the importance of Feeling in Religion had already found an advocate in Rousseau, in the sense that he had turned back to the *immediate* character of natural religious feeling, and had recommended a natural Religion of Feeling, which found more favour in Germany than in France. Jacobi too, and the Romantic school as influenced by Rousseau asserted the standpoint of feeling in the domain of Religion. According to Jacobi we possess God only in Feeling, since the Intellect has only *finite* ideas, and is thus (so to speak) a born danier of God. By means of symbols we can form representations of the content of religious feeling, but these are never completely available for purposes of rigid cognition. Related to this was the system of Fries who, in the doctrine of psychic experience, emphasised the sentiment of truth, the content of which is an object of reflection to the Intellect; yet only in symbols can this ideal content of feeling be represented. Jacobi's standpoint, which was also taken up by Fries, found much support in theological circles. In some cases it entered into combination with the Biblical belief in Revelation, as, for example, in Stendel's theology; other theologians regarded an external supernatural as a limitising of the absolute Being, and confined themselves to a conception of the Divine as becoming inward in Feeling. The Romanticists have done more to bring this view into prominence, by absorbedly studying Nature and History and by the desire to experience themselves in Religion the Divine Life as manifested in Nature and History. Herein they often came to feel their own infiniteness quite as often as that of the Godhead, and for that reason gave a speculative rendering of History, reading their own ideas into it as Novalis and others did in their glorification of the mediaeval world. Because

Religion meant to them sentiment, and was a matter of feeling, and because the Infinite cannot be grasped in notions, they too loved Symbolism. Everything becomes symbolic to them; their desire to feel the Infinite everywhere led to the dissolution of all actual forms, since they regarded them as symbols.

The totality of the Finite does not suffice; new symbols are continually being sought for. Here there can really be no fixity of doctrine, no dogma; only in symbols can the experience of the soul be expressed. Those theologians who were even slightly imbued with Romanticism have moods which can find expression only in symbols, in the forms of art; here a high value is assigned to poetry and music.

If the religious content be expressed in doctrines, these are always inadequate; the principal thing is to suit them to the taste of the age. There can also be symbols for the religious community which are fundamentally in a state of flux, being merely inadequate expressions of the content of feeling, and which must be adapted to suit the prevailing taste.

This aesthetic trend is also critical in as much as it possesses a criterion in the Infinity of Feeling (though it does not acquire an adequate rational cognition of things Divine), a criterion which always transcends what is given as mere symbols, and, in regard to the symbol itself, must take into consideration the taste of the time. In any case, Religion conceived as a matter of Feeling, finds expression best in the aesthetically formative imagination. This way of thinking, though repeatedly modified, has passed over into the present. The forms it assumes are those of an indefinite Christianity, of Fideism, of "sentimental" theology, and the more imagination and feeling are threatened with banishment through the matter-of-fact attitude of a legalistic religion with purely voluntaristic tendencies, through mechanical naturalism or through exact historic research, the more forcibly will this current set in.

A far more thorough, comprehensive, and fundamental complement to the one-sidedness of Kantianism was afforded by the Absolute philosophy. This was due in part to the circumstance that the Philosophy of the Absolute from the very outset strove (though in various ways) to take account of all psychological factors, in part to its endeavour to abolish the Kantian Dualism of natural cognition and practical belief, of the theoretical and the practical reason, and partly too because the greater emphasis laid on the objective world helped to surmount the one-sided subjective tendency of Kant and the "philosophers of Feeling." Besides, the Philosophy of the Absolute sought by aid of the idea of Development to gain a synthetic view of the process of

the objective world in Nature and History alike, by means of the theory of Evolution.

First came Fichte, who has been styled the Father of the Romantic movement, though the epithet has been applied probably through mis-conception of his doctrine of the absolute Ego. Kant, in his critique of the judgment, had already endeavoured to fill up the gap between practical and theoretic Reason by the conception of the End; thus we can readily understand how Fichte found the unity of the practical and the theoretic Reason in the absolute Ego. But he did not reach this by augmenting the empiric Ego, after the style in which Schlegel's irony represents the Ego as hovering over all. Fichte never countenanced such licence, and was perfectly able to distinguish the empiric individual Ego from the absolute Ego, which for him is only another name for Absolute Reason. From this absolute Reason he sought to comprehend the whole cosmic process, and thus accomplished the transition from Subjectivism to the objective Reason. The individual Egos are the active organs of this Reason. In the inconceivable barrier a stumbling-block is given, a non-ego, Nature. Nature is the "given," the blind-traditional, the authoritative, but this "given" is the material of Duty. The finite Egos are the organs through which the absolute Ego works. The totality of the "given" is to be transformed into Freedom. History is the history of Freedom. Fichte has abolished the Dualism of Kant; he has complemented the universal practical Reason by the individual contemplation of the task with which each one, in his own place, is entrusted for the universal Kingdom of God. Instead of the law, which **demands**, and instead of the practical postulate of God, he has set up a free, immediate individual apprehension of the individual task, and a becoming imbued with the divine Spirit as whose organs we act. He has united Ethics with religious mysticism. As opposed to the purely practical Belief and to mere Feeling, he has pointed out the necessity of clear Knowledge in combination with the emotion of Love, in the religio-ethical life. He knows the productive Love of the Good, which is based on the immediate comprehension of the individual task of each one by means of intellectual self-intuition.

Yet he does not glorify the individual subject, as do the Romanticists, but rather recommends that each one with his individual gift shall take his place in the Kingdom of God. Thus freedom is not to show itself merely negative, i. e. in the overcoming of all indolence and want of self-reliance, but also **positive**, in the production of utilities, in the family, in art, in Law, in the state, in science, in Religion. This affords him a connection with the historical process, for history is to him the History of Freedom. He aims at a combination of the concentrated uniform

principle of the ethically-determined inner communion with God, and the concrete working-out of this principle in the life of the individual, in his calling, as in the whole history of the world.

Humanity, through Freedom, ought to show forth a Kingdom of God. Fichte has elaborated this in detailed exposition in his "Ethik", and in his "Anweisung zum seligen Leben" it has received a more religious treatment. God, the principle of all action, has the empiric Egos as his organs; these operate to bring about the Moral order of the world. The pre-Christian religions are authoritative; in them we have vicarious revelation, there we have something which the individual himself cannot account for. The first free citizen of the Kingdom of Heaven is Christ, and now everyone can and everyone ought to raise himself to freedom. The line of progress is from a Theocracy of Belief to a Kingdom of God intelligible to and comprehended by each one. As Christ has brought into the world a new Knowledge, a new Life, a new Love, each one must now know that God lives and works in him and perfects his work. Religion is for Fichte a Knowledge of God, but knowledge combined with emotion; it is the engrossing of the consciousness by God and at the same time a complete transfusion of the individual consciousness by the particular task of the individual, and his love towards that task, for each of us is an organ of God, each in his own way co-operates in the realisation of the Moral Law of the world. For Fichte a Religion devoid of mystic emotion and destitute of practical moral energy is quite unthinkable; but it is likewise a clear knowledge of God which is the mainspring of his work in us. Here the kernel of philosophy is at one with the moral attitude and with religion. So firmly convinced is Fichte of the Unity of Metaphysics, Religion, and Ethics, that he says "It is not the Historical but the Metaphysical which sanctifies". In this respect he reminds us strongly of Spinoza.

Nevertheless, he is quite aware of the danger Mysticism runs of degenerating into a mere dreaminess, but he sees a counterpoise in the combination of a clear knowledge with the religious emotion, and in the ethical determination of his mysticism. In his "Anweisung zum seligen Leben" he makes repeated reference to the Gospel of John. We can readily understand how, when viewing Christianity as the rational religion of Freedom, he can interpret the historical revelation (especially in the person of Christ) only by regarding Him as the founder and first citizen of the Kingdom of Heaven, whose advent was the day-break of the religion of freedom, of that Kingdom of God, in which all participate freely and independently. Herein an ethically-determined mysticism is substituted for the "positive" Theology. Theology coincides essentially with Philosophy, which is the Freedom of the theoretic

and the practical consciousness. Fichte is an upholder of the will through and through, but at the same time one endowed with the most abstract of intellects and the most tender feelings. Hence he was (and still is) esteemed highly by all those theologians more keenly desirous of a rational-mystical ethically-determined religion than of a positive "religion of authority", those who are not fast entangled in positivistic scepticism against the metaphysico-religio-ethical. Though he attracted no special school of theologians, yet his influence on many (especially on Schleiermacher, despite his resistance) has been really great.

Kant has been termed "the philosopher of Protestantism", but the same term should, in justice, be applied to Fichte. Both thinkers made Protestantism reflect on its foundations, whereby it was raised fundamentally to greater clearness regarding itself, that is, to greater freedom. They proceeded from the universally-valid Reason, from the natural rational bases of Personality — indeed Fichte has done even more than Kant to emphasise the **individual** side of the Rational Personality by virtue of which it assumes a definite place in the whole. Christianity is looked upon as the Universal Ethic Religion wherein, in spite of all restraints, Freedom is attained. So too Luther proclaimed the Freedom of the Christian Man, Melancthon conceived Christianity as the restoration of the natural ethic belief in Providence, and, in the same belief in Providence, in the consciousness of election to the moral life, Zwingli found the true Religion. But it is Fichte's special desire that Knowledge should be utilised for Life. All thinking, writing, knowing must bear on that which lives; he aims not merely at the development of the Reason but at the formation of the character, which is not possible without clear knowledge. Hence Fichte's State is ultimately an educational State; according to his "Staatslehre" (1813) through education the State must raise its citizens from the stage of subjection to authority to that of Freedom, and similarly the duty of the Church is to train men for Freedom. Fichte is also Protestant in distinguishing between the empiric, statutory "stop-gap" Church, and the Invisible Church; the symbols of the former being only expedient symbols, ought to be capable of improvement. Lastly, Fichte's Protestantism is evinced by his endeavour to carry out his main thoughts regarding state and Church, under individual national conditions, and by his "Reden an die deutsche Nation" (Speeches to the German nation) wherein he not only hoped for the regeneration of his own nation but **demanded it**.

If Kant emphasises the theoretic knowledge of the natural causal nexus as that of a world of phenomena, and thus, in his own way, founds a mechanical science of Nature though separating the practical Reason from Nature, if Fichte regarded Nature as a barrier to Freedom which

ought to be removed or at best as furnishing the material for Duty, it was Schelling* who first sought to comprehend Nature as a positive revelation of the Godhead, as a mode of development of the absolute. Starting from the principle of Absolute Identity, he sought to comprehend the process of Nature by means of the different combinations of the real and the ideal Potence which emanate from the Godhead until the development of man is so far advanced that Nature comes to consciousness in him. In this way he conceived the universal process of Nature to be a uniform whole. He duly recognised the complete Independence of the life of Nature and, like Goethe, emphasised the uniform dynamic-teleological regularity of development in Nature.

Schelling's philosophy of Nature has been supplanted in later times by the mechanical Darwinian theory of Development, but the theory of development is and remains teleological, and of late years the dynamic and even the teleological view of Nature has come once more to the front. Like Goethe's philosophy of Nature, that of Schelling has broadened man's view by seeking traces of the Godhead in the life of Nature. The infinite creative fullness of the life of Nature shows itself conqueror over death which sets a limit to each single manifestation of that life, and Nature is comprehended in her relation to the spirit in which she awakens to consciousness. Thus too, as has been shown by Schelling in his Philosophy of Art, Nature can also become the vehicle of the spiritual, when the ideas come to be actually depicted in outward Nature, whereby the Harmony between the Real and the Ideal is attained.

If it be asked what that has to do with Theology or even with Religion, we must answer, "A great deal". A satisfactory Ethic can only be attained when Nature too has been recognised as a product of the Divine, when men have become conscious of the close inward relation between Reason and Nature. This consciousness has been expressed in the works of Schelling. The Ethic of Schleiermacher, wherein the doctrine of utilities has been treated as the kernel of ethics, was strongly influenced in this direction by Schelling. It was Schelling's appreciation of Nature which first made a real Ethic of Civilisation possible. But Schelling did not halt at the Philosophy of Nature; he applied the idea of development to History as well.

For him Christianity represents the turning point in history, the transition from the religion of nature and belief in fate to Providence or the return from the limitation and finitising of the Divine to the standpoint where the finite is re-absorbed into the infinite, and the finite appears only as symbol of the divine. Parallel with this we have the forms of

* Compare the writer's "Zu Schellings hundertjährigem Geburtstag"; 1875.

Art. In Antiquity we find a preponderance of the plastic, the representation of the infinite in the finite; in the Christian world the foremost place is taken by painting which is better able to find expression for the infinite, and by Allegory, as in Dante's Divine Comedy. Finally, in contradistinction to Kant he characterises Christianity as being a historical religion, while that of Greece was a religion of Nature. In Christianity God reveals himself in history and is comprehended as Providence. This does not mean that we have to keep to certain special historical dates. On the contrary, Christianity is in its Idea eternal, but it is part of its nature to present itself historically. We are not to confine ourselves to the way in which Christianity presented itself in Christ; even in Paul it has already assumed a different aspect. The individual historical forms of Christianity are different phenomena of its eternal idea. Protestantism has intellectualised Christianity and made it non-sensuous, but on the other hand it has restricted it to certain special books. Schelling polemises against the one-sided Historicism which strips Christianity of its Idea and conceives its dogma purely empirically. Particular investigations of a philological nature can alter naught of the idea of Christianity. The question of the genuineness of this or that book is of no moment for the understanding of Christianity, the idea of which is eternal and appears in many forms. But his polemic is also directed against the merely speculative consideration of Christianity. Hence it is for him a question of a combination of the speculative and the historical points of view. Herein Schelling paved the way for a new conception of history, according to which historical research should trace the ground-idea of Christianity in its different historical forms, and has thus had the greatest influence on historical theological investigation. In contrast to Fichte, who regarded Christianity merely as representative of the free "kingdom of God", Schelling pointed out that the idea of Christianity had realised itself in different forms in the course of history, and that in order to understand the development of Christianity as that of an eternal idea presenting itself in historic forms, we must have a combination of speculative and empiric research. So — Schelling conceived Nature as a revelation of the Absolute, and pointed to the harmony between Spirit and Nature. His philosophy of Nature in conjunction with his Aesthetics has delivered Theology from a one-sided Spiritualism. Not only was it followed by Strauß who admired Nature as the source of all Life and all harmony, but Schleiermacher too adopted the idea of the Union of Spirit and Nature.

Schleiermacher's Ethic describes the action of the Reason on Nature, and finds (in his "Christian Morals") the highest completion in the perfect harmony of Spirit and Nature, and idea which Schiller has developed

in his "Aesthetic training of the Human Race". The speculative Theology of Rothe, I. A. Dorner, and of Martensen, employed these thoughts of Schelling's on the significance of Nature, in their own Cosmologies. In the same way Schelling's conception of the history of Christianity as an Idea presenting itself in various historical forms, determined the theologico-historical researches of Baur and his school; and the idea of the development of religions to the height of Christianity, and of the development of Christianity, has been laid hold of and expounded by Hegel, in modified but elaborate style. In the last phase of his philosophical activity, Schelling tried to supplant Hegel's one-sided Panlogism by a developed Philosophy of Mythology and Revelation, a conception which has only found a fuller consideration in the latter half of last century. Schelling is usually enumerated among the Romanticists, with whom he was for some time in close sympathy. He had, however, risen superior to Romantic subjectivism by virtue of his conception of the world as an evolution of the absolute, developing in accordance with law, by his recognition of the organic view of the world, and by his aiming at objective knowledge. If then his spiritual intuition by the aid of which the concrete cosmic principles were to be rendered visible, be found Romantic (as being akin to Genius) then Kant should also in this same connection be reckoned among the founders of the Romantic movement, since (according to the Critique of the Judgment) this spiritual intuition is denied to us though regarded as pertaining to a **perfect** being.

Moreover, this intellectual contemplation has become of importance for theological epistemology since such intellectual contemplation was not seldom claimed on behalf of Piety, and was held to be necessary for the understanding of great historic figures, especially for the History of Religion. Although Hegel declared Schelling's intellectual contemplation to be a "shot from a gun", he himself has not escaped the fate of being dubbed a Romanticist. It is true that he too emphasised the process of "becoming", and directed his gaze to the history of the world, as did the Romanticists. But in contradistinction to their subjectivity he sets up the necessary development of the Idea and the rigid discipline of logical thinking as against their phantastic unmethodical manner. He labours to do justice to all cosmic phenomena by conceiving them as moments in the development of the Idea revealing itself in regulated progress. He aims at a fair treatment of all psychological factors, and likewise all the departments of intellectual life. He can conceive the Romantic standpoint of Irony as a moment in development, where the subject becomes conscious of its formal infinity. But the subject must raise itself above the subjective standpoint of a bad infinity, as well as above the standpoint of external legality and subjective morality,

to that morality which man can only attain in the life of the community. According to Hegel, practical life culminates in the morality of the "political" life. In this "political" life all the preceding stages are represented together, the system of needs with the Corporations, the individual with his individual needs as member of that civic Society incorporated in the State, the family, and the legal system. In the same way the subjective morality, the Moral sentiment, only becomes complete when directed towards objective content. Just as, in Psychology, he regards feeling, phantasy and will as stages in thought, so too the departments of the state, of Art, of Religion, are preliminary steps to Knowledge, which finally surveys the whole process of the Evolution of the Idea, and in which the absolute Being comes to full self-consciousness.

The "Philosophy of the Absolute" reached its highest point in Hegel — the absolute idea or Reason unfolds its content in the world to attain at last, in human thinking, the stage of full consciousness. He essayed to comprehend the whole cosmic process as the development, as the revelation of Reason, as something logically necessary. In this respect he laid stress on that very moment which, especially as regards religion, had been neglected by the Romanticists as well as by Kant, — the moment of Knowing. But he adds a second moment which had also been somewhat neglected. There is, in Religion, no pure "Knowing", but rather it is in religion that the already existent Unity of the Absolute with the finite spirit becomes manifest in the form of perception, i. e. in a form which is still sensuous and intuitional and not yet notionally determined, for which reason it continues to exist, in connection with the phantasy, in religious worship. Here Hegel referred to a characteristic side of Religion which became of the greatest importance for the comprehension of Religion and of the Christian doctrines. Moreover, as was usual with him, he followed up the development of Religion in the various religions and in the ceremonial rites connected therewith, to show how Revelation has raised itself through a series of stages of development to the height of the religion of the God-Man, the Absolute Religion or Christianity. This religion of the God-Man appears first in Christ, and spreads in his community. Accordingly the relation between Theology and Philosophy can only be the following. It is the task of Theology to elevate this divine-humanity which is consummated in the form of perception and for which Theology finds expression in perceptual form, into the sphere of clear notion. This assigns but a precarious place to Theology. If she make pretensions to being a science, she must merge into philosophic speculation, and the dogmas must be interpreted in accordance therewith. For Hegel the truth of the Trinitarian doctrine is that God is a living God who,

as spirit, mediates with himself, who has projected himself into the world as Son and has returned unto himself as Spirit. This process culminates in the human consciousness, God realising himself in the religious consciousness as absolute living Spirit. If we consider the religious process in the finite subject, we find it regards its own immediate natural condition as not corresponding to its spiritual nature, as **selfish**, wherever it becomes aware that it is more than mere Nature. Our consciousness thus passes through the stages of variance with the Natural condition in order to be reconciled in the Divine-human consciousness. In the dogmatic representation this process is shown forth in Christ and his death, the discord being abolished and reconciliation taking place in the consciousness of the God-Man. But this "representation" form must be stripped off. All must overcome the disagreement within themselves, must become aware of the Divine humanity, must participate in the Spirit and must belong to the community. At the same time all natural selfishness and sensuality is overcome in this consciousness which brings truth and freedom of spirit. Since here the religious consciousness is "eo ipso" one with the moral consciousness, this religious consciousness possesses the greatest significance for the State, which is the complete representation of morality. This was Hegel's reason for attaching such importance to the close connection of Church and State. Hegel proclaims peace between Philosophy and Religion, and the essential unity of Philosophy and Theology. To him Christianity as Absolute Religion is the highest peak of the development of the real life which continues in the mystical-representative form in Dogma and in worship, but is likewise of the greatest importance for the moral life, and of which the metaphysic of the absolute forms the kernel. It can be seen from the above that it is incorrect to regard Hegel purely as a man of abstract ideas. He attempts to do justice to all sides of religious life and emphasises the historical process of its development. He has influenced theology to a very high extent.

He affected the Methodology of the Theology of last century. Some (e. g. Marheinecke and others) used Hegelian dialectic to justify the content of truth of Dogma, others combined Hegel's speculative Method with Schleiermacher's "experiential" standpoint and aimed at showing the content of experience as truth without thereby wishing to demonstrate Christianity in black and white (so I. A. Dorner, Martensen, Rothe etc.). Sometimes the difference between Knowing (Erkennen) and presentation (Vorstellung) in the Hegelian sense was emphasised and an attempt made to free the dogma from its representational form and make it a clear notion (so Biedermann), the representational form being also retained as popular symbolism (so O. Pfleiderer). With

others the opposition between presentational idea and concept became so prominent that they let the dogma founder on the contradictions implicit in its presentational character (so Strauss's Dogmatics). When Feuerbach interpreted God's becoming known in man as if the kernel of the idea of God were man himself projecting his own nature into the Godhead, even this conception gained influence on a Theology which was becoming sceptical. Even more value is placed in the present (in conformity with the historic trend of the age) on Hegel's significance in historical speculation. The researches, inspired by Hegel, into the domain of the History of Religion — especially into the History of Christianity — have at one time a critical, at another time a conservative tendency. It was sought to make the historical process of Christianity *speculatively* intelligible, inasmuch as the idea of divine-humanity, the root idea of Christianity, or the divine-human person of Christ, was resolved into component factors and then higher forms of unity constructed. Through Hegelian influence not only the History of the Church and that of Dogma but especially the history of primitive Christianity and of Christ received a richer treatment. This lay partly in the new view which regarded Christianity as the product of the antecedent religious development and partly in the opinion that primitive Christianity had itself been the result of development, whether the Founder of it himself was regarded as standing outside this, or whether efforts were made to obtain a historical picture of him, and men regarded this mythologically, examined it critically or constructed it positively. Accordingly scholars were free to look upon the history of Christianity as the realisation of the idea of the divine-humanity in its various forms or, where Schleiermacher's influence made itself felt, to speak only of an ever increasing inward appropriation in the historical process of the content already given in Christ. Such Hegelian influence still exists, no subsequent school of Theology having been quite able to abolish it.

Schleiermacher, who was philosopher and philologist as well as theologian, who was for a time connected with the Romantics (though he can no more be accounted one than Schelling or Hegel), stands in a kind of opposition to the Philosophy of the Absolute and to Hegel in particular. In his combination of Religion with Ethics he was influenced by Fichte, and by Schelling in his conception of God as Absolute Identity and in the mode of union of Nature and Reason. He also shows in many ways traces of Kantian influence.*

* See the writer's treatise "Studien und Kritiken" — "Schleiermachers Verhältnis zu Kant. 1901".

For the more positive character (such as it is) of his Theology, he is indebted to the Brethren. For him, as for the Romanticists, Religion (judging by the "Lectures on Religion") is the Feeling and Intuitive Perception of the Infinite, and Art is the language of Religion; and he follows the Romanticists in asserting the rights of the individual in Religion and Morals. His ascription of a "holy sadness" to Christianity shows him closely akin to them; nevertheless, he did not halt at their subjective standpoint and the aesthetic life of feeling and fancy which accompanied it. He is also imbued with Kant's critical spirit, but, as his criticism of the traditional ethic evinces, his attitude is more historico-critical. Further, when Schleiermacher is bent upon assigning to Religion a special province in spiritual life, in Feeling and Intuition, he does not mean that Religion is thus to be completely separated from the rest of the functions of the spirit. As contrasted with the Romanticists, he shows that there is a transition toward Action as well as towards Knowledge from the immediate self-consciousness; in this sense he afterwards came to distinguish the "aesthetic" from the "teleological" religions and called for a special "Knowing" of the religious content and a "Knowing" for the purposes of Church management — a "knowing" which, in so far as it is not historical, springs from reflection on religious experience. Against the blurred indistinctness of Romanticism and the subjectivistic transfiguration of bygone periods he sets up the Hellenic standard. The spiritual world is for him a completely arranged organic Cosmos, which arises through moral action, the action of Reason upon Nature; Ethics, which at the same time contains the principles for a philosophy of history, has to describe this. Schleiermacher strives to gain a complete philosophic view of the world, in which Ethics (as the philosophy of the spirit which contains also the principles of Religion) plays the chief part. He determines the relation between Theology and Philosophy in a way which aims at preserving the independence of the former as well as its connection with the latter. According to his "Short account of the Study of Theology", Theology is only a complete whole when it connotes the knowledge necessary for the direction and management of a Church. Dogmatics as a branch of historical theology, should portray the content of Faith in terms of personal experience and the experience of the Christian community. In so far as Theology reflects on this content of experience, it is independent of Philosophy, since it is dealing with an empirical object. The influence of Philosophy is concerned chiefly with the formation of concepts and terms, and is therefore of a formal nature. This is why Schleiermacher, as compared with the former Intellectualists, regards doctrine as a mere secondary phenomenon of religion, and says that

its content cannot be demonstrated in black and white since doctrine is only the content of Experience conceptually expressed and its theoretic truth cannot be speculatively judged.

But, on the other hand, according to the Philosophic Ethic, Religion is just as much a product of the Reason, since it proceeds from the action of the Reason upon Nature; it is also an activity of the Reason, though in character unlike Knowing. In spite of this, the Philosophic Ethic now drafts the idea of Religion and constructs its possible forms. Since Theology is chiefly taken up with the understanding of what Christianity really is, it is in this respect dependent on Philosophy, which states the general points of view under which the different religions can be subsumed. Now it is true that Schleiermacher, in his construction of the essential nature of Religion, includes the distinction that it bears a thoroughly individual character — this follows from the individually symbolising Action — and thus seeks to show Christianity, as regards the "individual" side, has a definite content of experience, one which cannot be speculatively deduced, namely the consciousness of Redemption through Christ. On the other hand, however, his standpoint is again rationalistic when he terms religion "rational" on the ground that it is through the religious consciousness, through the absolute consciousness of dependence, that man first ceases to be a Fragment and that man's need of Unity is satisfied, because world-consciousness and self-consciousness are for the first time brought together in a Unity in the religious consciousness. Similarly we see the positive character of the Christian religion becoming markedly weakened in the assertion that the perfect strength of Christ's consciousness of God is the natural condition of Man and that corresponding to his idea, even though it may be said that such a person possessing perfect consciousness of God cannot be explained from the historical consideration of previous mankind. If one were to judge Schleiermacher's Christology from its representation of Christ as the man who acts from full consciousness of God, who meets the onrush of events in perfect freedom and with the constant query, what task do they point out to me?' but little difference would be found between it and Fichte's Christ-ideal, especially as Schleiermacher puts aside all the so-called facts of salvation as being dogmatical and irrelevant.

Piety can in general tolerate the idea of a universal, necessary Natural Nexus. From Schleiermacher's philosophical standpoint, Christianity is in substance the "rational" religion, being the ethically determined monotheistic religion of redemption; it is, like Knowing, a manifestation of Reason. The content of experience itself proves to have a right to be considered rational. If Schleiermacher's theological

ethic be closely examined, a similar result is arrived at, for it describes moral action as it appears under Christian impulse, and is thus mainly concerned with the forms in which the religious sentiment actively manifests itself. But the description of these activities presupposes the philosophic ethic. The division is really derived from the psychology of the Christian consciousness, but here too the Christian spirit is regarded as the intensified Reason, and we are plainly given to understand that the philosophic ethic in its perfect form agrees in content with the Christian ethic, and that it is only the impulse of the spirit which in the Christian ethic gives new energy to moral action. It was Schleiermacher's intention to afford religion an independent position by laying stress on its individual character and controverting the idea of Natural Religion in favour of Positive Religion; so too when he emphasises the positive character of Christianity as historical, not explicable from the forms of religion existing before Christ. In this connection, he appeals to the unique individuality of Christ, but as a matter of fact this uniqueness lies only in the possession of the consciousness of God in full vigour. In this way the Positivism is at once toned down again, for he represents this full vigour of God-consciousness and the blessedness of Christ therewith connected, as corresponding to the rational idea of the Man and passing over to the believers. He even identifies the operation of Christ with the spirit of Christ which continues to work in the community, since he recognises no other operation than the historic operation transmitted by the community, and the operation of Christ is really nothing else than the strengthening of our consciousness of God and of the blessedness connected therewith, i. e. it is a complete immanence of God or of the Divine Spirit in consciousness.

While praising Schleiermacher for having raised the position of the Church as against the Rationalism of the 18th century, certain writers have remarked that in so doing he unwillingly did good service to Orthodoxy and even to Catholicism. Those who go even beyond him as regards the dependence of religious certainty upon the revelation experienced in the community, have hardly a reason to allege for these latter reproaches.

On the other hand it was quite evident that if religion was to occupy a special place in spiritual life, the religious community, in Schleiermacher's sense, would also be specially signalised, and this too without Hegel's restriction (i. e. that the Church observances were essentially nothing but a conceptional representation of the Christian content) since, according to Schleiermacher's theory, these observances were to form the expression of the common Christian experience in combination with Art. But Schleiermacher had obtained the notion of the

Church also from purely ethical considerations, and since after all the essential nature of Christianity can only be clearly and apperceptively fixed by Science, the idea of the Church too is dependent on philosophical ethics.

In Schleiermacher's opinion the practical direction of the Church is determined by theological Knowledge, and this does not depend on the condition of the empiric church, or its system of authorities, but on the conception of the church furnished by Ethics. Accordingly he demands improvements in keeping with this conception, and the more so as he is unable to free himself from the idea of development and even gives in his Ethic hints as to the mode in which, after the Ideal, the development ought to take place. Lastly, Schleiermacher gave fresh impulses to historical Theology partly through furthering Method (especially in his "Hermeneutik und Kritik"), and partly by employing the factor of individuality for the understanding of History as well, and of the New Testament types in particular. He endeavoured to be fair to rationalistic as well as to positive interests. If we consider the mediative nature of this standpoint we cannot wonder at his being followed by theologians of the most varied type; first and foremost by those who, like Twisten, based the independence of Theology upon the experience of Salvation, and (in a different way) by Alex. Schweizer, who at the same time earned a name through the thoroughness of his historical investigations. On the contrary there were others who found that although a rational content be given in experience, the truth of the content of experience could also be perceived, and they superadded Speculation to Schleiermacher's standpoint. This was shown clearly in their endeavour to develop the doctrine of God which in Schleiermacher had been specially borne down through the discordance between the testimonies of Experience and of Speculation. On the one hand he gave expression to all kinds of experiential testimonies concerning God, while on the other he averred that the finite nature of our concepts, which always remain contradictory, made a real concrete knowledge of God quite impossible. The speculative theologians, following Hegelian suggestions as to Method, sought either to attain a theistic idea of God by the help of Ethic categories (I. A. Dorner*, Rothe, and others) or were disposed rather to uphold the divine Immanence, bringing Schleiermacher's standpoint of Feeling into connection with the consciousness of one-ness with God (O. Pfleiderer). A connection of Speculation with History is also characteristic of theologians of the Schleiermacher school. The position of Christ, which

* See my essay: In memory of I. A. Dorner; Studien und Kritiken 1885: Zum hundertjährigen Geburtstag I. A. Dorners; Protest. Monatshefte W. 13. Heft 7.

Schleiermacher held authoritative for Christianity, became in their hands a starting-point for the historical view; on the one hand the pre-Christian world culminates in Him, while, on the other hand, the history of Christianity shows a continually increasing assimilation and unfolding of the content given in Christ. Others adhered even more closely to the experience of salvation, partly as laid down in the Scriptures, partly as expounded in the Confessions, and laid more stress on the positive "revealed" character of Christianity (e. g. Holtzmann, etc.).

Nevertheless, the positivistic side of Schleiermacher's Theology did not fully come to the fore until Empiricism had replaced that form of speculative Philosophy. Then the impossibility of theoretic Knowledge in Philosophy began to be emphasised, and the experiences of faith were appealed to, the independence of Religion being considered to lie precisely in its having nothing to do with theoretic Knowing. Thus there remained only the psychological and the historical sides of Schleiermacher's conception of Religion all connection with speculation having been eliminated. Yet it is characteristic of Schleiermacher himself that he kept up this connection and did not recognise the Kantian antagonism between practical and theoretic Reason, considering rather Religion, Knowing, Doing as modes of action of the One Reason.

Schleiermacher has been reproached with Pantheism, with Spinozistic inclinations. The same might have been averred of Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, and it cannot be denied that the Absolute Philosophy tended as much as did that of Goethe and Schleiermacher, to the immanence of God in the world. The Godhead reveals its content in the world; it must dwell in the hearts of the pious. In knowledge or in intellectual intuition, in immediate consciousness, in Feeling, in the indifference of opposites, the Godhead must be present.

This view, however, did not seem to distinguish sharply enough between God and the World, the sublimity, the transcendency of God seemed neglected, and in particular the problem of Evil and the divine righteousness and holiness found in this immanence no adequate recognition and seemed given up in favour of a one-sided ethical optimism. Hence speculation turned at last to Theism, which in many respects was better able to agree with the traditional Theology, e. g. in the acknowledgment of God's transcendency, in the doctrines of Creation, of God's influence in the world, of sin and redemption, of revelation, and of God's acts in the world whereby he was held to reveal himself as holy and gracious. Theism has a host of representatives who in some cases were more rationalistically inclined, in other cases more favourable to the supernatural, or who even sought to unite both phases; it has sometimes a more speculative and sometimes a more inductive basis.

Schelling*, in his last stage, set up over against the Hegelian Panlogism, a system of Theism which was to recognise Will and Reason alike. The Universal, Rational, Ideal, is only Actual in the individual. The negative philosophy which treats the conceptual Construction must be helped along by the positive Philosophy which is concerned with the Understanding of the Real Fact. Hence he speaks of a "meta-physical Empiricism". The development of the world cannot be conjured up out of the mere idea. If Hegel had already spoken of the Accidental, Schelling went even further; not only did he recognise the Irrational as an intermediate stage in the cosmic development, but he set about examining the basis of this. He recognised God as Lord of Being, Master of his Potencies, and conceived the system of the world as due to the breaking up of the Potencies (i. e. the Real potencies, the Ideal potencies, and the combination of both) therein. At first the real potency set itself in opposition to the others; this accounts for all selfishness. The ideal potency, as being universal, sought continually to oppose the other. Hence, by the manifold nature of the conjunction of these two potencies, a third potency in the form of continually-developing manifestations of the life of Nature, comes into being, until in Man the balance of the Potencies is once more restored. But in the human consciousness the very same process is repeated. Schelling talks of a theogonic process, because the divine potencies completely engross consciousness.

In the history of Religion, which is also the very marrow of the history of nations, this process is consummated. Here too the Real Potency first appears in the Natural religions, and has from the very outset a selfish character. But the superior power of the Ideal Potency makes itself more and more felt in the religious process until the unity of the Potencies is brought about by Christ; the natural Real Potency is in him the basis of his individual nature, though controlled by the Universal Potency. He is the personal representation of the universal sentiment; hence the world is once more united with the Godhead, which vindicates itself as the original Unity of the Potencies. Through Christ the natural Egoism is overcome, and his work goes on in the community which originates with him. The Personal can only be healed by that which is also Personal. In his "Philosophy of Revelation" Schelling represents Christianity to be the summit of religious development, not because it realises the divine-human consciousness or because it inaugurates the belief in Providence, but because the irrational element of the natural will, the Evil, the Egoistical, is overcome by the universal side.

* Compare my treatise "Zur Erinnerung an Schellings hundertjahrigen Geburtstag". 1875.

The voluntaristic irrational factor here opposes the mere unfolding of the idea, but the former does not win in the end. The will, the Real Potency, serves ultimately as the mere basis of the individual personality which enters the service of Universal Love. And Schelling goes even farther, claiming that a spirit which has thus achieved Harmony must also become in harmony with its body, and has postulated that the world of Spirit when harmoniously united with Nature, ultimately comes to full perfection through successive developmental stages of Christianity. Even in his last period there is no trace of a permanent Dualism or Pessimism in Schelling; on the contrary, the individual will is fully justified when it makes itself the hearer of the Universal. The emphasising of the Real Potency and its transient independence, was meant by Schelling as an Explanation of Evil as the egoistic natural Potency, and hereby the personal factor became also more prominent. He was consequently in a position to do more justice to Theology in as far as it laid greater weight on Sin, on the historical person of Christ, on Personality in general, and on God's transcendency. Although his Theosophy (which is akin to that of Boehme) found little favour, yet he has not only gained philosophical followers (e. g. Beckers of Munich. Baader too was a kindred spirit), but theosophical theologians like Hamberger, Schöberlein, and also Martensen and Rothe, have derived inspiration from him. It was the problem of Nature in God, and the higher estimate of the corporeal evinced in Schelling's theory of the union of Spirit with Body, which attracted those theologians. That these speculations of Schelling found so little favour at the time was partly due to their being regarded as savouring too much of Gnostic phantasy and also in part to the incipient distaste for Speculation of any kind. Only of late years has Schelling received fuller attention, and even then he has been for the most part erroneously interpreted as pessimistic.

As Hartmann's pupil, Drews was fair enough to acknowledge in his book "Die deutsche Spekulation seit Kant", that German speculative Theism has done a great deal of work in the realm of Thought. Philosophers and Theologians, Protestants, Catholics, and "Grecians" worked at the problems of Theism. Besides a number of Herbartians, other thinkers like Lotze, Fechner, Weisse, I. H. Fichte, Chalybäus, Ulrici, Trendelenburg and Harms have worked in various ways, — sometimes more speculatively, sometimes more inductively — to found the theistic view of the Universe. Protestant speculative theologians, e. g. Rothe, Martensen, I. A. Dorner, and Catholic theologians, e. g. Sengler, Hirscher, Deutinger, Staudenmeyer, Leopold Schmid, Günther etc., have laboured specially at the problems of the Knowledge of God,

and of his relation to the world. These efforts were of great importance for Theology since they paved the way for a harmony between Knowledge and Belief, and in particular offered a welcome support for an ethically deepened theological defence of Christianity. The essential nature of Christianity as a religion which unites the immanence and the transcendence of God, the relation of God to the world and to history and particularly to the history of Religion, the agreement of Belief and Knowledge, and other problems, were examined from very different sides. It seemed as if lasting peace had been established between Religion and Philosophy, between Philosophy and Theology. It is not exactly a proof of great historical fairness when even at the present day many write as if the whole of this theistic movement had been devoid of significance; in the case of those who still remain under the influence of the empirico-sceptical metaphysicophobe current, such a view is however intelligible.

The century had begun with Speculation, it ended with the empiric sciences. The idealistic philosophy was for the most part attacked by three hostile forces, all of the empiric tendency. These were Pessimism in conjunction with Irrationalism, then Sensualism, allied to Phenomenalism and Psychologism, and lastly exact scientific investigation. This last foe appeared first as the study of nature together with the mechanical theory of development, and afterwards as historical research along with Historicism.

Pessimism developed out of Romanticism and was in part the expression of dissatisfaction with the existing condition (after the Napoleonic wars) of economic and political life; it was a mood which first broke out into poetical expression all over Europe before finding representation in philosophic theory. It is the Romanticist yearning for the infinite, which is also seen in Schopenhauer whose Pessimism is based on a realistic Metaphysic. It is the infinite, always coveting and unsatisfied Will to Live which becomes inwardly aware of its own unhappiness, just like the "distant longing" of the Romanticists. It is really not a case of rational Will but of a blind Life-impulse, and of the empiric feeling of distaste which condemns the world and demands the quiescence of the will. And therein also Schopenhauer is "romantic", for in Art (especially in Music) he is able to raise himself so far above the unsatisfying nature of Existence, that the will is for the time being soothed by the aesthetic enjoyment. In the stress he lays on the irrational will, in the pessimistic nature of his feeling, in his aphoristic mode of thought free from the discipline of logic, he is the direct antithesis of Hegel. He is negatively eudaemonistic; all he values in Christianity is the negative ascetic element, the negation of the will to Live. This

has absolutely nothing to do with Ethics in the idealistic sense. His theory of sympathy is negative-eudaemonistic; his ideal of asceticism is motivated solely through the alleged unhappiness of "Willing". This pessimistic theory has found a number of supporters — Bahnsen, Frauenstädt, Taubert, Mainländer, and others. The optimism and idealism of the "Philosophy of the Absolute" were opposed by this school of thought, which was in part hostile to Christianity. Even where it did approach Christianity, it was only the reclusive ascetic features of the mediæval type which received recognition, as for example was the case with Deussen.

In Feuerbach we have the very opposite tendency. He turned from Hegel to the Sensualistic Anthropology, because he desired to escape from ethereal abstraction, and yearned for Life, for Reality. Man is represented as originally standing helpless before Nature. Man seeks to overcome her through religion, by projecting out of himself divine beings which preside over objects of nature or over whole groups of Natural life. These beings he believes himself able to influence. But the more his labour gives him mastery over Nature, the more superfluous those divine beings become, and in the end Man comes to recognise himself as the kernel of Godhead and Nature. Very similar was August Comte's distinction between the religious, the metaphysical, and the historical ages. Humanity is for him the only thing he can hold to, and he demands active work in the service of humanity much as Feuerbach did in his "Theism". Here too the change has been from the theoretic interest to the Practical, to the satisfying of Eudaemony. We shall see what influence this theory exercised upon Theology. In similar fashion the Position of the "absolute philosophy" was attacked from the Neo-Kantian standpoint. Here Kant's scepticism in the theoretic metaphysic was used as a starting point; the knowledge of the phenomenal world of Nature was affirmed, but everything which went beyond the experience of the senses was declared to be fiction, though a fiction which we must have, and which although in no wise furthering our Knowledge, may in any case be of practical value. The more carefully the metaphysical domain was shunned, the greater was the addition made by accurate observation to the territory of Psychology. And even here only the phenomenal was to be known, all metaphysical questions being disregarded. But this favoured the tendency to increase the domain of Psychology, to regard as psychological all happenings of which we possess an "experience", and so to make empirical Psychology the foundation of all knowledge. Hence it was held that religion too had to deal with psychological experiences, the objective truth of which cannot be verified.

Along with this, and finding its support mostly in Kantian Phenomenalism, "exact" physical science grew to full strength with its postulate of the irrefragible continuity of the mechanical nexus in Nature. In the domain of the Organic, Darwinism, on the strength of a host of special observations, had declared the Theory of Descent predominant. This doctrine maintained that all modes of life had a common genealogy which, from the very borders of the Inorganic up to Man, showed a steady development of forms. The attempt was even made to represent the intellectual development as parallel to that of the body, and thereby to show the growth of all intellectual functions to be dependent on the corporeal alterations in the phylogenetic process, and thus explain the whole process of life **mechanically** out of the struggle for existence. So it was that Darwin's mechanical theory of development took the place of the dynamical and teleological theory of Evolution.

In the face of this changed state of matters, Theology for the most part did not dare to appeal to Metaphysics. It went back to the Kantian separation of the doctrine of Nature from the practical Reason, and was inclined to leave the Natural nexus severely alone. On the other hand, it held more and more firmly to the psychological experiences; it renounced all theoretical knowledge of God not from the Kantian objection resting on the lack of intuition, but because our ideas completely fail in this domain, and metaphysical knowledge is impossible. All the more attention was paid to exalting the practical psychological side of the religious experience, and it was even averred that, through the religious ideas we feel ourselves raised above all sorrow to bliss — in this way Pessimism was to be supplanted — that, through the idea of God we feel ourselves exalted above all the barriers of Nature, and that, although there be no theoretic proofs for the truth of the religious ideas, yet the consciousness of the strengthening of the ethical will through the idea of God or the feeling of sanctification in the religious life is a much better proof of the truth of the religious content than all theoretical proofs together. It was held that this very freeing of Theology from the theoretic proofs which always lead to disputed undecided questions of Metaphysics, made it possible to assign her a completely independent position, with the further advantage of leaving the natural sciences perfectly free. For the chief question in Religion was one of psychological occurrences, and its relation to the question of miracles was of secondary importance. Through fresh recourse to Kant and a new formulation of the theory of knowledge, it was thought that this position could be even better fortified. A distinction was made between "judgments of being" and "judgments of value", and when the domain of "judgments of value" had been reserved for

Religion, the stronghold was deemed impregnable. These "judgments of value" were examined in subtle fashion, and it was thought that here, the highest point of view of all, Theology could remain. It turned out that these "judgments" of value can be very variously based, and that first and foremost, they bear a purely subjective individual character. By regarding as "valuable" only that which affords real strength to the ethic will, or which is permanently connected with the feeling of bliss, it was sought to elevate these "judgments of value" to the dignity of Universal Validity. But here philosophers were on a different plane to Kant. He had laid down the practical Reason as the unconditioned law, by reference to which the will was measured. He did not make the value of the practical Reason dependent on the "judgment of value", but rather asserted that each one possessed in the practical Reason an infallible judge, a measure for self-valuing regarding which there could be no doubt. The new theory, however, proceeded (probably with a view to sustaining the independence and autonomous nature of the "judgment of value") on the principle that the recognition of the standard for the values is conditioned by the assent of the subject, i. e. that no one can be forced to acknowledge a particular value. By thus making that standard by which the value was to be measured itself in turn dependent on the subject, the bow was too tightly strung. Now they were really left with no Necessity on which to rest the judgment of value. That was left to the option of the subject and was thus **individual**. They certainly endeavoured to limit this individual character of the judgment of value as far as possible, but in order to accomplish this they would have required either to maintain once more the necessity and universal validity of the law of the practical Reason, or else have recourse to other universally valid psychological needs. To this end they would have had to take not the "judgments of value" but the necessary "judgments of being" regarding the existence of a practical Reason, a Norm of the psychological needs, as measure and standard of value for the judgments of value; then it would have been hard to avoid the metaphysical. So they did their best to get out of the difficulty by turning from the individual judgment of value to that of the community, a step which also suited the empiric fashion of the time. They tried to get rid of the uncertainty in Theology, by the Revelation in Christ. While declining, from this standpoint, a natural Theology, they appealed to this Revelation as making a profound overwhelming impression, and convincing us that we may think of God as gracious, if we assimilate the idea of the Kingdom of God revealed by Christ, and take it up into our wills. To be sure the question as to the basis of this "judgment of value" regarding Christ, demands solution in its

turn. Here again a standard had to be postulated by reference to which Christ's revelation could be measured, unless men simply were content to hold that this Revelation must be accepted by the will, the value of it being "experienced" in the resulting energising of the will or in the felt blessedness. But that would be equivalent to making blind belief in the Revelation in Christ a stipulation for the experience of salvation. This practical drift of the "judgment of value" was at one time referred to the raising of the will above Nature and her barriers, and then Religion assumed a more voluntaristic character — and, at another time, to bliss, whereby Religion received a eudaemonistic colouring and once more approached the agnostic Romantic religion of sentiment. No heed was paid to the objection raised against this reference of Theology to "judgments of value", on the ground that the truth of an idea was in no wise guaranteed by its resulting in blissfulness or in strengthening of will. Hence we can easily understand how, from the practical standpoint itself, a still more advanced system of Philosophy uttered the dictum that a Truth is essentially not a matter of the agreement between concept and object but that the chief thing is the *Utility* of the supposed truth. From his practical standpoint Nietzsche has laid stress merely on the *utility* of truth for the will to Power, and on this principle demands a recalculation of all values; but he himself allows with perfect consistency that this emphasising of the will to Life, to Power, is his own individual opinion. Still he could not help granting (if no more) that at least this will to Power is the only truth which must be acknowledged in the sense that it has also "existence", that here the idea corresponds to the object, i. e. possesses metaphysical validity. It is accordingly obvious that an increasing number of theologians also have come gradually to the view that "judgments of value" alone do not suffice to maintain the standpoint of Belief against the prevailing currents of the age, enticing though this expedient seemed to be for a time.

For the development of Theology in detail, this theory had also to supply a standard for the valuation of the received dogmas. It goes without saying that all metaphysical components of doctrine were as far as possible eliminated. That seemed a considerable simplification. Only it seemed a questionable procedure to aim at a settlement of the uncertainty in the doctrine of God — Ritschl years before had termed God a Theoretical Hypothesis — and indeed the want of certainty altogether, partly through historical Revelation, partly through the judgment of the community. Besides a differentiation thus arose, according as more weight was attached to the will or to Feeling; in the latter case an approach to Mysticism (a Mysticism, however, which renounced any kind of metaphysical basis) became possible, whereas the volun-

taristic tendency adopted a hostile attitude towards the Mystical. On the whole it lay more in the nature of this standpoint to advert to the supernatural character of piety (i. e. in reality to advert to the elevation above Nature and her limitations) which, however, ought to form the object of the experience. The school of Ritschl rejected, or gave a new interpretation to the doctrine of the inward witness of the Holy Spirit, because this caused the weight to rest more on the individual "judgment of value" and the complementary Revelation and the faith of the community. Empiric research did not, however, turn to Nature but to History, and since in Philosophy a knowledge of abiding Metaphysical principles was despaired of, the result was to bring the History of Philosophy more and more to the fore.* The less men were able to establish the truth of the religious convictions, the more easily they were satisfied with the historical knowledge of the positive Religions. Besides, a basic principle for the investigation of Christianity and the History of Religion, unfolding itself and developing on all sides (what the school of historians influenced by Idealism had striven for), was no longer to be obtained. History too is a matter of "judgments of value", and so these were applied to the historic phenomena. Christ was regarded as having preached the idea of the kingdom of God and verified it by his life and his death. In so far as there appeared later a tendency towards a "knowing" of the Christian Truth, that was of course a Hellenising of Christianity, and which adulterated the Christian religion. The standpoint of "judgments of value" knows only maximal points of History, but no curve of development; this might seem justifiable in as much as the theory of development the more empiric the form it received, stood the more in danger of comprehending everything as merely relative, thereby denying every unconditional value and falling into practical scepticism. In opposition to this, the position of the bearer of the Revelation was exalted, his personality, his practical estimate of values, and his conduct were recognised as authoritative. Of course it soon became apparent that here too the difference in estimating value brought about a difference in the appreciation of historical personalities. Now as this very principle of "judgment of value" made a criticism of historical figures inevitable, in the case of the great Personalities, Christ in particular, many an element of one-sidedness and prejudice (arising out of the connection of those figures with the times they lived in) had to be acknowledged, while on the other hand no effort was spared to proclaim those Personalities to be bearers of Revelation. That this ultimately caused even the historical judgment to estimate the value of Revelation by reference to a personal standard of value, whereby the essential character of Revelation was again sub-

jectively volatilised, does not seem to have been recognised. But the causal nexus could also not be neglected in a historical survey; so there was a growing tendency to investigate in detail the connection of Christianity with the other religions, this being done without any leading principle and according to the empiric causal method. Though this was best suited to the empiric character of the Age, it was the less adapted for the History of Intellectual Science and Religion, the more men were content to stop at the outer surface, the expressions of the religious life, without understanding the kernel and the guiding factors of the historical process. There were no objective, actual powers of Spirit underlying the historical process but only a survey based on subjective judgments of value; then in the investigation of History and the chief emphasis had to rest on individual Personalities — not on their ideas or their views but on their experiences and moods, the historical connection being either wholly neglected or considered merely as a causal connection. This causal view led, it is true, to an accuracy in detail which must certainly be praised. A complete understanding of the motive factors in history could however not be attained, because everything was done to loosen the bond between Spirit and Nature, and two irreconciled modes of consideration were allowed to go side by side, viz. the Causal view and that according to "judgments of value". The use of the expression "according to aims" was carefully avoided, for that could have been interpreted as being objective and metaphysical.

The empiric tendency in Theology had another consequence, through which the field of view was substantially enlarged, namely insight into the significance of Psychology and of the psychological laws for the understanding of Religion and of Christianity in particular. Here too the causal Method was employed, and here too the "judgments of value" did not accord with the Causal view. The question at last cropped up whether the origin of the "judgments of value" could not be explained out of the established laws of the psychological mechanism. The more the Metaphysic of the spirit was rejected, the greater the danger that the "judgments of value" would be regarded as products of the psychological causal connection possessing a kind of subjective phenomenal significance, unless it were possible to separate the domain of psychological Mechanism, from that of the judgments of value, which on a merely "phenomenal" basis was exceedingly difficult to. Nevertheless, it happened that from the standpoint of the "judgments of value", Theology deemed herself able to fill the post which Philosophy had resigned. The theologians held that Philosophy, with its more than doubtful Metaphysic, could never rise above the mere con-

temptation of Nature and could not do justice to Spirit. Philosophy was to leave the domain of "judgments of value" absolutely to Theology, which alone was to bring about a view of the world from that standpoint, and a most lofty Knowledge, the tendency of which should however be practical. Religion and Philosophy were quite able to satisfy the need of bliss and, with the help of Revelation, to inaugurate a view of the world wherein, through the conception of the Kingdom of God, Nature should also be subordinated to the highest "value", to the need of bliss. Only it is a pity that this most lofty or "highest" Knowledge cannot get further than a subjective view of the world, and is utterly powerless to successfully combat the charge of being but a mere illusion. Thus it was also in keeping with the whole spiritual current of the time that in religious life also practical questions took up the foreground and that everything was considered religiously inferior which could not make good its claims by adducing practical success. Herewith the Church once more came into prominence; indeed it was this very circumstance which led even practical "Churchmen" to pay this respect to this school. On the other hand it could not be denied that a completely sceptical epistemology which fortified a chasm between theoretic "knowing" and "judgment of value" could not be perfectly secure against sceptical attacks. Hence we can easily understand how this school also was finally split up into a more conservative section, more in favour of the authority of Revelation and the community, and a second which attached greater importance to the independence of the religious judgment of value. Yet, by the very nature of the case, this distinction is but fluxional.

The nation was confronted by great practical problems, administrative as well as social, and neither a purely theoretic nor a purely aesthetic ideal could suffice. It was a case of the development of the strength of the Nation in the world's commerce, of obtaining the very best results from technical skill, in short of civilisation. It is undoubtedly of the highest value to have it pointed out that these practical tasks cannot be accomplished without a religious view of the world to supply the courage necessary for surmounting all the obstacles which hinder the solution of those practical problems. We can understand how Religion too, under those circumstances, was viewed essentially from a practical standpoint. Yet the influence of sceptic empiricism led to a characterisation of theoretic "knowing" (which was only to be a "knowing" of the phenomena of Nature) as valueless. Thus "knowing" is utterly depreciated. That alone possesses value, which serves practical purposes; knowing is only valuable as a means for practical ends. The most emphatic statement of this we owe to Nietzsche, for whom Truth

only comes into consideration in so far as it serves the "highest value". The great point is that a thing should be deemed true which is serviceable for practical purposes; whether it is true does not really matter. Hence "knowing" is no longer a function peculiar to the mind, but only a means for practical ends. But by what standard are we to measure these? Nietzsche recognises only the Will to Live — which to him is Will to Power — as the highest result, and accordingly thinks atheistically. If we speak only of "judgment of value" in the sense that all rationally-necessary insight is eliminated, we are ultimately driven to judgments of feeling and instinct, which by their nature are individual. If the Godhead is to guarantee only bliss, or elevation above the realm of Nature, we may well ask whether the idea of the Godhead be not an unnecessary illusion, if (as Nietzsche assumes) the very same value or the value which is deemed highest can be equally well attained in another way. If Theology is to take her stand on judgments of value alone, i. e. assume a purely practical character (for that is the real meaning of "judgments of value" as against theoretic "knowing") she too can achieve no results of universal validity. The "judgment of value" refers always to the practical interests of the subject, and what these are depends again, on the subject, since the theoretic "knowing" of the Reason has been cut out. The phrase "norm values" has been employed, but these norms are either necessary *per se*, independently of their valuation, and are the measure for the subject's "valuing", or else if they first become normative through the value put upon them by the subject and do not already possess this normative character independent of the "valuing" subject — whatever attitude he may adopt towards the norm — this normative character would not be universally valid. Hence Philosophy too is on the way to raise itself out of sensualistic scepticism. Often we hear the password "Back to Idealism", in place of "Back to Kant". There are a number who aim at combining the "value" theory with the "knowing" of Nature, denying the validity of metaphysics. Herein they approach Metaphysics so closely that either their Norms (Windelband) or their "knowing" of Nature (Riehl) is found to rest on the forbidden Metaphysic, to say nothing of the fact that an attempt of this kind cannot rise to a unified Cosmology. Hence others go back to the whole province of mental life, theoretical as well as practical, and demand that this be unified in a noologic "knowing" which regards the fundamental basic tendencies in the given Reality and becomes conscious of the Unity of the mental life. Out of this supra-empirical Unity, the metaphysical "truth-content" of Religion is said to arise. (Eucken.) Thus Pessimism is also on the wane, as we see from

Hartmann's system,* which recognises the Logic in the cosmical development and Purpose in Nature, but which has also begun a Metaphysic based on inductive conclusions and has declared war on Agnosticism; though Hartmann has not altogether risen above Pessimism, yet he marks the transition from pessimistic Empiricism to Idealism. We are still in this movement which may be briefly described as an emphasising (sometimes cautious and vacillating, sometimes resolute and decided) of the necessity of a unity of the practical and the theoretic tendencies, a remodelling (enriched by empirical knowledge of Nature. History, and Psychology) of the whole thought-complex of German Idealism, in order to attain a more deeply founded homogeneous view of the world. The Germans have been styled "the nation of thinkers and poets", with the implication that they stand aloof from practical action. But surely this cannot be affirmed of the period of German Idealism, which roused its adherents to the greatest patriotic deeds. Just because they were not theoretic sceptics, they were not paralysed into inaction; to-day, when bent on the development of power and on technical perfection, we need Idealism all the more, lest in the mere consciousness of strength and striving after power we lose the higher points of view. In the same way Theology, by utilising what has been acquired through tireless research in the domains of the History of Religion, the New Testament, Church History, and the History of Dogma, as well as the investigations into the Psychology of Religion must once more "turn again". and examine the "truth-content" of Christianity, abolish the conflict between theory and practice, between Science and religious life, between knowledge of the truth as task for itself and religious emotion and will. For if Religion has no truth which can be known, if its ideas and representations have only a practical value, the practical will in the long run be paralysed by the sceptical. It was precisely the great speculative theologians of last century who took the liveliest interest in the practical problems of religious and ecclesiastical life, the "home mission", the introduction of new ecclesiastical constitutions, and in all kinds of work to promote social welfare. Let us briefly summarise the foregoing. The nineteenth century shows a varied course of development. The influence of Philosophy compelled a deepening of Theology. The essential nature of Religion on the objective and on the subjective side as "Faith" received thorough investigation, the relation of Faith to Knowledge was examined, and an ideal of religion set up

* Compare the writer's essays: "Hartmann's Philosophy of the Unconscious" (Studien und Kritiken 1881). "Hartmann's doctrine of Categories" (Protestantische Monatshefte II parts 2 to 6). Eduard von Hartmann (Zeitschrift für Philos. und philos. Kritik Band 129).

with which the Christian religion was brought into connection. Hereby both the method of theological investigation and the content of theology were affected. The most important point of view was the studying of the essence of the Christian religion from all sides, by help of speculation and of historical examination, the necessity for a mutual interpenetration of the two being recognised. Thus the structure of theology, both historical and systematic, becomes firmer; knowledge becomes clearer and more homogeneously determined through improved methods. Other categories than those of the old dogmatists are used. The physical, juristic, purely metaphysical categories (whether sin was substance or accident, and the like) are replaced by **Ethical**. The doctrine of God in particular is deepened by the thought that He as living Spirit mediates with Himself, that he is an ethic God. His working in Nature and in the life of the soul becomes more vividly apprehended, and the regularity of the Natural nexus is brought into harmony therewith. The union of God and man receives mystic depth, and yet is so defined that Religion becomes a source of Action. Christianity is conceived as a rational religion, as corresponding to the true idea of religion, as the perfection of the religious Reason, as the religion of the reconciled ethically determined Divine-Humanity. The history of Christianity and of the founder of the Christian religion, is investigated by critical historical methods, and at the same time speculatively apperceived as the history of the Advent of a Humanity well-pleasing to God, the coming of the kingdom of God, the kingdom of spiritual freedom, of faith in Providence, of the complete absorption of the finite in the Infinite, of the conscious Divine-Humanity, of the revelation of Love and the surmounting of the egoistic life of Nature — in short, as the coming of the **rational** religion corresponding to the idea of Religion, Christ himself being looked up to as its representative. That this conception is in no wise detrimental to the practical interests but rather formed the theoretic basis for practical operation, will be conceded by all who consider the rich variety of practical endeavour for Christian societies and organisations, and the efforts for union and for the reform of social conditions which we owe to the nineteenth century.

Then when Pessimism, Empiricism, Psychologism, the mechanical development theory with its exclusively Causal standpoint, and Historicism with its purely causal view of history were in the ascendant, the attempt was made to preserve Christianity by renouncing all connection with Metaphysics and considering only practical "judgments of value". But as these "judgments of value" torn away from theoretic "knowing" remained absolutely subjective, recourse was

had to the "historic revelation", and to the "Faith of the Community" as complements. Herewith the certainty of the individual fell below that of the Church as the "Institute for Salvation" which should make good the deficiency in certainty. Now Theology had her domain clearly marked off, and practical work was more and more engaged in. Even in History, only that which was of value for practical purposes was considered to possess "value", and on the other hand all attempts at theoretic knowledge were thrust aside ("The Hellenising of Christianity") as being of little account. In the field of historical study, scholars either prosecuted according to the "exact method" detailed investigations of special points, no attempt being made to investigate the deeper connection, or else they took single personalities as high-water marks and judged them according to the degree in which they satisfied the requirements of the customary "judgment of value". Nevertheless, the knowledge of historical material in reference to detached points was in this way too increased, and the empiric Psychology of the religious life was investigated in like fashion. This latter study had in particular been neglected during the ascendancy of Idealism. Moreover the "judgment of value", at least for a time, proved effective in enabling Theology to preserve the independence of her position.

Even during the Idealistic period alluded to, a renewed "ecclesiastico-confessional" tendency had united with Pietism and, to meet the influence of Philosophy, had appealed to the ecclesiastical authority of the Confessions or creeds as vehicles of the true meaning of Revelation. A one-sided "Bible"-Theology was also variously represented. Since the abandonment of all theoretic Knowledge made the judgments of value seem but an insecure foundation for Theology, these "positive-authoritative" tendencies displayed their propensity to adhere closely to the empirically-given Revelation in Word and Creed in proportion as the representatives of the "value-judgment" Theology became more accessible to the critical consideration of those authorities and of the history of Jesus, whereby the effect of their own appeal to Revelation was shaken. But even the orthodox and "biblical" currents mentioned, were influenced in many ways by the freer form of theological thought. In the Idealistic period they had not wholly succeeded in escaping the influence of speculative thought, whence there resulted all kinds of heterodoxies, such as a Subordinationist doctrine of the Trinity, a kenotic Christology, a theory of the Atonement tinged with Schleiermacherism and, even from the Lutheran side, a Calvinistic doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Nor were even the orthodox and biblical school wholly antagonistic to a critical examination of Scripture though they

were so to the orthodox doctrine of inspiration; in their own fashion they recognised a development of doctrine in the history of Christianity (e. g. Thomasius). During the time of Scepticism, however, some there were who did not hesitate to give sceptical reasons in support of their belief in authority (e. g. Nathusius) or to keep as far aloof as possible from all forms of Metaphysics.

When the flood of Empiricism receded, and men talked of a return to that Idealism which, though long repressed, had never wholly disappeared, the opinion began to gain ground in theological circles that a halt should not be made at the "judgments of value" in combination with historicism. If Theology is to attain results of universal validity, she must once more pick up the idealistic clue and make fresh attempts to combine speculative thought with historical investigation. It will be her task to reconcile the antitheses between theoretic knowledge and practical interests, empiric investigation and speculative research, the rational and the historic sides of Christianity, and this on the basis of a philosophy which is able to afford a foundation for the Philosophy of Nature and for the Metaphysics of Mind, in the Absolute Unity of God.*

* Compare the writer's "Elements of the Philosophy of Religion", and the „Encyclopaedia of Philosophy”.

THE PLACE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE THEORY OF EVOLUTION IN ETHICS.

BY PROFESSOR ARTHUR TITIUS, GÖTTINGEN.

The subject I have chosen appears to me to be one peculiarly suited for discussion at an international Congress such as ours. To begin with, because the question as to the relation of ethics — especially of Christian ethics — to the theory of evolution, is felt, in the whole range of our modern culture, to be a burning question. For the idea of development is indeed the most prominent feature in the so-called modern view of the world (*Weltanschauung*), and is too the most generally recognized. But there is a further reason: namely, that the questions of which I shall speak are circulated by no means merely among the scholars of Germany, but are discussed just as widely among those of other countries as well. Still I may say that this idea of development has taken firm root in Germany; nay further, that it was here first that it struck deep into the sphere of science, and particularly of historical science.

I do not, however, wish to concern myself with this any longer, because you will recollect that all the previous speakers, Herr von Soden, Herr Gunkel and Herr Dorner, have frequently referred to this idea of development. Indeed, it would be quite impossible for us to-day, even in the province of historical theology, of enquiry into the origins of Christianity, to desist from discussing this idea; for theological enquiry shows how Christianity has developed in a connected series of phases, in close relation to general culture; and these phases we can trace at any rate in general outline. Many different enquirers working together — so far as anything still remains over to be done — have come to the same conclusion as regards the history of religion in general, as well as that of the different religions in particular.

On the other hand there is no doubt that as regards the development-idea in the department of biology, it is not the Germans who have led the way but the great Frenchman Lamarck and the great English scientist Darwin who have brought so much new light to bear on this subject. It is true that at present this teaching of evolution is under-

going a critical process of sifting in its connection with the science of biology. Darwinism is being strongly attacked and is considered by many naturalists to be untenable. The general evolution idea or the theory of descent as it is sometimes called, is, however, not affected — the doctrine, namely, that the present mode of life, including that of human beings, has evolved in the course of generations out of (comparatively speaking) a few of the simplest — probably single-celled — primitive organisms. Indeed this supposition must be admitted as in the highest degree probable, on the ground of numerous, even if not absolutely successive, observations, no less than on logical grounds.

And now for us, as Christians and theologians, the great and perhaps anxious question is: what is the relation to our standpoint of the notion that life evolves out of the lowest forms, perhaps out of single-celled organisms, struggles up through the animal life to that of men and fights its way in the course of many hundreds of thousands of years right up till it reaches the modern man of culture, as he is to-day? Out of this analysis I have taken one special instance — the question: what is the relation of this idea of the struggling upwards out of the simplest, most imperfect forms to the position which we now occupy, to our ethical conceptions? For here we are on sure ground; because however different may be men's judgments in matters of faith and world-philosophy, we are all quite certain and agreed that we cannot separate, to the same extent, in questions of custom and of ethics, lest we keep back the universal progress of mankind.

If I now ask myself: what have I, ethically speaking, gained from the evolution idea? I must answer: it is easy to say what new and important advantages this idea will bring to ethics and morals. If I am convinced that we possess to-day that which, after thousands of years of struggle, has become what it now is, then I shall regard with respect, with a peculiar reverence, even if I do not actually adopt it, that which is now obsolete.

I know that it also has had some sense, some reason and importance, and that it is by no means so easy, as the impetuous thinkers would have it, to advance even one step forwards on the upward path.

Nay further, if I earnestly reflect that culture and ethics evolve with a slow upward motion — then, surely, I must be absolutely convinced that I must not stand still, that I must not allow the weeds of pleasure to choke my growth, but that I have problems to solve. We also must obey the cry — Upwards! — Do not merely propagate your race, but propagate a higher race! Surely these are no small or insignificant thoughts.

The evolution idea proves to be of no less importance for our scientific knowledge of occurrences in the world of Ethics. If Schäffle makes the structure of society parallel with the structure of cells in the organism, if we recognize the connection between the gregarious instincts of the animals and the social nature of man, if human society in its essential construction is the necessary result of a natural process, the emphasis, on the other hand, laid on the egoistic and for the most part overweening importance of self in the sphere of ethics, has also won a recognition which may be described as epoch-making. It is true, it was a one-sided attitude of Spencer's, which caused him to believe — for the sake of giving prominence to another point of view — that we could realize Goodness to be the most perfect possible adaptability to environment; but who could deny that in doing so, he had seized upon a most essential element in the sphere of ethical action, and one which very largely conduced to give a national and historical colouring to all that concerns ethics. For ethical action must be comprehensible as a factor in the development of life as a whole. Moreover, if our moral conceptions have become much more free from prudery than they used to be, and what is natural looked upon as right and honourable, we cannot herein lose sight of the praiseworthy investigations of the natural scientists, in spite of all the extravagances which must be attributed to them. Along with those points of view which reveal new principles to the sphere of ethics, I must mention the enormous wealth of material which contributes towards the formation of new standpoints, and which has been brought to bear on ethics by means of the study of ethnology and history of culture — the fruit of the evolution idea. To say nothing of more intricate problems, such as the origin and predisposition of moral ideals and feelings, we need only compare the present concrete conception of the family, of the state, and of society, with the abstract, ideally coloured portrayed of them in past generations, to become conscious at once of the revolutionising force of the new branches of study and of the progress made in the search after truth. Moral action is no longer regarded merely from the point of view of the theorist idealising in his study, or constructed on the basis of so-called psychologists' contemplation, but is illustrated and made clear by actual concrete facts.

Above all then we see from this how utterly diverse is moral action and moral perception. That which is moral, is not always and everywhere the same; it is completely different according to the difference of custom, habit, state of culture, arrangement, individuality. Since, however, the various phases are grouped successively together, the result is undoubtedly that morality is itself in a state of development, in which can be traced, from primitive man right to our present stage of civili-

zation, a connected chain of evolutionary grades. Thus, difficulties are solved, which, to the old idealistic conception of ethics, were insurmountable. It has always been a great stumbling-block to this old standpoint, that not only the customs, but also the moral principles, have not, in accordance with the theory of the unity of reason, always been the same. If it is recognized, on the other hand, that moral principles always change with the state of society, because they are intimately bound up with its whole condition, and further, that these principles are themselves subject to historical development, which may take the most varied forms in accordance with the conditions of their origin as well as their material hypotheses, then one can no longer wonder at meeting the great diversity, or even the contrariness — nay, even contradiction, which exists in principles thus evolved. And so the evolution idea allows one to recognize and to make intelligible, facts, which always remained incomprehensible to the older systems of Ethics.

A well-known difficulty of the ethical theorist is the fact of the erring conscience. In the middle ages the distinction was made between the actual principle of the conscience which was regarded as infallible, and its application to the particular case, in which it might be incorrect. This difference was kept fundamentally intact until Kant's day — nay, it is even in our own day more or less so. But the supposition of a form of conclusion, which may sometimes be false, is rendered quite untenable by the psychology of the conscience process, which is characterized not by any sort of logical intelligent chain of reasoning but rather by feelings which involuntarily make their appearance and decide whether an action is agreeable or not. To attribute error to the categorically imperative moral Reason, is considered by Kant to be impossible — and to such an extent that he considered a judge of heretics cannot possibly have a clear conscience. Goethe, however, with a judgment not deeper merely, but also more to the point, thought that the greatest attraction of history was the struggle of convictions with one another. We must recognize as a fact beyond doubt that it is possible for the reasoning instinct in the conscience to err. The teaching of the evolution theory makes this fact perfectly intelligible, in so far as it regards the conscience also as undergoing the process of development, and that too in the whole sphere of a community's ideas of culture. With this as a basis, we cannot be surprised that we find the conscience more or less in a condition of unripeness and uncertainty, and further that we do come upon it, under peculiar circumstances, in direct opposition to truly moral ideas which as yet belong to the future.

Thus we learn to regard the knowledge of the Good, and the moral instinct of the conscience as something which is in a state of change

and development, something which evolves in a great variety of forms, in a diversity national and individual, something which unfolds itself historically in many grades of outward and inward culture. He who has once realized how much more true to life, more real such evolutionary ethics are, than the old theological or idealistic views with their sharp contrasts, will experience something in the nature of a deliverance, and any return to the old point of view will be for him quite impossible.

But let us look at the reverse side of the question. This is what morality in the traditional sense means, which, I take it, has been well dinned into our ears and which we consider sacred: that we know that in the laws concerning Goodness, the moral ideals do not depend upon our will and pleasure; they exist as established, eternal, unchangeable laws, to which we must bow. We must alter, but the laws remain as they were. How is this to be reconciled with the evolution idea, with the idea that everything is always in a state of change, of progress?

And further! The teaching of evolution has forged a strong link in the chain which binds the man of to-day with primitive man, nay indeed even with the animals and all living things. But if man has struggled upwards from a series of animal fore-fathers, can one speak at all of morality in its serious ancient sense, of conscience? Is then what we possess of morality in its fundamental essence, anything more than custom, what in the animals is "breaking in"? But woe unto us if it were indeed nothing more! Then everyone could liberate himself from this habituation at his pleasure! What should we come to then?

Finally, it is the part of the evolution idea to know that the development which leads upwards, step by step, according to a fixed law is a necessary development. It is the principle of the indestructible regularity of all happening. It has long been the pride and principle support of our mathematical-physical science, and has been victorious so far as the evolutionary idea is concerned even in the world of life and activity. Indeed the value of the evolution idea is largely seen in just the fact that it submits the organic world to an examination and interpretation as strictly mechanical as we require for the vibration of the ether and the atoms and molecules. But there is also another conception which I think belongs to the idea of morality, and it is indeed directly opposed to this one. Is it not a part of this notion to feel that I am a responsible being, that I am free? Morality and Freedom are inseparable. Otherwise how differently should we have to order our methods; not only our criminal law but our education and our most inward personal lives and conduct! Undoubtedly such an alteration as would thus result would have a most crippling effect upon all free

initiative on the part of individuals, to which hitherto mankind has had to attribute the best that it has produced.

If in a materialistic and luxurious age we were to sink deep in the mire and were obliged to say: We cannot help it. If our worn out wisdom were to take the standpoint that fundamentally everybody is in the right, how we should have to hide our heads in shame and give the lie to what we have hitherto done and what we have hitherto believed like our fathers before us. We should be taking away the old hall-mark of the most thorough earnestness with which our ideas of morality have been stamped, we should be taking away its inexorable sternness and we should be compelled to give up all hope of enforcing upon ourselves and upon others the command — in spite of the bitter necessity which would lead us to require its fulfilment — Thou shalt not neglect thy duty!

These problems with which we find ourselves confronted are indeed terribly anxious ones and the question I ask is, are they capable of solution? One thing before we attempt them: let us have above all things clearness. It is better to say: that the conflicting points of view are irreconcilable rather than bring about a nebulous kind of conformity which is but a false one; and I for my part, although I believe in the theory of evolution, would be content to say: if this gulf is in reality not to be bridged, then I will give up the evolution idea altogether and say: it is possible for me to live without understanding the world, but it is quite impossible for me to live in a condition in which I no longer know what I am to do.

But in reality the position is quite different. I am convinced that thought and action, intelligence and will cannot be separated for long. I am convinced that even here a unity exists, and I will endeavour to combat or at any rate to indicate these difficulties which I have laid before you.

Let us begin with the point at which the evolution idea as such appears as the direct opponent of the old ethical standpoint, and to put an end to it once for all. Evolution is a Becoming, it is relativity, whereas according to old point of view, the moral laws and ideals are absolutely binding, absolutely unalterable. We have already been compelled to recognize that the moral ideals are indeed a Becoming and a Growing, becoming and growing in and with all spiritual life. History as well as Ethnology are unmistakable witnesses to the truth of this. It is undoubted as regards the past; as regards the future it would be absurd to exclude a similar process of becoming by means of any authoritative decree, seeing that morality is itself one of the motive powers of life, that is to say of development and change, and the fact that

the discussion of ethics is as lively to-day as it ever was, and also that it is not only the representatives of the old morality who are entirely in the right in the subject, tends to prove the same fact.

Further I am not inclined to admit, at least not as any consolation, that all evolution has for its object a fixed condition of stability, that it would be impossible even for morality to reckon any longer with anything absolutely new. Now although I am little inclined to sympathise with that sort of unbounded enthusiasm, which believes that we stand before a decisive revolution in the life of humanity, I still consider that a condition of stability is not an object to strive for. This would include a certain ossification, a relaxation of the vital power of man — nor is it really imminent; I believe rather that evolution will continue itself immeasurably further than we human beings can realize. This is as much as to say that morality possesses eternal forms and formulae just as little as does the whole sphere of spiritual life, that any sort of formularising which should have a uniform and satisfactory application for all time is quite impossible. But it would be a mistake to deduce from this that there can no longer exist within the sphere of morality, anything unconditioned, anything of eternal validity. Just as in mathematics any member of an infinite series is differentiated from every one which precedes and comes after it, but which is at the same time connected with all others by a peculiar regularity, constituting itself one of the latter series but not of the former, so also there is in ethics a peculiar fixity of constitution or regularity, of tendency which always remains the same (or perhaps several interconnected tendencies) by means of which all moral ideas, however varied their character may be, remain connected with one another. Even a tendency can be looked upon as a process of growth, but it still remains the same tendency; that is to say the growth is continued in the same direction but certainly not in a completely new or contrary direction. We are certainly going forward in our opinions; they are growing more refined; we are going forwards but we still remain on the same lines, the movement is still in the same direction. Even the poet of the superman, who wishes to destroy the old tables of the moral law and make new ones, has indeed brought forward arguments which deserve attention against the morality of pity and against that of utilitarianism, but to create a new morality with entirely new hitherto unheard of tendencies he has not even attempted. Nor is it the intention of the present day naturalists to proclaim a new morality; for them the law of loving one's neighbour is the golden rule. There is no evolution of morality in the sense that the ethical contents of the ten commandments would ever have to be given up as ethical; it is rather in the sense: that a constant deepening and refining

of the present moral tendencies and their ever more complete realisations in public and private life must be the object after which we should strive. These most elemental conditions and directions will always remain; but a deepening and refining of our moral perceptions is possible and necessary. Even our Lord Jesus was not content with a mere fulfilment of the text of the ten commandments, and we must be less content than ever.

And so we see that there is such a thing as moral evolution, but its course lies in one and the same straight line. To put it differently: I am firmly convinced, and I hope all of you will also be that no one can get further, can make any moral advance by acting against his conscience, even if his conscience has been badly educated. Nay more, even if he be on the wrong road and even if his conscience is at fault, we still cannot say with the infallible church: It is true you have your conscience, but I have Truth. Let your conscience alone, count your personal convictions nothing and follow after the truth, which I in my authority proclaim to you. No, it is utterly impossible to proceed thus with the moral life, and we can only go forwards in proportion as we follow our conscience, every one his own; only so is moral advancement possible. What is to be altered, what must be improved, is the conscience of men, their moral convictions, their ethical harmony. Moral progress can never be made through action contrary to the dictates of conscience or in a state of uncertainty as to what those dictates are, but only through the conscience being sharpened and refined and unhesitating in its judgment. Even the erring conscience can only be converted if it consistently follows out its object; only thus can it gain new experiences which compel it to retrace its steps and strike out anew.

The result is a necessary one; our moral standpoints change and yet we always remain bound, all of us at all times to our duty. The moral ideals are in a state of flux and yet every one is bound by that ethical ideal which inspires him, and he can never advance nor can mankind either, unless he acts according to his own inner personal conviction and by the exertion of all his strength towards attaining that, which he has recognised as a part of the Good. And so I believe that it is quite possible to say; we hope that our children and our children's children will have a still finer moral perception than we have and that still they will be bound to do their duty no less than we are to do ours.

And so on all sides the hypothesis we formed is consistent and correct, namely: that the relativity of moral evolution does not take away the absolute character of moral experience, but it rather presupposes

it, because it is only on this condition that a true development, that is to say an upward tendency of morality, is possible. In the meantime we are confronted with the whole difficulty of the gulf which exists between evolutionary and traditional ethics, if we follow moral development not forwards into the future, but backwards into the past. For if the moral tendencies have made themselves so clear in the course of thousands of years that all moral evolution seems only possible of representation as a further growth of the influence of similar tendencies, we see that moral evolution in going backwards becomes a dark and uncertain haze, in so far as the moral tendencies can only at the best be dimly groped for, and indeed finally merged into the purely animal life. If now we imagine ourselves set back in those most primitive times of which indeed the only traces we have are the nature myths of certain biologists, who are the only means by which we obtain even the dimmest and most far off light — if we go back to these times in which the first man existed, when animals and men were so closely related, then indeed can we human beings of the twentieth century become easily wearied of the pride with which we regard the material, spiritual and moral culture to which we have attained. For if our earliest ancestors did belong to the animal world (and the biologists say they do) how are we cultured folk of the 20th century different? Have not we also, since evolution is said to be a constant and continuous state, nothing else than animal thoughts and rules of life? And if this is so, what else is it than egoism and selfishness which actuates us, even if it be in a somewhat improved form? Then surely we have all of us become merely more subtly refined.

Now is all this really a truth which our modern wisdom has taught us or is there some mistake? It is a fact and we cannot possibly think otherwise, starting out from the ground of the descent theory on which I quite honourably take my stand, that man has evolved out of the animal, as the butterfly out of the caterpillar, and still the conclusion seems to me, as it probably does to many of you, to be ethically quite untenable. What is the present standpoint of biological and sociological ethics? In its opposition to the old-style utilitarianism with its one-sided accentuation of the personal and well-known interest of the individual, it has made great progress; it has called attention to the fact that even animals are not pure egoists, but live to a great extent in social communities. And now one can admit, as it is indeed very widely done, that it is not at least directly the struggle for individual existence, which called forth the moral view of things; and this is easy to understand, because if I do not recognise the existence of any other problem than that of working away with my elbows on

both sides in order to secure a place the myself in the sun, I shall hardly find my way to a moral outlook on the world.

Man, we are told, is from the very beginning a social being. He is in the first place, not an individual but a member of his community. It is one of the peculiarities of the human species that each single member of it is very strongly dependent, especially in his youth, on the communal life of his tribe or clan. This shows that the sociable and companionable temper is an extremely beneficial impulse in the struggle for existence, increasing as it does the right and capacity to live.

The more difficult and exacting is the struggle for existence, the more is the individual compelled to do his utmost to increase the prosperity of the community, for if the community does not thrive, it is impossible for the individual to do so either. In this way the needs of life, the fight for existence, leads to the generation of the social feelings of joint responsibility, of comradeship; and so we reach the beginnings of a moral evolution, which has steadily developed upwards through men inheriting social peculiarities and the results of education, thus gradually reaching their present status. For my part I cannot and will not deny that I consider a great truth has found expression in this theory: that the individual man possesses his capacity for life not as individual but only as member of the community; this is in truth the fundamental fact out of which the moral life with its requirements has grown. If the moral feeling of responsibility, the instinct of all members to become one for the sake of the community could, not be proved again and again especially in times of danger as an indispensable hypothesis for the stability of the whole commonwealth, then the moral life would find itself in a far sadder position than it is in reality. Moral conduct is so little an unpractical fancy of the dreaming idealist or enthusiast that a moral defect of imperative necessity imposes on itself direct punishment. But in spite of this I must call your special attention to this fact that these ideas are not sufficient in themselves to explain the origin of morality. The position is simply this: if the struggle for existence makes society a necessity for me and if it is on this account that I need and take to myself comrades, then surely, the instincts and ideas of comradeship must become fainter in the same proportion as the struggle decreases.

But it is just the sociologists, and especially Spencer, who say that we are in need of times of peace and then customs become toned down and the moral ideas become ennobled and progress. Now I will not go into the question as to whether Spencer is right in praising peace as he does. It might appear that this was a somewhat onesided point of view. At any rate whatever one's judgment on this question may

be, if in times of diminishing difficulty, in times of increasing prosperity and absence of danger, the social instincts and standpoints are not to suffer decay, then there must be something else besides which brings its influence to bear and prevents any movement in a backward direction. This new element shows itself in other ways as well. How can the mere struggle for existence and feeling of joint responsibility regarded as a means merely of keeping myself alive lead me to hazard my life for the welfare of my tribe, how can it lead me, instead of seeking my own advantage at another's cost, where I can do it without disadvantage, rather to do him good beyond what I owe him, how am I brought to make sacrifices out of sheer moral goodness and love? Starting from those assumptions it is quite impossible. Those heroic deeds which are boldly done by those who are inspired by faith or truth or righteousness or freedom or for their country, nay, simply the ordinary moral judgment, the moral sense of duty, — these all show us that there is here a very important factor, which has not been taken into consideration.

This is also proved by the fact of conscience. It is not, as Spencer understands it, only the precipitate of generic experience. Even if we leave out of consideration the inner difficulties of the idea; this does not suffice, for it does not seldom happen that the conscience without knowing it finds the right path in places where there is as yet no generic experience and even where reflection is not able to reach a fixed point of certainty about what is right; and because it has the power, especially in persons of a high moral character, of rising to new moral claims and perceptions far removed from the general consciousness. Westermarck sees deeper than Spencer when he regards moral disapprobation as a kind of requiting indignation nearly related to the feelings of anger and revenge. As these must be understood, as measures of protection against iniquity, unrighteousness and cruelty. It seems that we have here a consistent development of the conscience out of the natural instincts. Moreover Westermarck himself draws attention to the fact that the moral feelings are distinguished from the instinct for revenge in so far as they contain a motive of unselfishness, disinterestedness, and regard for the whole common weal.

Here our attention is drawn to the decisive fact. If I cannot convince myself, that in one case or other my neighbour is right in regard to me, even when it goes against my interest to admit it; if I cannot see with in myself a judge who looks upon all my actions with complete impartiality, voice or impulse in myself, which apart from my own personal interest will, the good because it is good — then, indeed, I can never expect to rise above the animal, or rather above brutal, or possibly cunningly-refined, egoism. But this I now assert,

that however far we go backward, even as far as the Schweizers-Bild, or other extremely primitive conditions, or the oldest known races, of which remains are still to be found at the present day — wherever any trace is to be found of the inner life of man, there we shall also be able to show that moral opinions existed in a sense analogous to our own, a distinct personal judgment which involuntarily and impartially, of its own pleasure, loves the good it sees and detests the evil. And here we have what is the really decisive fact which makes the man a man.

It is true that Westermarck has attempted to refer that peculiar moral impulse to an involuntary sympathy which we notice even in the animals. Now this animal sympathy regarded from the point of view of the struggle for existence is a gratuitous element not easy to understand; nor is it in reality sufficient to explain the process of the conscience. That impartiality of the moral judgment, even when it is directed against its possessor, is more than mere sympathy and it is even possible for egoism to exist side by side with it; it is only to be explained if, quite apart from external influences as well as from personal interests, we recognise the moral judgment as a thing established and complete in itself, as a thing right and good. The moral process presupposes of course an inward congeniality of feeling and judgment in the individual with those requirements which have become crystallised in the custom and laws of the people and have had their origin in the exigencies of nature. Without this mental disposition towards a recognition of the moral laws, education would never become anything more than mere habituation and discipline. But on the contrary, this clear recognition of morality as something good and necessary explains that impartiality and unselfishness, that good — will, even to the extent of personal sacrifice, which we find as a factor in moral evolution. Then however we must conclude that it is just this mental disposition which gives men the power to look upon the Good as good, not out of any casual considerations, but in and for itself, and to find an actual satisfaction in doing so by means of which is produced that particular condition of existence known as morality. This inward, spontaneous approval or disapproval has the power, like every other mental, function to strengthen and secure itself by practice; but misled it cannot be, nay more, it must be looked upon in the same way as we regard the capacity to perceive the Beautiful and the ugly as such, as one of the original endowments of human nature.

Nor does Wundt's well-known law of the "heterogeneity of ends", valuable as it is, render this assumption needless, but rather takes it for granted. For how could the transformation of motive impulses in evo-

lution be successful if there were not in man a mental power to regard conditions which have been achieved from some other motive, as desirable in themselves, and to make them henceforth an independent object of endeavour. Although we shall certainly be right in paying serious attention to the external natural causes which lead to moral development and to value them as the primitive instinctive motives, we should still be making a grave mistake, if we were to leave out of consideration or neglect — over and above the external conditions — the inward forces of man which enable us to decide at all that there are such things as moral judgment and moral action beyond mere social instincts.

It is a fact that today especially in lay circles, the idea of biological evolution is widely understood as though the only importance for evolution lay in the external conditions in accordance with which adaptability must result. But this conception, which regards evolution as though it were merely an impact impulse from the outside, is being to-day more and more strongly opposed by another tendency which lays the greater stress upon inward moulding laws and upon the efficacious activity of organic forces and functions. This view of biology harmonizes completely with that of the ethical evolution, which I am here expounding. The fact that we suppose something ethical as innate in man, which we do not attribute to the animals in the same way, does not oppose the theory of evolution. It never occurs to the theorist of evolution to deduce the specific forms of individual classes or species from the general evolution idea; he must be satisfied to be able to decide that the particular characteristics do not exclude the possibility of a cohesive and uniform development: so also we must regard as a fact that the particular type of the human mind and the deep gulf that separates it from the animal in the evolutionary power of the intellect, without our being obliged to destroy the idea of evolution, thereby implying that nothing more than the distance of a leap separates animals from men. For it is absolutely necessary to accept the fact that human intelligence is different from animal intelligence, not only quantitatively but as regards its qualities as well; and further that the animal itself is not by any means devoid sometimes of distinctively highly developed mental powers.

Perhaps it is possible for us, taking Spencer's thought as a basis to form a more distinct notion of the original force which we must take as a fundamental hypothesis for all ethical evolution. I think quite a suitable picture will be obtained if the human mind is compared to a great tree which is ever producing, in the strength of its own life, new boughs and branches; and thus we can regard the new part and capabilities as ever springing out of the unity of the human mind, according

as the opportunities and the necessities of life demand. In plain language: it may be that in proportion to the increasing power of mental concentration, as we see it perfected in history, there is a proportionately greater capacity for the powers and dispositions of men to branch out and differentiate themselves in the direction of new activities. I find no difficulty in the supposition that in proportion to the circumstances, it is possible for hitherto unknown specific tendencies and characteristics to branch out of the common mind of humanity. But if, carrying to its extreme logical conclusions the evolution idea, we admit this, and assert that even the human mind has not, originally, been bound by adherence to any particular scheme or functions, but following the actual conditions of life and its actual necessities, moulds itself into many and various forms, we see the more clearly that, if we do not wish the whole process of evolution to be left suspended in the air, and become everything out of nothing, we must determine in logical sequence what is possible, and look upon everything in the uniformity of human life as innate and original which is actually represented by some form in the process of evolution. For what was not in man originally, will never come out!

And so I come to lay the chief emphasis on a mental element of this kind. There is in the mind of man reason, there is intellect or whatever you wish to call that original mental power — a something which is in man himself, a power which has been his from the beginning, brought to the light and evolved, but not generated, through interaction with the world, — something inward, mental, such as Kant and all the idealists had in mind a mental, ethical a priori. If we theorists say: "a priori", you must not imagine any great wisdom; we mean simply that further we cannot get; there is something which we must suppose as a preliminary condition to all evolution. Through the assumption here advocated of a specific aptitude for morality, not capable of further analysis, we have connected the evolution idea with the assumption of so called "Intuitionism". For it is the very essence of this conception to refer morality, not to any outward compulsion or adaptability to circumstances, but rather to the in-born, special and altogether original endowment of reason in man. We must note, however, that this connection between the differing conceptions of evolution and intuition, is not thought of as a half-completed and premature combination of two principles at variance with each other, but as an absolutely indispensable union of truths, required by their very nature. This union destroys the isolation of each of these truths; but does not, on the other hand, place any limitations on the strict logical consequences of each one of them individually. It may be that the ethical intuitionism of Kant, Herbart and others, does not

lay sufficient stress on the facts of moral evolution, and yet it is still true that man has the ability to experience an inner and purely intellectual pleasure, a disinterested and purely altruistic satisfaction in the good, and that he can, just as impartially, detest evil on its own account; morality and moral development would be utterly impossible unless every normally constituted man possessed this capacity quite spontaneously and involuntarily. For you can only develop an inclination; you may prepare the preliminary conditions in any particular stage of development, so that new and hitherto unsuspected tendencies come to light; but this tendency or disposition itself can never be a completely new and external creation, it must be there. Any theory of evolution, which is willing to recognize only mechanical and not ideal factors, is thus quite impossible, and yet in the province of biology, such theories are formed. On the other hand, the theory of evolution which combines the real with the ideal, and an intuitionism in the perception of moral approval or disapproval, are both equally required by each other. Evolution requires intuitionism because it cannot exist without some moral force to impel it, and intuitionism cannot do without evolution, because, while it has the power of judging and directing the material relations of men, it cannot generate them out of itself.

It is possible for a real-idealistic theory of evolution such as I recommend, to maintain the peculiar and unqualified demand made by morality, side by side with a full comprehension of its admitted relativity. Such a theory will not find it necessary to emphasize again the connection of all morality with human nature, with the actual conditions of life, as well as its intellectual character and the fact that it has always been in existence. But there still remains another problem, and the most difficult one: we have not yet reconciled the opposition between the inevitable and inviolable character of all events, which the evolution-idea presupposes and without which it would be obliged to give up its keen and closely-reasoned logic, and the no less imperious claim of the moral consciousness to be free not only as regards action but also as regards will. I agree with Kant that this problem cannot be solved by any superficial conclusion, because it has its origin in the very depths of our being and is that indeed which gives expression to it. Every solution which rejects one of these principles or even attempts to weaken them is merely an apparent solution. Nevertheless, I think I am right in asserting that even here, if one is very careful about one's assertions with just limitations, no contradiction exists. I mean that it is apparent to all of us that if I put at the beginning of a course of development a number of elements and forces, and allow them to work without hindrance on each other, and if I then isolate them so that nothing can

be added to them and then leave this system to itself the consequence will be that from such forces that must result which actually does result. If I now make the same experiment again and do this a hundred or a thousand times one after the other, and if I set these forces again with exactly the same elements and nothing else and allow them to develop of themselves, it is absolutely necessary for precisely the same result to ensue — otherwise we should certainly lose our reason. To think of attributing any cessation in the necessity of this process is quite impossible. It is equally impossible for the moral consciousness to deny the fact that I ought to have done the right instead of the wrong which I have committed. If now I would wish to excuse myself on the grounds that I could not have done otherwise, having regard to my character, under the actual overwhelming circumstances, this excuse would certainly not be accepted. Rather would it be made clear to me that my character ought to have been different. That I live rightly is absolutely necessary; that I live at all is by no means necessary. Thus we are confronted by a peculiar opposition between the scientific and the ethical process of thought. It would be quite useless to attempt to weaken or destroy this opposition, for it is continually and of necessity breaking out of the very existence of man. Its value consists in the fact that it belongs to man not only for the purpose of gaining knowledge of the objective and invariable adherence of all events to law, but also in order to set up for itself standards and laws for events and their sequence.

Now it is not alone the ethical judgment but also the logical and aesthetic power of discrimination which is able to form such standards. Let us keep to plain logic, the principles of which are recognised by all; logic does not, like psychology, describe the laws according to which the process of thought is built up but rather the standards which thought must follow if it is to be correct thought. Even correct thinking follows the laws of the thought process, but it follows at the same time consciously or unconsciously the standards of logic. Still this two-sided aspect requires a dualism in which wrong thinking is opposed to right thinking, and it now becomes a problem how to think rightly at all. When thought as a natural growth contains both right and wrong judgment, the problem now becomes how to make this thought of natural growth a correct and certain process.

It is quite the same with moral judgment and moral action. Both follow where they are present at all, all laws of the association of thought and action, but they do not end here, rather they satisfy that impartial intellectual pleasure which is the origin of all moral standards. In so far as immorality in spite of its being connected with the chain of natural causality, is nevertheless not recognised as justifying its existence,

s head above that of the mere happenings of intellectual ideals and standards; the world of necessity, which claims for its part to be itself the highest, not only exists because it exists, but because it is necessary. That distinction which Plato was the first to make, and which was then carried on by Kant and his followers, is pressing forward, the distinction namely between a world of appearance which has only a relative existence and the world of reality which is upon the most impregnable truth.

Under this supposition, it was possible for Kant to assert the absolute necessity of human action being what it is, taking the former in an empirical, the latter in a theoretical, point of view. That which is unsatisfactory in Kant — as regards his theory of freedom, as in this particular problem, is the uncertainty of the relation between the world of reality and the world of appearance. In fact there exists not only a distinct connection between the two, but also the inevitable necessity of all that happens in the world of appearance and the opposite point of view which regards the world of reality, — a connection such as there is between two things, each being looked at from quite different points of view, each being interchanged according as necessity requires, — but so that our actions can be called free, very weighty consequences even for our real practical actions as we know them. On the other hand we can admit, that freedom is not necessary, at least not always to the extent to which it ought to be, in process of development. The fact of the matter is that in the real life of mankind freedom and necessity are very

connected. Then, we must, as indeed Kant intended to do, find a way to bring both points of view in each other. The ideal world of appearance not only its reflection but that which is itself the higher reality. If now we apply this point of view to the problem of freedom, I ask:

What is that the sole function of man is to exist merely as a free being. No one can prove that we and all men are nothing more than atoms and molecules moving in accordance with a law, but this is an unproved assertion. I on the other hand, who assert the necessity of freedom, have no means of proof, but I may still set my belief boldly as truer and more real. I admit this: if man were nothing more than a mere being, **everything in him and about him would indeed be necessary.** We are all in fact very largely imprisoned by the necessity of things, we are in a much greater degree than we believe even in our

be added to them and then leave this system to itself the consequence will be that from such forces that must result which actually does result. If I now make the same experiment again and do this a hundred or a thousand times one after the other, and if I set these forces again with exactly the same elements and nothing else and allow them to develop of themselves, it is absolutely necessary for precisely the same result to ensue — otherwise we should certainly lose our reason. To think of attributing any cessation in the necessity of this process is quite impossible. It is equally impossible for the moral consciousness to deny the fact that I ought to have done the right instead of the wrong which I have committed. If now I would wish to excuse myself on the grounds that I could not have done otherwise, having regard to my character, under the actual overwhelming circumstances, this excuse would certainly not be accepted. Rather would it be made clear to me that my character ought to have been different. That I live rightly is absolutely necessary; that I live at all is by no means necessary. Thus we are confronted by a peculiar opposition between the scientific and the ethical process of thought. It would be quite useless to attempt to weaken or destroy this opposition, for it is continually and of necessity breaking out of the very existence of man. Its value consists in the fact that it belongs to man not only for the purpose of gaining knowledge of the objective and invariable adherence of all events to law, but also in order to set up for itself standards and laws for events and their sequence.

Now it is not alone the ethical judgment but also the logical and aesthetic power of discrimination which is able to form such standards. Let us keep to plain logic, the principles of which are recognised by all; logic does not, like psychology, describe the laws according to which the process of thought is built up but rather the standards which thought must follow if it is to be correct thought. Even correct thinking follows the laws of the thought process, but it follows at the same time consciously or unconsciously the standards of logic. Still this two-sided aspect requires a dualism in which wrong thinking is opposed to right thinking, and it now becomes a problem how to think rightly at all. When thought as a natural growth contains both right and wrong judgment, the problem now becomes how to make this thought of natural growth a correct and certain process.

It is quite the same with moral judgment and moral action. Both follow where they are present at all, all laws of the association of thought and action, but they do not end here, rather they satisfy that impartial intellectual pleasure which is the origin of all moral standards. In so far as immorality in spite of its being connected with the chain of natural causality, is nevertheless not recognised as justifying its existence,

a second world raises its head above that of the mere happenings of nature — the world of intellectual ideals and standards; the world of truth, beauty and goodness, which claims for its part to be itself the real world of truth which not only exists because it exists, but because it must and ought to exist. That distinction which Plato was the first to see, and which has been carried on by Kant and his followers, is pressing ever more irresistibly forward, the distinction namely between a world of appearance which has only a relative existence and the world of ideals which is based upon the most impregnable truth.

On the ground of this supposition, it was possible for Kant to assert quite consistently the absolute necessity of human action being what it is as well as its freedom, taking the former in an empirical, the latter in an ideal sense. What is unsatisfactory in Kant — as regards his general outlook as well as in this particular problem, is the uncertainty in his determination of the relation between the world of reality and the ideal world. In fact there exists not only a distinct connection between the assertion of the inevitable necessity of all that happens even in human action and the opposite point of view which regards human action as free, — a connection such as there is between two systems of book-keeping looked at from quite different points of view, which have to be interchanged according as necessity requires, — but also if we decide that our actions can be called free, very weighty consequences which arise even for our real practical actions as we know them from experience. On the other hand we can admit, that freedom is not always a good thing, at least not always to the extent to which it ought to be, but is itself in process of developement. The fact of the matter is that in the inner life of mankind freedom and necessity are very closely allied.

As things are then, we must, as indeed Kant intended to do, find a means of merging both points of view in each other. The ideal world finds in the world of appearance not only its reflection but that which resists it, has itself the higher reality. If now we apply this point of view to the problem of freedom, I ask:

Who can say that the sole function of man is to exist merely as a mechanism? Who can prove that we and all men are nothing more than a mere swirl of atoms and molecules moving in accordance with a fixed rhythm? It is an unproved assertion. I on the other hand, who assert the contrary, have also no means of proof, but I may still set my belief boldly against the other as truer and more real. I admit this: if man were nothing more than a finite being, **everything in him and about him would indeed be necessary.** We are all in fact very largely imprisoned by the necessity of things, we are in a much greater degree than we believe even in our

intellectual life bound down to mechanism. I go so far as to say, it is a good thing that this is so, for how else would moral progress be possible, what does moral habituation mean except that by constant repetition of the same action we make it easy for us? To make easy is tantamount in this case to saying: our action becomes mechanical.

Now although I value mechanism so highly no one can assert that I am myself the mechanism which keeps my intellectual life in motion. This is indeed a part of me but it is not the whole of me. I am more than this. All of us must see this quite clearly from the personal moral voice that speaks in us, as well as from our experience; this we all learn from the history of religious experiences and conversions, and the important place which they hold in the history of the world. It is easy to describe all this as mystic and to decline to accept it because it is not capable of demonstration to the senses. The empiricist, the mere sensualist, may mock at it; in doing so he only proves that he has not yet experienced in himself the noblest of all feelings of which a man is capable or that he has not yet sufficiently reflected upon his own experiences.

The way I oppose them is by asserting that we are not merely bound down by mechanical force; but we stand in close relation to the infinite and we are capable of taking into us ever afresh new forces of the infinite. Certainly it is quite right to assert the necessity of events and their succession, it is right if we regard man as bound up in a limited system; but it is not right to assert that I as a man have no connection with the infinite. Religious experience teaches that I can and do, and not only I, but many millions of us. It is a truly human experience, and I say it would be impossible, nay, inhuman to set this aside and leave us with a freedom which in Kant's mocking phrase would be nothing else than the freedom of the meat-jack.

But do we not thus give up ethical evolution altogether? undoubtedly a naturalistic or an atheistic theory of evolution must be given up but not an idealistic theory, a theory of evolution which attaches the profoundest importance to freedom as its chief motive power, as its chief expanding force. Otherwise where does the great variety in the intellectual life come from? whence any historical development at all if uncomprehended forces are not here at work? In fact this is the only thing which makes the idea of a universal evolution at all possible. For every finite system must wear itself out, must reach the inevitable state of torpidity and ultimate cessation. The period of growth must of necessity be followed by that of decay. A constant and eternal upward development can only be thought of in connection with the universal process which is infinite and inexhaustible. And does not the fact of the illimitable space

of the universe, the evolution which we see before us from the simplest forms of life right up to man in all its wonder and its variety of form, — does not human development from its smallest beginnings to the intellectual culture of the present day, even to the disposition which is most at variance with all the old faith and wisdom, lie very near to the thought that all this could not possibly have come into being without God? Among those who intentionally call themselves naturalists, those also must be counted, who do not in any kind of form, even in that of a vague pantheism, ascribe to the world a profundity of illimitable extent. To be an atheist in the fullest sense of the word would only be possible for a man who had received no impression from the greatness and inward unity of the universal life, nor from the intellectual force and unity of the individual man. It is just on this account that we recommend a theory of evolution which adapts itself to a view of things both idealistic and religious.

It is not within my province here to speak of the divine. I will only add this much, that here also we must abide by that which ultimately has been given to us and which we have already spoken of, namely, those subjective perceptions and judgments of various kinds, moral, aesthetic, logical and religious. We admit that so far as we can form any conception at all, the highest Being is altogether far above any analogy with our intellectual and spiritual life. But just so far as this is so, it remains to us completely incomprehensible. We can only recognise it aright in searching for it in the direction of our highest spiritual powers; it lies undoubtedly far beyond them, but it cannot lie in any other direction than that which they indicate.

Those who have followed me thus far, will agree with me that such a theory of evolution as I have logically thought out, is thoroughly consistent with the fundamental idea of Christian morality. Of course, the evolution idea is quite as foreign to the religion of the Bible and to traditional Christianity as is the whole of our modern science and the schemes of life founded upon it, but this by no means prevents the specifically Christian attitude towards morality from being considered a supplement to our new way of regarding the universe. At the outset we must take good note of one thing: Christian ethics exist not merely for Christians, for there have always been many outside Christianity who possess lofty moral perceptions. The tendencies which we see working in all moral life — the tendencies to adhere to the preaching of love and to master sensuality, are everywhere apparent in history and not among Christians alone. Still we may say with truth, that

nowhere have these two tendencies flown together and become a unity as they have in Christianity, although their absorption one in the other has created a problem, which has not by any means been always satisfactorily solved even within the Christian world.

I now come to a further question: what is it that is peculiar to Christian morality? Chiefly this: the Christian feels that he is always a sinner, as one who cannot do sufficient, one in regard to whom the moral ideals stand unattainably high. We may also be assured that the greater the progress of culture, the more keenly and more imperiously will the voice of conscience speak in every man, and point out to him how little of that which he ought to do, he has in reality done.

This is the first point. We feel that we are all sinners, that is, that we stand far removed from the moral ideals in which we ought to live. The second point is, that we nevertheless feel, we are treated graciously, that we are strengthened anew through grace, through that mystic connection with God, of which I have already spoken.

I am not going to deny that such feelings are not also experienced in other religions. We have plenty of witnesses to the necessity felt for divine purification and forgiveness, and many prayers have been offered up for a new spirit, many hopes have been founded on the hearkening to such prayers. But still we may assert on the ground of our knowledge of religion and human history, that we meet nowhere else than in Christianity such a feeling of certainty that God is near, such a confidence in His Grace — in union with the Godhead — such a satisfying confession of faith, such new life and new power for morality. It is indeed, even among us, not ordinarily to be met with; but so many personalities who have been permeated with it, who can bear witness to the experience of this grace, we shall find nowhere else in the religious history of the world.

Now if this is a peculiar property of Christianity, I am still very far from admitting that the evolution idea is incompatible with it. It is impossible to see, why those experiences of liberation from sin and from the uncertainty of ordinary human life, regarding the worship of God, should not be brought into line with the belief in universal evolution, without approaching too near to their own peculiar attitude. It is true that such an idea would be intolerable, taken in connection with the old doctrine which limits divine Salvation exclusively to one particular history and one particular church, which separates completely sacred from profane history, which raises the person of the Redeemer away from all boundaries and limitations which surround mankind. Such

an isolation cannot possibly be brought into line with the evolution idea, as indeed it was conceived without any relation thereto. But there have always been thoughts in the Christian mind which have acted as limitations. The earliest Fathers of the Church most emphatically asserted that the divine Logos, the divine reason, which became man in Jesus Christ had cast its light upon all mankind, upon all generations and peoples; likewise Christianity has asserted at all times, not alone that Jesus Christ has the Spirit of God, but that all believers shall receive it.

If now we follow this thought further — if we carry it out logically in accordance with modern needs, then it may well be asserted that this thought can harmonise even the estimate of Jesus Christ with the modern theory of evolution. We are not entirely in agreement among ourselves as to the estimate of the person of Christ; some regard the principle of redemption as such, or the idea from which it sprang as separable from the person, others, of whom I am one, regard them as most intimately bound up together. But however one may judge, I still assert that even the highest moral and religious estimate of the Person of Jesus Christ is perfectly compatible with the thought of an idealistic evolution. As little as a breach with the evolution idea is signified, when the biologists in accordance with facts prove the appearance of new forms of life, or the anthropologists bring forward the specific superiority of the human type over even the highest animal forms, so little can it be considered strange when the theologian sees the Divine in Jesus in quite a different purity, completeness and strength — that is, of quite a different kind — than it is to be found in us human beings. As certainly as evolution without losing its logical consistency can and must recognise the free personality whose life stands in close relation to God, so powerless is he to decide the exact degree of this mystic relationship. For it is pure prejudice to suppose, as is often done, that in the carrying out of the evolution idea there is bound up of necessity a certain process of levelling. It must nevertheless necessarily lead to the conclusion that however much Jesus may be superior to all others in moral and religious power he as the beginning of a new movement must be surpassed by it in its further stage of development. Who could deny that in reference to the consequences of the new principle which he established, we are practically and theoretically much clearer than was possible for him; who can deny that the new life which he brought has revealed itself and will further reveal itself in a wealth of new forms, which, although originally founded by him, have only attained their mature development in those which followed him! Now if we set

historical Christianity in the framework of the evolution idea, we see how admirably that the optimism of Christian faith is confirmed which hopes for the ever more glorious victory of the Kingdom of God. Just as every type which has strength to live accomplishes its aim, so also, if indeed a new man of God actually entered into human history in the person of Jesus Christ, must this species, more certainly and therefore with a greater power to live, fulfil itself and overcome the older types of humanity.

On the other hand, I should like also to say that the theory of ethical evolution helps us to understand the present moral state of things much better than does the old Christian doctrine of Sin. We must admit, with our knowledge of man that we have not mere devils to deal with — in the persons of ourselves and others, that we are actually bent, in all seriousness, on combating Goodness. No! we men and women are not so. But no more are we, looking through the eyes of children and primitive men, angels fit for paradise. Our children are really quite different, as parents know quite well; nor the coloured inhabitants of our colonies, either, as our countrymen soon learn. Man fills a position midway between these two extremes, best expressed in those fine words: "The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak." Of course, there is here great variety and many grades, but it would indeed be difficult to deny to anyone some of this willingness of the spirit in some respect or another.

Now it is just the theory of ethical evolution which makes this estimate of man intelligible. In place of the incomprehensibility of the old Augustinian theory of inherited sin, it brings forward the idea that mankind is always reaching upwards gradually but continuously out of its animal beginnings to ever higher and purer ideals; it teaches us that man in his upward path has always much to overcome and always tends to relapse, but it shows us also a moral force which is always working in an upward direction. Here the old exaggerations long recognised as false of the traditional doctrine of sin are rejected without in any way weakening its seriousness. Or does any one wish to say that the old severe attitude towards sin is made impossible because sin itself appears here only as weakness? This would be to overlook the fact that in the traditional teaching, sin appears in quite an exaggerated form (which is worthy of earnest consideration) as an insuperable fatality of all mankind, as presupposing an inherent impossibility for goodness just because it exists; whereas the idea of the evolutionist, that man is subject to the atavistic inclination to relapse into the animal, is regarded as a fresh impulse in the direction of the

intellectual. It must also be noted that just because a tendency to freedom, of personal expression has been granted to man, such a relapse as this is looked upon as disturbing the course of his life and in fact culpable. Indeed we cannot suppose that all development is development in an upward direction; it may be in individual and generic cases a relapse followed by a stupefying and destruction of the higher powers. Indeed one may assert the evolution idea lends a fresh support to an ancient and profound doctrine of our Reformers. They thought, as is well-known, that the natural man is incapable of true goodness; they do not mean by this an incapacity for the ordinary virtues of life but rather a powerlessness in man to love God more than themselves, to love their neighbour as much as themselves. Who can deny that from the beginning, man is occupied with nothing less than a striving after such high ideals, that his natural inclinations, his instincts and passions tend in quite a different direction? The teaching of the evolution theory makes this fact at least to some extent clear. For if it attributes to man the purely sensual starting point of the animals, but at the same time the disposition to evolve out of himself the highest moral ideals, it follows that the instinct for goodness and the recognition of it, and with it also the possibility, to leave undeveloped the sensual side and to follow in full freedom that goodness, which he has recognised, is itself in process of development. At the same time in this connection, the teaching of the Reformers is freed from its distorting narrowness. It is true that the egoistic instinct of the senses does form the starting point of ethical evolution, but this is only the starting point of human development and the future lies not in their hands, but in those of the intellectual social man. It is still quite impossible to suppose, that throughout the whole of mankind in regard to ethics and religion any downward development can possibly lead to complete separation from or even enmity with God. Such a conception would of necessity end in despair if any vital power in the higher ethical type of man and finally in doubt of any active connection between God and his world.

And so the fundamental idea of the evolution theory of to-day leads to optimism — to the hope that in spite of all opposition in small things, the power of development as a whole will still be triumphant, and that in spite of obstacles and retrogressions, mankind will never be forsaken by God but will keep on developing itself in an upward direction; and this belief fits in perfectly with our Christian optimism, our conviction that the influence of the saving love of God has not ceased even today, that he will continue in his power to make it efficacious even through

us. In this great thought we attain — and without any desire to explain away the actual contradictions of life as mere illusions — to a uniform and harmonious view of existence actual in accordance with our Christian conception of God, thereby overcoming all notions of dualism; and so we come to regard sin as something which is also undergoing development, always and only in connection with the knowledge of goodness, as something which is always there to be overcome. Thus we see the triumph of goodness, the triumph of truth, in the Kingdom of God.

THEOLOGICAL STUDY AND THE CHURCH.

BY PROFESSOR HEINRICH WEINEL, JENA.

Every Evangelical Church in Germany makes at least a three-years course of theology at one of our State universities the first condition of entry into her service. This requirement is not only worthy of respect on account of its antiquity, but it has been productive of much blessing. Very few persons think of transferring the preparation of clergymen to purely ecclesiastical seminaries; and still fewer are those who, from a scientific standpoint, would change the theological faculties into those for religious history and philosophy, entirely separated from the Church. Yet the connection between the service of the Church and the course of study at the universities is felt not only to be a blessing, but also as a problem by all concerned; by the officials and representatives of the Church, as well as by professors and students of theology.

The fact is, that Church, State and Science are in a difficult position by reason of their mutual relationship, as it has shaped itself out of the course of theological study.

1. The difficulties arising for the Church from the study of theology at our universities are the most felt and the most discussed.

In considering these difficulties a narrow view is generally taken of the problem, by thinking chiefly of the contrast between free ideas at the universities and the traditional limitations of the Church, between historical and critical theology and legal orthodoxy or common belief. But it is not necessary for the Churches and their authorities, or the predominant tendency in them, to be traditional or orthodox, nor for theology to participate in the free and critical research of the other faculties of the University. It is generally forgotten that such is not the case in many of our German State Churches, and that, a hundred years ago, when orthodoxy returned in the guise of romanticism, our Church authorities, with most of the clergy and the parishes, were of liberal ideas, and romanticism began at the universities. The circumstances are here mostly much more complicated than our Church journals care to admit. Even to-day there are national churches whose clergy and laity are freer than their university faculties, and there are others

where complete harmony reigns. Yet even under such favourable conditions there is a problem which lies in the words "theological study, and Church". For this problem is much more deep and inclusive. The question is, would it not be better for the Church and her inward life to accept for her service men who have obeyed God's call for their office, than to employ eighteen-year-old schoolboys, whom nobody can guarantee to be of service when they become men? Is not the power of the general movement so great, because those acting in it are mature men who have experienced a new birth and call, or, as we outsiders say, have found new meaning in life and a new life-purpose in working for others? Are not our clergymen mistrusted by the working classes because they do, and must belong to another class of the people; because they must study, and study costs money? These questions should not be lightly thrown to one side. They demand an answer and comprehensive, organized changes. For the sake of their work among the people, our churches must stand on a broader basis. They should be able to employ men also who have not been able to study theology, and who yet have an inward vocation to serve the Word and to Church work. By this, I do not mean that a second-class ministry should be created which shall only imitate and envy the first class. Men from other practical callings should be enabled to take up this work, not being differently valued, but only differently employed. These men should be able to become not only city missionaries and church-workers but actual clergymen, without the examinations of a classical academy, without declensions and Greek verbs.

Only when such new roads are opened up, can we with a quiet conscience keep to our ancient form of theological study. This last we can and must do, and for two reasons. First, because knowing the ancient languages and Church history prevents us, by taking scientific education for granted, from losing the historical connection with the whole of Christendom, and, above all, with the Bible and with Jesus. Secondly, the Church should never anxiously protect her servants from contact with the highest education and researches after truth, which are now at their zenith in our universities, nor should she let them have less than the best which our education affords. They render the Church a bad service who would shut up her future servants in theological seminaries or in so-called free schools, instead of letting them pass through their inward conflicts at the universities. The Church may rely upon it that those who are not called will give up theology, in most cases, and she has only to see to it that those who are called be not frightened away.

2. On the other hand, neither is it an easy thing for theological science to be bound to the Church. For this reason, theology is constantly

being reproached as no science, and as having no right to be housed at the universities. At the first glance, this reproach seems justifiable. For although doctrinal requirements of professors of theology are today mostly abolished or are practically ignored, yet only a scholar who belongs to a church, and who is prepared to educate her future servants with his science, can qualify himself for the theological faculty. Those unwilling to do this can in Germany, as philologists or philosophers teach in the fourth faculty the same as the theologians, and many historians and philologists do this. Thus we have a double, even a three-fold study of religion, evangelical and Catholic, in the theological faculties, and non-confessional outside of these. The theologian, in his search for truth, thus appears hampered. For, should his work lead him to results which would make him inwardly separate from his Church, he ought no longer to remain in the theological faculty. We teachers of theology must however decline to be hampered in our educational work. A medical man is not lowered by helping to educate physicians, and no more is the theologian, who would educate men for the service of that form of the religious life, which, through his investigations, he has discovered to be the truest and purest. It is to be sure well known that the governing bodies in the Church, who have here and there a right to decide, wish to have the appointment of university teachers in their own hands. Hence the distrust, which can only be banished when the churches abjure their rights and their influence, and trust solely to the moral conscience of the university teachers, and when these teachers, by their staunch conscientiousness prove that at the theological faculties also it is only the truth which is sought and taught. On the other hand, the mere severance of the legal bond with the Church is no guarantee of greater scientific earnestness. The religious researches which, in Germany, are carried on outside the theological faculties, are not always free from defects or impure motives; and hatred against the Church, which is a private concern of the investigator, can make a man blind to religion, or to certain manifestations of it, at least. Therefore we must demand the withdrawal of the juridical authority of Church government on the appointment of theological professors. But let us rejoice that an inward relationship of the teacher to his Church's faith is taken for granted. For the work's sake it is to be desired that the religious investigator should remain in constant communion with the religious life, just as it is well for the teacher of aesthetics not to lose his hold on present-day living art.

3. My words on the difficulties which the State encounters from the theological faculties, shall be of the fewest. The historic subjection of our national churches to the State, makes these difficulties easy to

bear. For the Church the situation is less easy. The safety and order which the State University affords her for the education of her servants, and the economies which she thereby effects, are the bright side of this relation. But the dependence on men, tendencies and parties in the State, which so easily arises, may become serious obstacles to her in serving the whole nation, and preserving her uniqueness and her purity. Such is also the case with science. The university is not a home of pure science, separated from all human interests, but is a school, and above all, a State school. And this certainly is a danger to science, even when one may feel grateful to our states for the great liberties they have conferred on the universities. It were surely best, as far as the confidence of the entire nation in its universities is concerned, if the State gave even more liberty to the universities, leaving the selections of teachers entirely in their hands. The cliqueism of the faculties is always easier to bear than Court influences, and could mostly be overcome by transferring the right of selection to the general Senate of the University.

Taken as a whole, our requirement of University preparation for the ministry seems to be a blessing to Church, State and science, even though this will not be fully the case until the aforesaid wishes for reform have been realized.

4. More important, however, than institutions, are the human beings they are called upon to serve. Let us now regard the problem contained in the words "theological study and the Church" from our students' point of view.

What does the student want when he comes to the university, what is his idea of his study, what does he expect from it, and what awaits him? On many sides we hear the complaint that the student, instead of being introduced to present-day work, has too many lectures on historical criticism and speculative problems instead of on practical and immediately applicable truth. These complaints do not appear to me to have been raised by the students. Some time ago, I made inquiries among students concerning theological study, which confirm my own and my friends' college experiences. The young man coming from the high school has not merely the wish to serve his people, by means of the Church, as preacher, carer of souls, and social worker. He knows he is unprepared, and therefore expects to come to a larger knowledge of the truth and enlarge his Christianity through his studies. He wishes to be led into the thick of the conflict for truth; responsible for his inward attitude, he does not wish to be put off with the assurance that when he once gets a pulpit all else will take care of itself.

Our students do not want a dead learning. And there they are right, though sometimes the professors know better than they do what is dead, and what only seems so to them. We carry along much dead ballast with our ecclesiastical and doctrinal history, as well as in our practical theology, which is transmitted from one lecture and text-book to another. Fourth and fifth century liturgies, trinitarian and Christological controversies may be very interesting to the investigator, but the clergyman of today need not know their details, nor the ins and outs of the ecclesiastical policy of Alexandria and Rome. The dogmatic history of the Middle Ages we may leave entirely to the Catholic Church and to specialists. I go so far as to assert that even the minute details of sixteenth-century Protestantism and of the development of our liturgy are dead ballast for our students. In place thereof, the theologian should not only be acquainted with, but fully grasp the history of our intellectual life from Kant until our own day, in order to be able to help the men of today in their souls' struggle for a right conception of life. He should be acquainted with Darwin and Marx, Comte and Herbert Spencer, even with the mental excursions of the lesser lights of our own day, from whose books hundreds of thousands of our contemporaries draw their ideas of life. A reform of our curriculum is necessary. I think that, before all things, the period of study should be extended, and historical studies shortened to the advantage of contemporary science and of systematic and practical theology.

We have today in New Testament study four great exegetical courses in addition to the Introduction and Biblical theology; we explain the Synoptic Gospels, or one of them, St. John, the Epistle to the Romans, and those to the Corinthians. Instead of these four courses there should be two, one on the sources of the life of Christ, and one on Paul's Epistles; only the most important passages would be treated in detail, as a cursory reading with general outlines would follow. The lectures on the Old Testament could be limited in a similar way. In Church history the whole evolution of the Church should no longer be given in three or four long courses. Let us drop the fiction that the Church historian is able to deal equally with the whole material. Let the epoch or epochs which he thoroughly knows be read carefully, and then let there be one term of general outlines. There are now such excellent commentaries on the Old and New Testament, and such good text-books of Church history, that the student does not need to hear everything in detail. Besides this, the seminaries should give him more accurate instruction in particulars. The time gained by extending the time of study by one, or better two, terms, should be devoted to full lectures on the general history and philosophy of religion and its psychology, to apologetics, and especially

to ethics. Practical theology needs perhaps no extension, but certainly a change in its contents; it must change from a too historical science into an ecclesiastical and religious study of peoples and of life.

It must still be a matter of course that a number of minor courses be offered the student, which he will hear or not, according to his special interest. It is also equally obvious that a genuine student seeks his education beyond the limits of his theology, as far and as richly as he can. Philosophy, history, national economy — these for the sake of ethics — should also be known by the theologian, and his special lectures should leave him time for these. For this reason, an extension of study is desirable.

5. With the curriculum, the instruction is to be considered. We lay more emphasis than formerly on the seminars and exercises, and this must be ever more and more so. Only in the work itself can scientific methods be learnt, and the debates of the last few years have shown that our pastors must be more and more scientists, and the Monistic Associations will see to it that it is ever more necessary. Moreover, exercises educate, whilst lectures mostly impart knowledge. Exercises accustom one to accuracy and punctuality, they demand industry, carefulness and self-renunciation, and presuppose complete earnestness and truthfulness. In this way they teach a man later on to plainly and clearly recognize the realities of life, to do his duty with perseverance and care, and to play the man in the conflict for truth. Our students strongly feel the value of these exercises. Although in the somewhat antiquated regulation of the Church, a regular attendance at scientific seminars is not made a stipulation for the examinations, yet students hardly ever fail to avail themselves of the highest education of the universities.

Presupposing these reforms, theological study will provide the young man with everything necessary for service to his people at a church later on; everything except the practice, which can best be obtained at a preachers' training college, an institution which is unfortunately not yet possessed by all the State Churches in Germany. The development of our students as men and Christians, their growth into their office, so that their first inclination shall become a serious, inward vocation, is only indirectly influenced by us university teachers, though in no small degree. The material is mighty of itself, when the professor knows how to give it expression, and does not stick fast in it in his learned discussion. And the professor should have the courage to speak at times in his lectures to the young men sitting at his feet, as a man, a Christian, a member of his Church. Our lectures should certainly be neither Bible-classes nor prayer-meetings; but he who because of his lofty scholarship does not dare to speak of the essentials which lie so near the hearts of

the coming men and clergymen is no proper teacher for youth. If his hearers do not feel, without his making many words about it, that religion and the Church are the great concerns of his life, and that, even whilst criticising and controverting, his heart is in his work and with his hearers and their life-task, let him remain away from the professor's chair. He, in fine, who has no time for personal intercourse with his students, and who neither can nor will help them in their inward struggles is no real professor, though he may be a great scholar.

6. For our students, too, we have demands on the Churches. First, an exterior one, but one which is very important to secure earnestness in the studies of the average student; the demand that the first examination be everywhere given to the faculties, the ecclesiastical authorities to content themselves later with a second and chiefly practical one.

The second great demand, however, is for freedom. The Church should not bind the consciences of her servants any more than of the university professors. Whosoever comes to her and desires a position in her, should not be repulsed. Our German State churches are not so-called free churches, they are not at all associations where one may go in and out when the statutes no longer suit one. They are a historical and natural growth, like states and peoples. But because our Church is a natural growth, into which one is born, she should not narrow her influence, but, as she equally recognizes all as her members — unless they have formally withdrawn from her — without regard to their inward attitude towards her, so the church should only require conscientiousness and honest purpose from those who would serve her. Unfortunately, not all our State Churches fulfil this duty of perfect liberty. Happily we have in Germany a certain substitute for freedom in the existence side by side of so many State Churches. This prevents any phase of thought from being entirely destroyed by official pressure.

Yet even if all our Churches should reach that ideal of liberty and inwardness, which is possible and essential to religious fellowships bearing the name of Jesus Christ and acknowledging his Gospel, nevertheless theology will always be of all studies the one demanding the most self-renunciation and self-sacrifice. At least, for serious persons; the others do not come into account. It is chiefly in this study that the young man runs the danger of finding himself unfit, at the close of his course, for the calling for which he wanted to prepare. The fact is clear that, under the influence of modern life and present-day science — I do not mean theology — a student may continue to develop on lines apart from the Church or from religion at all. And if so, he has worked in vain during the best years of his life. This fate threatens the theologian alone. Even the lawyer is much more fortunate in this respect than the

theologian, for should he discover that he has made a mistake in choosing the profession of a jurist, what a number of vocations are open to him, in which he can follow his bent, and do good with his knowledge! Only the theologian is excluded, even if he has a lively interest in religious history. He must begin anew and study, perhaps, philology. Therefore those who intend seriously to become clergymen, must have a brave heart. Herder has said of theological study that it has no use for slavish souls. But ought the Church, in order to preserve young men from the influences of our intellectual life and from the science of the university, in order to save them conflicts, shut them up in ecclesiastical colleges? No, and again, No! In our evangelical Churches everything is based on the strength and industry of persons, and not on institutions as such. Therefore neither can our Churches use slavish souls nor those weaklings who must be protected from the free air which blows at our universities. He who will stand by others in all life's difficulties and in all their conflicts for truth, must himself be a man who has fled from no fight but whose conscience holds fast to what he believes to be the truth. For this reason the Church should respect the consciences of those who would serve her, and should know what a treasure she possesses in the personal convictions and independence of her clergy. Not even the best laws can take the place of this.

So, if we put the question thus: What education should the Church desire for the young men who wish to enter her service, for the sake of these young Christians themselves? — the conclusion we come to is, that the right course is to have them study at one of our universities. "Theological study and the Church" — these words certainly embrace a problem, and many reforms are surely needful here and there, till every difficulty has disappeared. But on the whole, they speak of a relationship which is a blessing, a blessing for the Church, a blessing for science, and a blessing, too, for the young men who long for the most beautiful, but most difficult service which exists on earth.

THE ART OF PREACHING IN GERMANY

BY PROFESSOR FRIEDRICH NIEBERGALL, HEIDELBERG.

It is worth while to compare the work now being done in preaching, with the reform which rationalism took up about 150 years ago. Firstly, such a comparison is a splendid means for thorough knowledge, as it makes us acquainted with similar and varied forms of several appearances. One comes thereby as near as possible to its real being. The general features show us the origin, and the particular traits reveal the kind to which an appearance belongs. In history, general features give us glimpses of rules and laws of being, as also of the depth of the human soul, which rests on a similar basis; special features, on the other hand, not only prove that we are standing on free ground, but they also clarify each separate appearance in its own peculiar form. This is, or rather should be, the end in view when practical theology attempts to set a scientific stamp on a historical foundation. Thus it is only rationalism which offers any contrast to our present-day reform in preaching, for in the rhythm of successive ages we feel ourselves, as a fact, nearest to it. A comparison with it, then, is the best standpoint from which to show this congress the homiletic reform of to-day. This is best done, as has just been said, by bringing out the general and particular features. In this way our report, also, will be constructed.

I.

Firstly, anyone who only casually considers the literature, is struck by the great enthusiasm for a reform in sermons which formerly existed. However many books and tracts may have been written on this subject to-day, if the recurrence of periods should extend to this also our authors and publishers would have enough to do. It is therefore no mere chance that more liberal theological currents of ideas have taken such hold on theory and practice; many reasons for this are apparent. This becomes clear to us when we compare the general features of the past and the present position. Rationalism fought with a two-fold opponent; not only against pietism and orthodoxy, but also against enlightenment and freethought.

Against the one opponent it objected to the limitation of Christianity, partly to forgiveness in the Cross of Christ, partly to the touching of human hearts; against free-thought, on the other hand, to the one-sided theoretical direction of thought, which therefore was not plain to the less enlightened. There was thus conflict with both sides, and stress was laid therefore on the practical in religion. In this way, one derived much benefit, being an ambassador of religious freedom at a time "when the most essential truths of religion were the subjects even of novels and of ordinary conversation". In spite of all contrary ideas, one felt oneself more in sympathy with the enlightened than with the others; one inclines more to an educated listener than to an uneducated one. To both, however, one wishes the sermon to convey practical and precious thoughts. Who does not here, at every step, feel the similarity which exists between all the periods of time? — At the same time, the then modern theology was taken up with the utmost confidence. It was not less critical nor less historical than our own. We have found but few thoughts to be independent, though these were certainly decisive; most of them are related to rationalism. The whole testimony of history as opposed to dogma, the historical Jesus, the historical comprehension of the Bible from time and place, the sharp distinction between religion and theology — the fact that these and similar thoughts were proclaimed from the housetops should make us more modest, and make us recognise in all humility, that, in neglecting history, we are punished like idle schoolboys by having to do our work all over again. These theological recognitions, then as now, enter the service of an enthusiastic and practical influence; as to-day, so in the past, men become tired of the quarrels about doctrine; perhaps we use more scepticism in our practice. It is extremely interesting to notice how the idea of practical doctrine and practical explanation used to be taken up. If this turning to the practical arose from the whole spirit of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it arose in a special degree from a teaching which based its study of the theory of influence on psychological phenomena; Spalding began with catechism, and left off with homily. This educational standpoint is the determining factor in the choice of material; it is a question of truths, but only of such as are serviceable to salvation and virtue; the two sides of the whole homiletic work continually come forward, namely, movement and tranquility, development of goodness, and peace of heart, the happiness and the improvement of mankind. Sermons should therefore only embody such thoughts which move and tranquilise; if orthodox-pietistic sermons have alone tranquilised, they will certainly tend to improvement; if philosophical preaching has almost entirely only theorised, we will

edify before all things, and this edification consists just of the practical acts of tranquillising and improving. If fervent preaching has severed dogma from morals, then the only valuable dogmas are those which lend themselves to practical use; who does not hear in this an echo of our conception of value-judgments? The empty occupation of the understanding and the memory with dogmatic knowledge is more distasteful to rationalism than to us; the Gospel of Jesus is essentially practical.

Is not this agreement in kind, between the contents of sermons then and now, shamefully great? We have discovered it later, and this reveals a common root of spiritual comprehension, whose representation is the work of historico-philosophical and religio-psychological research. Let us certainly once again and in advance emphasise the fact that our comprehension and grasp of the Gospel, the material of the sermon, is a different one.

When we consider the form, as well as the contents of the sermon — “form” taken in the broadest sense — the agreement is yet more striking. Undoubtedly there exists a close connection between the contents of a sermon, determined by dogma, and its comprehension by the human beings whom they are to serve. This picture of humanity is not only ruled by experience, but especially by dogma when original experiences slowly become generalised, and made by dogma from postulates which determine how the man must look who subscribes to it. Next to the contents of the proclamation, this picture of mankind chiefly determines the Sermon and the doctrine of preaching.

This special consideration of the listener is, after the practical foundation of exhortation, the second characteristic of our doctrine of sermons, which here again is one with rationalism. The same dominating spirit is here as there. No longer is trust reposed only in the power of the word which shall not return void; in both cases our views of the Word are at variance, raising the Divine working power almost to a sacrament, trusting in genuine faith to the Word and the Holy Spirit, without the aid of human arts. On the other hand, this fundamental consideration for the souls of the listeners certainly means somewhat of a decline in estimation of one's own acting, especially of the method which almost takes no Holy Spirit into account. But the Holy Spirit does not live on our inability; yet we may still simplify His work without giving Him a back seat. It is willingly admitted that this strong consideration for persons is connected with the position of criticism, which only sees the human element in the Bible. And the spirit of realism drives us back to the consideration of real human souls, as did once the rationalistic doctrine of preaching; we can no longer reckon with a picture of the hearers of the Sermon, as formerly in accordance

with the dogmatic postulate, and the generalizing of certain typical features, it dominated the sermon. It is clear that educational influences are again tending that way; and with rationalism, at least, the influence of the great Reformers is apparent from the whole spirit of the times, in setting the personal element in the foreground. With us, P. Drews has coined the happy phrase "religious popular science" under the influence of the general tendency. — It again shames us to see how strongly the rationalists incline in this direction also. As much as ourselves, they aim at recognising human beings, individually and collectively; we, like them, take a psychological line of thought; we wish to know what is happening in the soul, in so far as influence is concerned. If all the writings of those times are full of researches on the connection between understanding and will, on the prime origins and their influence on effects, our psychological interest increases but slowly. But it is the analogy of the position, and the endeavours then and now, which cause this work to grow. We shall continue to strive to know mankind, as they of those times did. Everywhere in the homiletic writings of to-day, it is now, as formerly, borne in upon us that, for preaching, it is necessary to know the parish. Now that the constituted man of dogmatism has been the aim of our preaching long enough, we are endeavouring to discover some types, from the most varied points of view, in order to portray our people; for, satiated with representations and constructions, we hunger for the reality.

It is fascinating to consider now how independently of each other the past and present have drawn the same conclusions from both the suppositions of the doctrine of preaching at present under discussion. For the practical foundation of preaching, and the empirico-realistic grasp of the listeners, lead to the same claims. From this equality, we can see what is right. The sermon must be in accordance with the actual needs of the listeners. This does away with the monarchical character of preaching, and it becomes constitutional. This is exemplified by the fact that men look for the specialising of previously general sermons. Preaching in town and country, for educated and enlightened listeners and for simpler people, asserts its rights. In both cases the claim of sermons for special stations of life is put forward, and is again opposed by the mass of general thought. Moreover, in both instances, special sermons oppose themselves to comprehensive and general sermons on great religious truths; and this the special, practical sermon. Considerations of time and place go now so far, that each sermon must be a special one. Thus the subject-matter increases; if, in consequence of the old idea of revelation being destroyed, the partition between the world of the Bible and the other world of God is done away with, then

"nihil humani alienum". Life, Nature, Fatherland, Labour and other noble things not purely religious, demand consideration from the pulpit; only it is as hard to-day to fix the limits as it ever was. The following is more generally recognised as the consequence of the defeat of the old supernaturalism; the language of preaching must break free from the confines of the Bible, and adapt itself to the noble current tongue of the day. For it is not a question of holy phrases nor of monologues, but of influencing mankind to-day. It is again a consequence of the educational features of both periods, that preachers try as far as possible to make their sermons comprehensible, clear and interesting to their listeners. For church attendance rests no longer on the commands of God or of authorities, nor on custom, but the services must offer to "free and enlightened human beings" something which, precious in form and contents, attracts, holds and retains them.

It is more difficult to describe and determine how the preaching is conducted to-day, than it is to treat of the theory of sermons; certainly many forms of taste in sermons are apparent, which lie in the directions already indicated; and the question arises whether the doctrine of preaching has adapted itself to advanced sermons, or vice-versà. The language employed has altered, it is less Biblical and ecclesiastical, but more adapted to the genuine current tongue, and we arrive at free oratory. The sales of sermons prove, at least fundamentally, how much sermons decorated with all manner of fancies and figures are esteemed. The specific sermon, for village, city and social questions, and each special subject, rise in importance. Sermons of an apologetic or social character, in fact all sermons dealing with special phases of life remain, whilst dogmatic and religious sermons generally seem to retire into the background. This feature is not yet so developed, that we may expect the well-known historical one-sidedness of rationalistic nature and moral sermons, quite leaving alone a Christmas sermon on stable-feeding, which is founded on an unseemly jest. How is it, however, that, on the whole, our preaching makes no rationalistic impression?

II.

It is certainly because our religion, our whole ideas are quite different from what they were, and will remain so. Herein lie the signs by which we distinguish our preaching and its doctrine. Undoubtedly we are in a process of development, which leads us further and further from the religion of enlightenment, we deny so little our theological independence of it. Fleeing before history, which troubles us all, and before orthodoxy, which oppresses us, we rather choose the road to mysticism, to the feeling for what is near, than to rationalism, which will illuminate religious

truth for the understanding. Indeed, we are as little rationalistic as possible, perhaps we are strongly irrational. Instead of doctrine, we emphasise life, instead of the truths, the reality of religion. Our preaching, therefore, is bound up in a personality, in a two-fold sense; we never tire of announcing the personality of Jesus to be that of the bearer of the greatest worth, power, and ideals, and we unite with it as much of the historical element as is possible for a personal life; yes, even to our most modern poets we can trace this hunger for personality. We should arrive at giving simple depictions of such personalities, of God's world, and of God Himself; for it is for God to arouse faith in Him, and for Christ to bring about adherence, and not for us to promote and explain these Christian characteristics. On the whole, then, we know better than our ancestors did what Christianity and the Gospel are. We have endeavoured to leave the ground of intellectualism, upon which orthodoxy used to struggle with rationalism, and to tread that of religion, as we have re-discovered it in the New Testament and in the whole of religious experience. In one word, Schleiermacher stands between the past and the present. The influence of Joh. Müller, Lhotzky and others is an extraordinary one for us. It is therefore an important duty of our doctrine to give sermons in the spirit of these "near ones". Intimately connected therewith is the second way in which we emphasise personality. It is not only an object of preaching, it is a bearer of the teaching. We emphasise, more strongly than Mosheim, the importance possessed by the preacher's personal force. All our experience goes more and more to confirm piety in the well-known conflicts. We learn more and more to value the might, the hypnotic powers, at least as means to attract, however great may be the danger of human bondage and untruth. We have the same esteem of the value of psychology as rationalism has, only ours is quite another psychology; we have much more sense of the emotional life of the soul, sense of the depth and unfathomableness so peculiar to religion. Life as the content of the Gospel, personality as its bearer and the psychology of feeling are most intimately bound up together, and the parts of this series are set against the corresponding features of enlightenment — truths, religious doctrine, understanding and will.

Our trust is chiefly in the great infectious power of original faith, even though its influence is at first one of suggestion; for we believe in the force of personal truth more than we do in that of truths. Our first duty is to strengthen this personal faith of our preachers. In the very nature of the case, any treatment is dangerous; but there are not only restrictions and all kinds of mimicry to be overcome, as though true piety would of itself burst up out of the depth of the soul. This

idea savours too much of monism; the Christian-dualistic idea is more met by the endeavour to become more truly religious, more steadfast in personality through the communion of prayer, by every means of approaching God, but without knowing it. For this, we must be free from all trammels, as for instance, preaching on particular texts of Scripture or after particular doctrines, as though the preacher were but an instrument of the authorities or the community, as he once used to be. Certainly, it does not mean that freedom makes true, but that truth makes free; therefore the fundamental supposition of all freedom is education, education of the believing heart, which devotes itself more and more to the things of God by forgetting itself in aims and motives; further, a theological education, so that one knows oneself what is essential in the Bible and in preaching; and finally, a practical, that is, a homiletical education.

For method does not always weaken the power of the "nearest things" but strengthens it. The spirits of the prophets should be subject to the prophets, and nothing else. And here it chiefly depends on rationalistic homiletics, without any psychological schooling. This is not so intimately connected with rationalism as to make its connection with our preaching harmful. Here totally new tasks appear for our homiletics, which are in the spirit of the homiletics of rationalism. We require the services of religious psychology, of one which describes, not only the pathological appearances of religion, but also the normal ones. Furthermore, we must know what the influence of sermons is like. This certainly departs from every rule, but the knowledge itself is of value. The relation of expression to impression, of impression and influence, the many phases of exciting human souls which, psychologically and historically are so different, the importance, for instance, of the attitude of the Church, of being known to the preacher, of the present condition of the listener's mind — all this is of value to us. We would fain penetrate into the chambers of the Unknown, or of the super-soul as Emerson says, we would see and know, firstly, perhaps, to lose some of the working-force, but only to strengthen it all the more afterwards. We can at least leave everything prejudicial if we do not venture to draw power from methodical experience. We shall then see into a world of spiritual connection between the word preached and influence on lives; into which world we only at present get glimpses through anecdotes, showing us the many consequences of our half unconsciously uttered words to the soul of a hearer, and how the special soul takes up and directs the course of our words.

The danger of making unfruitful and dangerous methods from this, is not such a great one; for the comprehension of the world of

influence will teach us, that only the word borne along by the involuntary tone of conviction has any sure prospect of doing good; our souls possess the peculiarity of causing such methods to sink into the depth of the soul and to become strong even if they do not bestow love and prudence on each individual; and this strength shows us the upward way. How often in this way, does a barren land become fruitful!

One thing is certain; consideration for the hearer, even when it sometimes consists in not considering him, must not be lost. History and the study of it should lead us further on. It neither tolerates nor demands repetition, but it does tolerate and demand a synthesis of valuable results. If our theology has given us another message, a content which sometimes differs from that of rationalism and approaches more to the times which it has conquered, and which have reconquered it, yet nothing hinders us from giving this message a form which is worthy of the history of preaching. If preachers have always been trying to cater for the people of a certain epoch, rationalism has consciously set up this claim. We therefore, enriched by the results of past work, may serve the present, and prepare for a better future.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN GERMANY.

BY PROFESSOR OTTO BAUMGARTEN, KIEL.

1. When we speak of religious education in Germany we may say in its praise that, unlike other countries, it is universal, and that it benefits the entire population without any exception whatever. Education is compulsory throughout Germany, and therefore the number of those who can neither read nor write has become extremely small. In every class of school, Scripture lessons are obligatory, and therefore those people who have had the most meagre education, and live in the poorest and most out of the way places, have yet been brought into touch with religious subjects, and have some knowledge of the same. This principle of giving instruction in the elements of religious knowledge to everyone is carried so far, that the otherwise tolerant representatives of the prevailing educational system do not hesitate to compel the children of Dissenters, and also of parents who reject religion altogether, to attend the Scripture lessons in the State schools. Their argument is the following: if religion is to be preserved for the people, and if it is the basis of our moral culture, no one may be permitted to deny his children religious instruction.

2. We might imagine that with this universal diffusion of the elements of religious knowledge there would be a corresponding and equally wide interest in religious questions. But there is scarcely any one among us who is so naive, or so ignorant with regard to the difference between the knowledge of the truth, and the putting into practice of the same, as to expect our conceptions of life and religion to be on the same high level as our religious knowledge. There is little more interest in and understanding of religion to be found with us than with those nations in whose schools Scripture lessons are not compulsory. It is possible that interest in questions relating to religious philosophy has increased not inconsiderably during the last decade; but, all the same, understanding of the most essential and principal points of Christian faith has not grown in proportion. It cannot be denied that a great

number of our countrymen leave school, and their instruction preparatory to confirmation, weary of religious subjects, and with their religious sense blunted by the perpetual repetition of the Catechism and the Bible stories. In Germany religious questions are regularly forced upon young people, they have at least 8×3 or 12×2 Scripture lessons weekly, not counting their confirmation lessons. The rudiments of religious knowledge and the Bible pictures thus become well-thumbed counters and, from an educational point of view, the question may well arise whether the interest of grown-up people in religious matters would not be fuller, freer, and more active if, when young, they had not been satiated with Scriptural subjects and wearied with their perpetual repetition, if the individual soul had been left to itself to search after God, to strive for a knowledge of Him and of the highest aims and rules of life. As a fact our young people have become callous in points of religion.

3. Officially recognised German methods of religious instruction, and such as parliaments have voted for, take for granted that all our children have a natural predisposition for religious subjects, and that instruction has only to stir and awaken this natural ability in order to insure its healthy growth. Knowledge of the true Christian religion must be taught methodically and properly; Scripture subjects must be interpreted to the children by teachers who hold the faith or are, at least, not sceptics; then, it is said, the children will undoubtedly embrace the Christian tradition. With growing anxiety we see that the very opposite is the case, among the working as well as among the upper, educated classes, and the reason is sought for in the teacher's want of method, or in his lack of faith. But religion is no abstract, school subject which can be imparted, it is a vital principle which fills and determines our whole existence, and if it is again to act as such it must be handed down to the younger generation by the elder as the influence which has been the determining factor of their lives. We are too apt to forget this, and it is also the case in our most aristocratic circles, as if the watch-word: "religion must be preserved for the people" — whereby in speaking of the people, oneself is left out — could be carried into effect by making tuition in Scripture subjects compulsory in the schools, by the State providing orthodox teachers, and by the supervision of their lessons through the clergy. It is incomprehensible how the fact can be overlooked that any educative result of such teaching is counterbalanced by the opposition of the home, which has generally broken with the State Church. The comparatively short, and unwillingly borne influence of the school cannot maintain itself in the face of the hostile, sullen, or indifferent bearing of the family and friends.

4. The ultimate aim of most German schemes of religious instruction professes to be the formation of character of religious and moral worth, and the development of religious personality. But it is impossible to get together the necessary number of teachers whose personality and high moral and religious character render them capable of giving such instruction. The scholastic profession is so looked down upon in Germany that we have to content ourselves with teachers of average ability and interest for religious teaching. Thus by upholding a standard which is almost impossible of human attainment it is seen that we still worship a species of practical materialism, which is often deplored in words, but, nevertheless, universally followed. This materialism goes so far as to expect great results when logically developed religious and moral conceptions are systematically imparted to the pupil, are committed to memory by him, and the lessons supervised and controlled by clerical persons appointed for that purpose. But even if we could disregard the power wielded by the person who will implant his own faith in the breast of another we should commit a great fault in disregarding the enormous influence exercised by the tone and spirit of the home, and still more of young companions, upon the formation of the mind. At a time when the contrast between "fathers and sons" renders the younger generation sceptically disposed with regard to the views and theories of life held by the older generation, we may not even expect too much from the influence of teachers of strong personality upon the pupils committed to their charge.

5. The following conditions must be fulfilled if religious education in Germany is to become more truthful and efficient. a) First of all we must have a clearer idea of how little can be done for religious education by religious instruction. To help us in this we have the many and constantly increasing investigations of the last few years with regard to the possibility of teaching religion, and also with regard to the value of the school. Herbart's idea of education through teaching must be restricted to the formation of intellectual faculty. Otherwise we should be obliged to make our hard-working, trained teachers responsible for the undoubted decay of moral and national idealism in the nation. We must gradually accustom ourselves to give up our high-flown ideas about the possible results of the school method. When Herbart spoke of the disposition being formed by instruction he was thinking mostly of private lessons. And too we must lay less weight upon the adage "He who has the youth of his country on his side, commands the future". This is not the case, for even those teachers who give the most thorough and painstaking lessons do not succeed in winning over the pupils to their side; the influence of the home is too

weighty for that. School education, too, generally ceases at a period when the convictions and conceptions of the youth are only just beginning to take shape and form.

b) We should do better then to lower our expectations with regard to the results of religious instruction and to strive after what is possible of attainment. Let us, therefore, be content with imparting such knowledge of religious history as is indispensable for national education, and which will enable the people to grasp the main features of the present time. They must learn to take an interest in the religious heroes, and in the spiritual power of religion. I will not for a moment deny that, God willing, the result of such instruction may be that the individual is aroused to religious searchings of the heart. But whether this is the case, and with how many, depends less upon the value of the teaching than upon the general disposition of the pupil, upon his ability and the home influence.

c) The children of Dissenters and Atheists must, without exception, be freed from compulsory attendance during religious instruction of a denominational nature. There is nothing against their being compelled to attend Scripture lessons of non-doctrinal tendency. Udenominational religious instruction must be provided for, should the school ever be separated from the Church, because such instruction does not aim at increasing Church membership, but simply imparts the facts of religious and ecclesiastical history, without which no citizen is fully initiated into the elements of national life. The question is whether these lessons should be included in the history, or in the citizenship course; in any case, they must not be under clerical supervision, but must be controlled by the state. It is inhuman and unfair that all elementary teachers in Germany are forced to give Scripture lessons. In this way many excellent teachers, holding Liberal, or even Agnostic views, are obliged, in opposition to these views, to treat their subject-matter in the prescribed and traditional way; they must present it as an absolute truth. They can only do this by adopting a neutral attitude towards it, and thus the aim of the lesson — the forming of character of religious and moral worth — is defeated. The teacher too fails in his attempt to arouse an understanding of and interest in religion; lessons given without any interest in the subject spoken of will certainly not excite interest. Much of the religious indifference of our days is a result of this "neutral" teaching which, however correct it may be, leaves behind it a feeling of insincerity and torpor.

d) We must at last recognise how fundamentally important the spirit of the home, and the mother's teaching is for the awakening of religious life. It is pure folly, but, nevertheless, people universally expect

a disposition to be nurtured in the comparatively few school lessons that will combat the spirit of the life outside the school, of the home, the associates, and the whole social environment. And even if it were not so usual as it is for the upper and lower classes in Germany to criticise the school, character could only be formed by the spirit of the school if it harmonised with the spirit of the home and the environment. It cannot be denied that the official religiousness and church orthodoxy, as taught in the schools, presents a great and striking contrast not only to the heterodoxy, also to the irreligiousness, as well as to the distrust of traditional religion found in the home. Thus the religious life and teaching of the school is generally built upon the sand, for the religious spirit of the family which is to be the foundation, is either non-existent, or cannot be depended upon. And so during the many lessons which the children attend in the years they spend at school they are questioned on a subject, and hear a subject spoken of, which has no existence in their lives, though the teachers take the opposite for granted. When shall we discover that religion has its root in feeling and therefore can only be kindled by what is vital? And who are so fitted for this work as those for whom the child feels reverence and love? Therefore the mother's teaching appears to us much more important and effective than any class or school teaching. When we speak of the mother's teaching, we do not mean mere words, but the religious, educative influence exercised upon the child by the attitude of the parents to one another, by the mother's piety, her habit of prayer, by her little stories about God and about Christ's work and ways. The few moments when the mother sits by her child's bed, or takes it on her lap in the twilight and speaks to it of God, or with God, have far more lasting effect than the long lessons upon a subject the children have had no experience of and which has not come into their lives.

e) Therefore all the friends of religion and of the people — I mean by this all those who wish to implant true piety in the hearts of the people — must endeavour, in the first place, to win over the home, and particularly the mothers of our people, to witness to the power and reality of religion. But this will not be possible until all classes of the nation, the leading, and highly educated, as well as the ambitious and self-respecting working classes, have regained their trust in the vital power of religion. Unprejudiced observers of our national life question more and more if this trust will ever be re-established until State and Church, and School and Church have been separated, that is to say, until the State Church has been abolished. This distrust is universal; the people ask if the spirit of religion will ever be independent of the ulterior motives of the State and of the clergy, independent

also of those who desire to retain class distinctions in the State and to have State and School ruled over by the clergy. The close union of Conservative and reactionary interests prevailing in our German political life contributes to this mistrust. If the united Roman Catholic and Protestant dogmatists — who, with us, rule Church and State as if they were Church schools — uphold, as a cardinal point in their programme, traditional religious teaching without any concession to the progress of natural science and of history, then we can well understand the widely diffused misgivings of the middle classes as to whether our ideals of culture are reconcilable with Christianity. All those, therefore, who desire to see a spirit of real piety welling up anew in the hearts of the people, and who recognise how important the home atmosphere is for the religious training of the young, are most anxious for State, School and Church to be emancipated from the rule of the reactionary parties.

6. And now, in conclusion, we ask for deeper insight into the value of religious habit as a factor in religious training. Religious habit is quite compatible with that freedom and independence of religious life of which we have till now spoken. It is characteristic of the German school of intellectualism that it should overrate the possibilities of school instruction, and underrate the value of simple, unconscious habit. But healthy and vital religious life is not called into being by reflection, nor by the method of analysis of traditional modes of thought. It has its birth in that happy time when reverence for prayer and ceremonial is unconsciously imbibed by the younger generation at the knees of the elder. The farther we are led into the sub-conscious regions of religious psychology — more especially studied in North America — the more clearly we shall discern the share that sub-conscious reaction has in the growth of religious experience. Our great Herder clearly recognised that by taking part in religious worship an early habit is formed, in which neither reflection nor consciousness plays any part; it is a kind of "mechanism of fibre" which excites in the heart of the child feelings of awe, and intuitions of something eternal and unnameable. The memory of these solemn hours remain, the intuitions which swayed them become so firmly established that they can safely bear the strain of reflective thought and critical examination of traditional truth. The weakness of our religious instinct, which is so easily blunted by annoyance at Church ceremonial, or by criticism of religious subjects, is a result of our misconception of the growth of religion in the human mind. We have started with the false assumption that religious education consisted in teaching certain supposed facts and reflecting on them. We have underrated the power of simple, religious habit in forming religious life.

7. Therefore, if religious education is ever again to become a feature of national life, that is to say, embracing all classes of society in Germany, two conditions will have to be fulfilled: Firstly; all official and obligatory religious instruction must be dropped.

Secondly; a new appreciation must be shown — especially amongst Liberal sections of the community — for religious forms and symbols, and for religious habit. The abandonment of religious ways in the household, of family prayer, of the habit of prayer, the non-observance of Sunday and other feast-days must be checked. Religious forms of expression have, indeed, often been discarded in the name of Protestant freedom, in confidence in the religious spirit which, left to itself and freed from the tyranny of the letter of the law, will create its own suitable forms. Our national and family life has thus been robbed of all educational power. This must be changed, we must finally recognise that the youthful spirit must be protected and strengthened by a fixed religious attitude of mind.

With respect to both these points I believe the German Lutheran Church can receive important suggestions from the Protestant Anglican Church in England.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PERSONALITY OF JESUS FOR BELIEF.

BY PROFESSOR WILHELM BOUSSET, GÖTTINGEN.

The committee on whom the management of the Congress rested, invited me to deliver a lecture on the modern conceptions of Jesus. That would be a subject of inexhaustible plenitude and variety, and I prefer, therefore, to select out of this abundance of material the central problem with which the conflicting theories chiefly deal: the significance of the Personality of Jesus. This problem as is well known is now the centre of interest in Germany, since the assertion of the non-existence of Jesus and of the exclusively mythological character of the Gospels has been widely made, troubling and startling great numbers of people. But even when this question, now so fashionable, has long ceased to be debated, and people have tired of setting up and refuting one impossible theory after another, it is to be hoped that the problem indirectly touched by that assertion will not so soon be lost sight of, nor the conviction that we are thus faced by the necessity for a revision of our foundation-principles. For Johannes Weiss is perfectly right when he says: (Jesus von Nazareth, 1910 p. 6.) "And so this conflict is a serious warning to us, whether it would not be well to put individual belief and theology itself on a broader basis. Here arises the problem, so often suppressed and yet again and again requiring solution: The relation between Religion and History."

One does not realise the seriousness of this problem, if one accepts as final the present apparently satisfactory result of this conflict, i. e. that the attempt to prove the personality of Jesus unhistorical has been rejected by the aid of science as purely visionary. Setting aside altogether the possibility that such an attempt might be repeated later on with more effective weapons, there is another more judicious question, which would be sufficient to make quite clear the doubtfulness of the way in which, in wide circles even of liberal theologians, the religion of Christendom is based on the historical personalty of Jesus of Nazareth. The question may be thus stated: What authentic historical knowledge

have we of this Jesus of Nazareth, taking for granted the undeniable fact that Jesus lived — of His life, His teaching and His personality? Our knowledge of the real facts of His life is so little that it could be written on a slip of paper. The teaching or the Gospel of Jesus is a web often not to be disentangled, woven of the tradition of His community, and of possibly true words of the Master. What the Gospels tell us about the peculiar self-consciousness of Jesus, and its forms and therefore about His innermost life, is overshadowed by the dogma of His community. And when we have to deal with this sceptical attitude towards the tradition of Christ's life, we have no longer to do with dilettanti and mountebanks, but with serious-minded scientists of well known reputation — I need only mention Wellhausen and Wrede. One may object, it is true, to the methods of research of these men and the result obtained, either in certain particulars or in the whole; but does that really afford the conviction that this objection is so well justified that we can make the existence or non-existence of the essential foundations of our religion depend upon it? The problem here is not merely to disprove the charges of these adversaries, but to restore unconditional confidence in the Gospel tradition as a whole; such confidence as would be necessary if according to the widely prevalent method we are to base the certainty and manner of our belief on the historical personality of Jesus of Nazareth. The question is whether one is willing to trust this certainty to the instability of historical inquiry.

This also must be admitted: The so-called positive (orthodox) theology is not immediately so much embarrassed by these new problems, though it also would be affected by the radical denial of the existence of Jesus. For indeed its belief stands and falls with the reality of the God-Man and Redeemer, Jesus of Nazareth. But the question how much or how little we know of the historical life of Jesus does not affect it quite so much. If it could retain only the data of the death and the resurrection and perhaps of the miraculous beginning of this life, it could be satisfied with these. The Halle theologian Vähler in his day stated this and proved it with remarkable acumen. Orthodox theology no doubt thereby admits that it bases the truth of its whole system and the form of its faith on a phantastic mythical-dogmatic interpretation of the life of Jesus by Paul; an interpretation the roots of which lie in forms of conception belonging to a long-distant past. But that does not concern us any further in this connexion.

A widely-prevalent form of modern liberal theology is shocked or at least very much alarmed by the present direction of historical inquiry. Characteristic of this theology is its anti-rationalism historically developed. One feels keenly here the direct contradiction to

Lessing's famous saying "that accidental historical truth can never become a substitute for indispensable truth based on reason" and for instance to Kant's saying: "The Historical serves only as illustration not as demonstration." They have passed from this antiquated rationalism to the order of the day. In history the essential foundation for religion as well as for all the higher intellectual concerns of humanity is sought and found. History is regarded as a stage where fundamentally new revelations take place. And uniting with these general ideas a more or less decided conception of the world based on supernaturalism, the religion of the Old and New Testament and especially the Gospel revealed in and with the personality of Jesus is regarded as a new creation resting on Divine revelation, given at a certain date of history in the course of natural events, on which all faith essentially depends. Here theology has followed the course of the general intellectual evolution in the 19th century. With justice may the 19th century be called the age of history. A great part of its mental peculiarities is determined by this fundamental tendency: the retrogression of great dominating system of philosophy, the increase of church-authority and power of ecclesiastical organisations, the advance of Conservatism in all departments, — on the other side the widespread sway of Scepticism, of Relativism and Agnosticism, the enthusiasm for the science of Psychology, the keenest sensibility for all phenomena in mental life, even for the most peculiar and unusual ones, the irrational Individualism that destroys itself etc. — Parallel currents we perceive in various departments of intellectual life, principally in jurisprudence: the fight against natural-right being of course partly justified, the one-sided tendency of scientific work toward the concrete positive law so far as to deny every philosophy of law, etc.

The first to take up this attitude of mind in theology as in all other essential points was none other than Schleiermacher. And the opinion which Schleiermacher held as to the supreme significance of the personality of Jesus for belief is characteristically associated with his conception of religion. Corresponding to his conception of the deepest reality as identity of nature and spirit for which no perception or idea is adequate (more expressly in the second than in the first edition of the "Reden") Schleiermacher found the centre of all religion, as is well known, in the immediacy of feeling which cannot be reduced to a formula, being without any positive definition. Hence Schleiermacher could never find his way from feeling to the definiteness of the general religious idea. In search of a more definite conception of religious life, the concrete life of history offered itself to him. Thus Christianity became to him the religion wherein everything was related to the

personality of Jesus of Nazareth of whom he fancied he had got a true representation in the Fourth Gospel. And so Schleiermacher did not make the idea but the indefinable personal life the centre of his reflexions.

Modern theology in the 19th century built in essentials upon the ground prepared by Schleiermacher; with this essential difference that the stand-point of "immanency" adopted by the great theologian was dropped, more or less determinately, as has already been mentioned in favour of a supernatural conception. Religion becomes then something that settles into mankind only by the event of historical revelation; and does not by any means unfold itself in history out of human nature. And so across the age of Rationalism and Idealism, they could almost clasp hands secretly with the old-ecclesiastical Supernaturalism.

In this connection a detailed discussion all along the line will not be taken up here. We shall point out first of all how the present theological situation rendered more critical by the intense historical work of to-day is burdened with unbearable difficulties especially by this widespread conception. History resolutely pursued to its end points of necessity beyond itself.

We shall attempt to prove this by entering into particulars. The basing of Christian belief on the historical personality of Jesus can be effected in many different ways. One can either begin with the teaching or the Gospel of Jesus, regarding Jesus as the revealer, who established His teaching by means of His personal authority, or one can start with Jesus Himself, the conspicuity of His figure and the impulse proceeding from Him. A well known theologian once said that the true, moral and religious instructions of Jesus ought to be scientifically ascertained; this being done one would have to follow them as of inviolable authority. Here the merely historical stand-point shows clearly its absolute one-sidedness and thereby its impossibility. One sees plainly that the belief, its contents and its certainty, is made dependent on constantly wavering historical investigation which can never be brought to an end.

But historicism is rarely put forward in such unveiled and undisguised form. The claim is generally made only for the most striking and evident data of Jesus' teaching. Thus Albrecht Ritschl considered Jesus as prophet and founder of the Kingdom of God. According to him the dignity of Jesus is based on the fact that He has revealed God's world-design, i. e. the Kingdom of God; and the validity of a Divine kingdom is founded on the supernatural authority of Christ's personality. So the main point in the prophecy of Jesus was thereby rendered valid. But here rises a problem which remains unsolvable from the standpoint of historicism: what then are to be the essentials

and where are the rule and standard by use of which this problem might be solved? If we take our position in the prophecy of Jesus himself and judge therefrom, yet more becomes essential, for instance the expectation of the sudden transformation of the world or the forms of the Messianic consciousness of Jesus. One does not quite understand, what right we can have simply to remove these ideas which occupied so large a place in early Christian conviction.

But in case we decline to take our position in the prophecy of Jesus himself, then historicism will in vain search for a rule which could be applied from without, as the historical revelation is to be the last authority. It is to be added that exact historical investigation has taught us to see Jesus and His teaching more and more under their actual conditions and at their great distance. We have often had to acknowledge that the ideas which we considered of chief importance in the preaching of Jesus, have only been implanted in it by ourselves. By modern inquiry it has been acknowledged for instance that the idea of the kingdom of God, as held by Jesus and the first Christian community was mostly eschatological and contained hardly anything of the "immanence conception" of the Ritschl theology, which has thereby received a very damaging blow. Doubtless the Gospel of Jesus contains things of eternal value, towering high above time, and likewise heterogeneous things of merely transitory value. But to state the matter shortly historicism lacks measure and means to point out these eternal values with any force of conviction. Thus all hope is given up of returning to the more definite or detailed teaching of the gospel; recourse is had to the very last, most subtle and unsubstantial thing, to the personality of Jesus which defies all formulae.

And here again two possibilities arise. Emphasis may be laid upon the picture of Jesus as it is brought before us by intense contemplation. This contemplation of the image of Jesus is directly to waken religion, religious devotion and adoration; we are to see in Christ the image of God; in Him God's personal life is to become manifest. This conception again we shall consider from the point of view of the historical difficulties under which it labours. This figure of Jesus, however often it may be urged, cannot be independent of history and historical investigation. If this is really the true foundation of our belief then the question of historical truth must surely be of pre-eminent importance. The controversies of late have called to mind again that this conception at any rate will be irreparably damaged by the assertion of the non-existence of Jesus. But even the possibility that now arises that we perhaps know only very little of Christ's personal life, so little that it does not give an impressive and clear picture, would seriously

endanger this conception. If Christ's inner life be in this case the main issue, and this inner life is only apprehensible through the Messianic self-consciousness of Jesus — then we cannot go a step further without meeting with uncertainty, for the most recent investigation informs us that especially in regard to Christ's self-consciousness the community-conception and dogma with the original historical ground make a tissue of inextricable weaving. But if anyone should assert in view of these difficulties that the merely historical Jesus is of no importance but only the symbol of faith created by community and individual, there is doubtless some truth in the suggestion; but then it must also be admitted that this is in fact an abandonment of the principle of the historical presentment and foundation of religion. Then the question would have to be answered what are the sources of the creative faculty of subjective belief, with what right and in accordance with what law does it work?

There remains still the other possible mode of consideration. Abandoning also the detailed visible picture of Jesus, only the personal impulse proceeding from Him is kept in view. Jesus is taken definitely (in about the same way as Schleiermacher did) as the prime creative subject of our religion. And provided one means by this nothing but that the first creative impulse in history for the framing of religion in the form of Christianity originated in Christ's personality, one has come to a conclusion to which cautious historical inquiry will hardly be able to object. But thus the attempt to secure a foundation for faith in the person of Jesus, i. e., in history, immediately demonstrable to religious consciousness, is abandoned. What remains here is but an historical thesis which need not be in close relation to religious life at all. Schleiermacher indeed was of a different opinion; he recognised the peculiar life of Christian belief as in constant psychological relation to the vigour and purity of the God-consciousness of Jesus. But for this purpose also a vivid and many coloured picture of the inner life of Jesus is needed. And the obtaining of this is what has been made doubtful or at least much more difficult by modern historical investigation. It must not be forgotten that Schleiermacher accepted the picture of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel as historical truth, in the true sense of the word.

So the basis for the historical mode of consideration becomes more and more limited. One can understand it, when the need was felt, to look for a broader basis as a foundation of religion. And now the assertion was tried that the security and certainty of the Christian Religion must rest on the operation of revelation as a whole, as manifested in the history of Christianity in its totality. This history proceeding

from Jesus as its creating starting-point and concluded in our time and with us, is to be looked upon as a progressive unity of revelation. After surveying the whole in order to be able to estimate accurately the details and also the beginnings of our religion, its fundamental nature and its fundamental laws must be recognised and stated. It is not intended thereby to invest this revelation-totality with a special dignity before other revelation-totalities. Nay all history is considered a texture of events under law and of new incoming revelations. The supernatural is identified with the individual, for us irresolvable, establishes revelation in this individual and thus finally finds means to meet the old ecclesiastical Supernaturalism though only from afar. But all this is also largely dependent on history. Without being the sole decisive factor the historical personality of Jesus must be noted as the real origin of the history, out of which the essence and the laws of the so far highest and comparatively perfect religion shall unfold themselves to us. Thus they who hold this view regard with extreme uneasiness the modern historical investigation of Christ's life and the possibility that it may lead further and further into uncertainty and insecurity. And Troeltsch* makes an affecting appeal to the historians to bring to an end at last this condition of insecurity and grievous uncertainty. An appeal which unfortunately cannot be thus unconditionally met. The historian should surely rather call for the systematist to lead him beyond himself to a region of certainty and safety, above the storms.

So all these various attempts to base the certainty and the content of our belief by means of reflection merely on history are burdened by peculiar difficulties. Thus history perseveringly and resolutely pursued points beyond itself and forces us to search for another foundation beyond its boundaries; and this must be Reason.

In opposition to all one-sided historicism we lay down as a principle: religion is something originally belonging to human nature, comprehensible as a necessity of his rational disposition, religion is not imposed upon man from without and does not rest in any way on supernatural revelation in the strict meaning of that term. So far we can still agree with Schleiermacher. It was he, who conquered a province in man's mental life for religion. According to his conception one may say: look into thyself, into the depths of thy own nature, thou wilt find religion there not as arbitrary play and fancy and self-illusion, but as the central fundamental law of thy life.

Hence results at once a peculiar conception of history. One will have to break with all historical supranaturalism. Supernatural reve-

* Zeitschrift für wissenschaftl. Theol. N. T. XVI 2: Rückblick auf ein halbes Jahrhundert der theologischen Wissenschaft.

lation does not put absolutely new elements into religious history. In religious history also no evolution from infinitesimal increments of a heterogeneous kind takes place according, for example, to the accepted law of the heterogeneity of purposes (Wundt). We decline all such refined or grosser Supernaturalism. Religion is an original faculty of man which only expands in history, from dim primitive elements to ever increasing clearness. But history develops only what existed from the very beginning. What existed from the very beginning must unfold itself by means of reflection to consciousness with increasing clearness. Yet there exists real progress. History is not merely a play and a succession of indifferent occurrences or even the corruption of original disposition, it is an act; for religion rests in the depths of human consciousness and to take possession consciously of these depths and affirm them is the weary toilsome labour which is effected in history.

Hence it must further be asserted that religion as an integral part of human reason is an entirety which certainly can be surveyed and expressed in clear ideas. And at this point progress beyond Schleiermacher is necessary. One cannot leave off with the undefinable inexpressible feeling which only acquires shape and form in some authoritative personages. From this feeling a way must be found to clear self-recognition and self-definition, i. e. the religious consciousness must attain clearness concerning itself. It is not as if we had to deal here with inborn ideas which unfold themselves to man by contemplation for they are ideas which only when the religious life is sufficiently developed, gradually show themselves in the course of history to reflection.

Now the above mentioned words of Lessing and Kant concern these ideas; they shine forth with a certainty of their own, they stand in the very centre of man's mental life, like a central sun.

They do not need the authority of history — nay, they are rather the standard which we apply in measuring consciously or unconsciously the simple historical events, which we apply consciously or unconsciously also in separating the transient and the eternal in the personality of Jesus of Nazareth.

At this stage of fixing the ideas we shall even have to go further than the old master, Kant. He based the ideas of religion on the impulse of „practical reason“ and on the categorical imperative and thereby put religion in absolute dependency on morality. Going further than Kant, following his greatest scholar, Jakob Friedrich Fries, we shall prove that the existence of the religious ideas is based upon “pure reason” and that they form quite as certain and integral a part in it as “the categories of logic” and the declarations of “intuitive perception”

For these too can only be exhibited as indispensable necessity consequent on human mind. Their "objectiveness" can never be confirmed by a comparison with reality itself to which they are related and which indeed is nowhere self-existent but existent only in our mind. And thus intuitive perception and the categories of intellect are by no means ahead of the highest ideas of reason existing with equal necessity in human mind, to which empirical cognition and observance can indeed never correspond.

Is now the verdict allowed from that standpoint of rationalism and from the assertion of the self-dependent world of ideas, that history means nothing for religion, reason every thing? That history is at best a crutch with which one rises to these ideas and which one can then dispense with? This is about the standpoint of the old Rationalism. But this assertion is only justified under one condition, that is, if we misunderstand Rationalism emphasised in its necessity for the conception of religion in a "logicistic" sense, as if thus by mere logical means the proof of the truth of religion should be deduced from a chief principle. That was about the opinion of the great idealistic systems following Kant. They tried to unravel from pure logic metaphysics and conception of the world, deducing them perhaps from the main principle of identity and contradiction. This was also the error committed by the new rationalistic-theological systems, for which we might cite Biedermann. Thereby the conception of the old Rationalism was approached again which put religion in the domain of rational scientific proof. Thus the significance of history for religion would indeed be reduced to zero. Scientifically proved truths such as we have in natural science and mathematics do not call for history and historical demonstration.

But that does not concern us here. Religious ideas are not scientific theorems logically deducible and provable. They are final truths which can only be pointed to as a constituent part of our reason but which as expressions of a fundamental faculty which defies all rational analysis can never be proved. Reflection can not produce this faculty by proving it, can only make us conscious of its existence and its peculiarity. Religion does not acquire life by rational reflection, in fact it is preexistent to it. We shall attempt to prove this transcendentalism of the ideas in opposition to all scientific deducibility by entering into particulars.

All religion is concerned with the idea of the meaning and value of existence; categories such as meaning, value and purpose do not exist at all in Science. Natural science must give up entirely all teleology and has only to deal with causes not with purposes, as has clearly been acknowledged since Darwin's time. Historical science also deals with the idea of meaning and purpose only so far as human generations themselves

have implanted purpose and meaning into history. Exact historical science rejects strictly as fancies of the imagination ideas of a universal pre-ordained destiny, ideas of an education of mankind according to a Divine plan. Religion aims at the comprehension of the world-reality in its unity and totality. For only that which is presented to us in unified completeness has meaning and worth. Science shows us in principle an unlimited world, stretching forth into infinity, in space and time, in the infinitely great and infinitely little, in measure and number. Religion strives toward the idea of a supreme innate necessity and cannot be satisfied with the supposition of ultimate chance. Science too endeavours to attain the idea of necessity and attempts to gain it by the examination of Order in Nature yet fails on principle to derive the concrete individual actuality from the whole and thus stops at final chances.

Religion asserts that final reality is in some way intelligible to and commensurable with our nature, that it is therefore spirit and in the direction of spirit. Science relies on what can be measured, counted, weighed, the final reality for it is substance, continuity in space and time, while spirit can at best appear additionally at its court. Religion tends toward a final creative cause of freedom, Science leaves us bound in the endless chain of causality.

Thus the religious ideas are even somewhat antagonistic to Science and far surpass its domain. For those who identify Science and cognition of the world-reality, religion is of no account and never can be. All the more must the primary faculty and the profoundest depths of our reason be called to help against the attempt of absolute scientific domination; before Reason's court the scientific aspect of the world will then appear in its narrowness and limitation.

Now the import of history for religion is based upon this difficult "subjective" comprehensibility of the religious ideas. For knowledge ideas are indeed the ultimate religious foundations which support all religious life; but apart from this we have to consider how religion practically gains vitality? And here this much is certain: Practical belief does not live directly on those ideas at which reflection only arrives after elaborate efforts; neither indeed does it live on proof based on reason; it lives by symbols and pictures and by feeling for parable and picture. Pure ideas are intangible impalpable phantoms, they need wrappings and symbolic covering. The eternal world can only become palpable and perceptible by shining through this world of things as through a transparent picture: The infinite in the finite. The word of poet: "Alles Vergängliche ist nur ein Gleichnis" are of profoundest truth.

Upon this is based the close relation between religious feelings and the purely aesthetic for the beautiful and sublime, between religion and art. We may say that what is done more or less unconsciously in all art and all pure aesthetics, the apprehension of the eternal in the temporal, takes place in religion with conscious relation to the final reality.

By giving several examples we will make this clear: If Jesus wishes to manifest the kindness and almighty power of the heavenly Father he says: "Consider the lilies of the field". Thus the simple flower becomes to him a symbol of the eternal world. Here is unity and completeness for which we strive in vain in Science. Here is beauty and harmony in freedom, here we receive the impression that a thing has purpose in itself, here we catch a glimpse of the meaning and value and spirituality of the world-reality. — If the Old Testament singer wishes to illustrate the sublimity and almighty power of God over space and time he sings: "Before the mountains were brought forth or ever thou hadst formed the earth and the world, even from everlasting to everlasting, Thou art God". — Thus we speak of the eternal sea; and in Nature, in the tossing and roaring of the elements in storm, we find in the feeling of the sublime the idea of an absolute sublime power reigning above us. Higher than the symbols taken from Nature reach the symbols of mind. Historical science — as we have said — does not contain the idea of a general meaning and purpose of mankind; but when following certain trends in human history we come in contact with the bloom and the harmonic development of a nation, with its greatness and its heroic nobleness, retained still in its decay, then we divine something of the meaning and the value and the purpose of God-directed human life. The higher ascending religions which unfold their essential nature, live on the revelation of God in history. Individual human personality becomes the highest symbol of an eternal world, be it a "beautiful soul", be it a leader and hero. "No nobler feeling than this of admiration for one higher than himself dwells in the breast of man" (Carlyle). So the import and significance of history for the realm of ideas rests on this. In history the coverings and symbols for the religious ideas are woven. At the outset religion is kindled in the dumb sensation of horror and in the instinct of absolute dependence; its sentiments cling to any object and develop without plan and often without sense. Gradually they acquire shape. The progress in religion depends on the symbols which adoration selects. At first man chooses earthly powers closely related to him, then the high natural and heavenly powers, then he perceives the domination of the Gods in history, finally the Godhead is sought in the intrinsic worth of human community-life, in the great leading personalities.

And here the Past and History become important in quite different fashion from its importance for instance in the history of science or in the department of technical knowledge. In Science and Technics mankind marches on in a direct line, as long as no external catastrophes oppose, the Past lies always behind as an unsubstantial phantom, is always from its very nature surpassed, is only a fertilizer for the Future.

This is entirely different in the domain of art and religious life. The Past remains real, alive for the Present. In the domain of symbols progress in a straight line does not exist. Here reigns the incalculable factor of the individual, of the genius and of the hero. Here summits are often stormed and won which are never again surmounted. Suddenly and over night a flash comes out of the darkness and then human life is unveiled in its unforeseen depths; and forms are created to which following generations turn back again and again as to an actual living Present.

Leaders of the evolution in religious life are the great religious personages. They flash the light into the deepest depths of man's nature, they guide him on the way which leads to the mastery of this depth. With an extraordinary and peculiar power they affect the present out of the long gone past. A comparison again will make this clear. Who that makes use of the electric telegraph thinks for instance of the personalities of Gauss and Weber? Thus science and technics make all personal life mechanical, the pulse of which once throbbed in them also. With art and Religion it is altogether different. The great artist, the great artistic personality, acts on and on as individuality, as great personality. Art we have but in the masterpieces of the artists, and even if the personality of the artist should be forgotten yet in each work of the artist personal life is involved. Greater still and more efficacious than the works of the artist is his entire personality when it is possible to obtain it. (Goethe.) This can especially be noted in the realm of religious life, the living on and on of the great from the far by-gone Past into the Present. There is also no concealment of the person behind the works; behind the church rises again and again the personality of the founder with vital effective power. The great religious personality continues to exert further influence as a whole, through the totality of its personal life.

And here again what amazing plenitude of development! From the magician, fetish and medicine-man to the priest, sooth-sayer and seer, to the legislator and prophet and finally to the founder of religion. And here on this highest level once more a curious change and metamorphosis takes place. The great religious personality does not only create the non-inventible symbols, it becomes itself a symbol

to a believing community. Thus the belief of Judaism is concentrated in the personality of Moses, thus Zoroaster becomes the incorporation of the Eranic religion striving after monotheism. Thus the Chinese find in Confucius their personal ethic-ideal. Thus Buddhism vanquished Brahmanism because of the concentration of its essence in a personal founder. Thus Jesus did not only create the symbols of the Gospel in essentials, but became symbol Himself.

But this is also the utmost that can be asserted: figures and symbols, symbols of a deeper eternal reality and truth which we divine and dimly guess at beyond the symbols as a permanent and firm basis; symbols and pictures but not final truth itself. We ought always to bear in mind this figurative character of our manner of estimation. Then we may well speak of the presence and nearness of God and the image of God in relation to the person of Jesus (as in a lesser degree in relation to other heroes in religious history.) But they remain symbols; as soon as we try to grasp and prove them scientifically, as soon as we try to transform the symbol into a dogma, then everything becomes something quite unlike itself and dissolves into thin air.

But this symbolic aspect enables us now also to dispose of all difficulties which resulted especially on the part of exact historical inquiry with the above characterized conceptions of the personality of Jesus. The question as to the existence and the possibility of historical recognition no more plays the leading part; for now we need no longer anxiously fix the limits of what might possibly be fiction and frame-work of His people in the characterization of Jesus and what might be reality in the more limited historical sense. We need no longer fear the eventual result of historical investigation that this reality (in its more limited sense) will remain irrevocably and irretrievably lost. At this point therefore all depends on the symbol and the picture, not on final truth and reality. This lies beyond the symbols in the unalterable God-given profundities of human reason, in the eternal worth of the „ideas“. The symbol serves as illustration not as demonstration. That is also the reason why we note the strange fact that the portrait of Jesus as drawn by His first community in the Gospels as truth and poetry remains and will always remain more efficacious than any historical attempt — be it ever so exact — of reconstruction. For this belief does not inquire for historical reality (in the more limited sense) but for the religious and moral application, it stops consciously or unconsciously at the symbol. Words of Jesus, parables and narratives, the historical truth of which may be ever so much doubted, can yet remain of permanent significance. And the fourth Gospel will never be deprived of its religious efficaciousness in spite of all its refutation by history. And if Science should

pass the ultimate verdict that Jesus never existed, yet faith can not be lost, for it rests upon its own eternal foundations; and moreover the figure of Jesus in the Gospels would remain in spite of it, though only as a great fiction, yet as fiction of eternal symbolic significance.

But here only an extreme supposition is adopted, the reality of which remains impossible now as before; the existence of Jesus of Nazareth will stand and endure against the most rigorous criticism. We may reverence Jesus of Nazareth as the creative genius, who created the fundamental symbols of our belief and became Himself in His personality as represented to us in the Gospel entangled in an inextricable web of historical truth and fiction of His people — the permanent most efficacious symbol of our faith. But beyond the symbol and through the picture sparkle and shine the eternal truths of belief. And if we do not consider it a dogmatic creed but a product of poetical fantasy then we may accept the saying: the *λόγος* became flesh and we beheld his glory.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES IN GERMANY.

BY THE REV. ERICH FOERSTER, D. D., FRANKFURT AM MAIN.

Let me first speak to you a word or two of the invisible Church which is the mother of us all, as whose members we, belonging to many different denominations are here at this moment assembled. She bore us in her bosom, and out of Her branches the essence of piety floweth upon us as the sap floweth to the tendrils from the vine.

You know the central thought of the Lutheran reformation was to distinguish between the Church or Churches as lawfully organized bodies, created by men, and the Church of Christ, the creation of the Holy Spirit, sent into the world by Christ, that is the inward spiritual Christendom.

You know also that the Holy Spirit of God has channels by which He reveals Himself to the souls of those who seek and wait upon Him: the Word and the Sacrament. I will explain my meaning quite simply. He lays hold of us by means of "words of eternal life", making our consciences to recognize the majesty of Goodness, and teaching our hearts to believe in the eternal destination of our own selves; and He carries us away by deeds of holy love, to benefit, to shame us, and to fill us with enthusiasm. Surely men whose lips are endowed with such words, and whose hands spread love, are filled with this Holy Spirit, illuminated and sanctified by Him — Sons and Daughters of God — they are truly of the "Kyrios" — "Kyriake" — "Church".

Never did the Holy Spirit manifest Himself more purely and clearly than in the Man whose lips told the parables, and the Sermon on the Mount, and whose hands were gentle to cure the sick, and strong to break fetters asunder. Where His teaching is revived, and a vision of His love and bravery enters the soul there we experience even to-day the presence of God as powerful as nowhere else, there we are indeed amidst the Church. He became the head of a new type of mankind. The Holy Ghost poured out into the world works in it towards the

coming of the Kingdom of God. Never can He grow powerless, but He manifests Himself ever again by holy words, and holy deeds. The blind do not perceive it, and those of little faith despise it, but "he who has eyes to see, and ears to hear" will still feel the rushing mighty wind, and be born on high as on the wings of an eagle. He knows he is indebted for what is best in him, for his conscience, his hope, his knowledge of God, for his joy of life, and his courage to die, to the multitude of disciples who bore themselves as vessels and instruments of the Holy Spirit, and of whom the Captain was Jesus, to the invisible, the real, and active "Church of Christ". Many of these bearers of the Holy Spirit, representing together the Church of Christ, stood in pulpits, others spent their time in monasteries, others testified from the stake, from the stage, at public meetings, in parliaments, in camps, others beside the beds of children, and of the sick. There were preachers, monks, thinkers, poets, rulers of men, also physicians, teachers, philanthropists, women in the garb of deaconesses, fathers and mothers — many many more than we can tell belong to this host the sound of whose lips has passed away, and whose deeds were known to the smallest community only. And the Church of Christ is living on in our midst, and in our own time. She cannot perish, men are unable to escape her power even though they should deny her existence, she will ever rise again glorious and rend her fetters. But she has no need of any human arm to protect her, and she does not obey any other command than that from above, the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Her citizens are bound to speak what He commands, and to do the work He appoints.

The words of Jesus "Ye are the salt of the earth! Ye are the light of the world!" are engraven on this Church. It is all but impossible to conceive a sufficiently universal significance of the effects of this power of God speaking and working through Her. It is like a secret fire burning in the innermost centre of our culture, protecting it from growing cold, and stiff, and bestowing powers of revival and motion. Our philosophical systems, and our fine arts, our political laws, and our domestic customs, our social relations, and our way of feeling, they are all, on closer inspection, penetrated by its influence, its strength invades our deepest thoughts and judgements.

The religious fellowship of men was also reformed and renewed by the Holy Spirit, and His witnesses. It was not left to Him to create it, for when Christ came into the world there had, both among jews and pagans, long since been services, mysteries, synagogues, temples, liturgies, dogmas, priests, theologians, brotherhoods, and convents. Against no other sphere of life did the new Spirit wage war with more impetuous force than this. He broke the old bottles, and tore the old

garments, but He could build up new modes of worship with existing material only. He struggled with the spirit which had hitherto ruled the religious life, and had fashioned its ritual, the spirit of the law, of intellectuality, and of superstition. But it was not the will of God that He should at one stroke change and destroy all this misrule, the result of the struggle was the birth of the Catholic Church.

But impossible that the invisible Church of Christ should have been swallowed up by the visible Church. History is full of protestations from the members of the true Church against what was unchristian and heathenish in the Catholic. Never more so than in the days of the reformation. The wrath of Martin Luther broke down with Samson's hands the walls which the papist Church had built around herself, and led numbers of her servants out of the Babylonian Captivity. Whither did he lead them? To the invisible Church, the Church which Luther discovered, the true Communion of Saints in which "He daily and fully forgives me all my sins, and all believing Christians." In Her he felt at home, from Her he received strength to do his reforming work, from the communion with all the "dear Saints", with prophets, apostles, holy fathers, and also with Christian friends, like Staupitz, Melancthon, Bugenhagen, Jonas. To Her he led his beloved countrymen, teaching them to fight the terrors of sin, of death and hell, in union with men who had triumphed over these powers, Christ and His true believers, and with an upward glance at those who believe and struggle like ourselves, or have finished with belief and strife. He imagined the eyes of a great, albeit invisible and illimitable "Communio sanctorum" watching those still doing battle upon earth, wrathfully chastising, encouraging, and he saw innumerable hands stretched out to them, bearing, raising, comforting them.

He who had discovered this invisible Church, and had found in it forgiveness of sins, life, and everlasting salvation, could not think of building, organizing, or ruling the Church of Christ. The spirit of God, by His own power, ever provides Him new witnesses of word and deed.

All that remains to man to do is to bring his vessels to have them filled with the water of eternal life, and to make room on earth for the witness of God and to hinder and to break all bad purposes and intentions which will not let the name of God be sanctified, and will hinder the coming of His Kingdom. Luther refused to ask protection for the Church of Christ and Her witnesses; the Church protects Herself, if need be with the invincible weapons of martyrdom. He held in derision those of little faith who imagine they ought to build pillars to support the sky lest it fall down. Granted freedom of Christian thought and Christian

life, in his opinion all that man can do was done, and he believed that God Himself would send and endow the right men.

What appertains to this liberty? Nothing but the outward support of ministry and congregations, schools, Churches, parsonages, together with the necessaries and security of life. But even where this liberty was not guaranteed, where the preachers of the Gospel were persecuted, and the organization of congregations not allowed, in a country where the government proceeded entirely according to the wishes of the pope, even there the Church of Christ would continue to exist, that was Luther's hope, and would animate and endow witnesses to proclaim the gospel plainly and sincerely, who would risk being burned or hanged like those two young martyrs at Brussels. However such compulsion on the part of those in power who would hinder the Spirit of God, would be their own condemnation.

On the other hand, freedom granted, with churches and schools in a good condition, and Christian believers living one with another in untroubled peace, would not yet of necessity be a proof of the Church of Christ having been created and founded. But God has commanded us to believe that He will provide the right witnesses to them who earnestly require them.

There were hours in Luther's life when he believed the church of the pope would decide to restrict herself to the performance of this task, and would renounce binding the spirit, and exercising power over doctrine and life. He then would have been willing to acknowledge episcopacy, and to be obedient to it in all outward matters, concerning body and existence. But the Catholic church did not perform this act of self-abolition. Therefore other temporal powers had to be called upon to make room for the Church of Christ, for the Word and the Sacrament. Two ways offered themselves. The first was that the Christians of one place should form a congregation, and elect a clergyman, build a church and school, institute a common fund, and keep discipline among themselves, under the protection and supervision of the magistrate. But for the pursuance of this royal road the state of culture among the people was not sufficiently advanced at that time, especially not in the rural provinces of Eastern and Northern Germany. The war of the peasants closed it for ever. So Luther took the other road. He appealed to the government. He felt justified in doing so, for he set great store by the office of its members, regarding them as the deputies of God. He accounted it a Christian government's duty to perform services of Christian love, he expected them to show themselves to be Christians by giving opportunity to the Church of Christ. With hard words he rebuked the princes for their carelessness and disinclination regarding this work.

But what was it he asked from the governments of the empire, of the various countries, and the towns? Nothing but freedom to preach the gospel, and to maintain freedom. He called them to the outward maintenance of the ministry. Temporal power has no authority over doctrine. This sentence is found explained clearly and emphatically in Luther's writings, and in the symbolic books of the Lutheran reformation more than once! But indeed it must be conceded, the mediaeval opinion that there should be but one kind of services in the country, and that the Government were obliged to suppress idolatry (and mass appeared to be idolatry to them) was still so strong that the reformers and the reformed magistrates were not infrequently led to act against their new and great principle themselves.

Thus the problem of reforming the Christian communities devolved on the civil government. But it soon became apparent that their hands were not able to accomplish this work. Their peculiar office, the care of the finances, the support and control of the clergy, the protecting of them against the great land-owners and the education of the congregations that they might learn to care for their own wants — was performed in a slothful manner, while what it was not their task to attempt, the quenching of the spirit, and the limiting of the signs of a new life, they did but too industriously.

As time passed, the state to the share of which fell, with the new period, an abundance of new tasks and transactions, tired more and more of its vocation as protecting elder brother to the clergy, and it restricted itself to the most immediate affairs, anxious only lest the Churches should trouble it, and absorb too large a portion of its own life forces. But neither did it occur to the state to release them from its strict and pedantic supervision. The state churches also did not prove large enough for the Holy Spirit of God; many of His witnesses were excommunicated or accused of heterodoxy; so the Church of Christ fled out of the citadels, which the princes had built for Her, for She despises being under tutelage, and protection as much as constraint.

The Church of Christ sought fresh ground whence to proclaim the word, and to prove the Spirit within Her by works. And She found it. While the pulpits resounded with a dull quarrelsomeness, and the Lutheran universities strained at a gnat, and swallowed a camel, the Church of Christ began to manifest Herself first in little intimate conventicles, in "ecclesiolae in ecclesia", but soon by means of a literature of singular depth and tenderness which placed types of noblest humanity on the stage of the world, and lifted human thought and ethics to the greatest height. From the writings of men like Spener, Zinzendorf, Lessing, Kant, Hamann, Herder, Goethe, Schiller, Schleiermacher,

Fichte, the believer may catch the voice of the invisible Church although things human, and all but too human chimed with it. Besides its proclaiming of the Word, the Holy Ghost stirred up His bearers to works of charity and love. August Hermann Francke built an orphan asylum, Canstein founded the Bible society, Pestalozzi gave his great heart full of love to the children of the people, and Oberlin changed a desert into a garden. Wichern sketched a social programme for the Church.

That was the Church of Christ! From her pale sprang the ideal of a new contemplation of the world, of a new humanity and civilization, and a new active fraternity. During the progress of this evolution the established Churches grew ever duller and colder, the differences because of which they struggled with each other, were no longer understood by any one of them, and the "living waters" could spring no more out of the frozen lava of their dogmas, and their services. Then among those who knew what the Churches once had been, and what blessings had flown from the religious communities, an ardent desire arose to resuscitate these bodies, and to fill them anew with piety.

In Schleiermachers' lectures on religion this longing for religious Churches found a touching expression. This famous book proves its author hoped for a radical reform of the ecclesiastical organizations according to the American system, and that he wanted nothing from the state but liberty for the religious people to build Churches for themselves in which they might feel at home.

But the reformation of the ecclesiastical bodies was not carried out according to the ideas of young Schleiermacher, for the state itself stepped in to do this work, and took the initiative in revivifying the religious institutions and establishments. While the tempest, evoked by Napoleon I, burst over the German nation, a strong conviction arose, also with the rulers of the state, that the alienation of the people from sermons and services would strike their souls with disease, and they began to feel ashamed of having for so long neglected religious education. Baron von Stein, the deliverer of Prussia in 1808, was the statesman who showed himself most sincerely and deeply conscious of this. The aim he struggled after was not again lost sight of during the whole of the 19th century, i. e. the strengthening of the churches by state protection on one hand, and on the other by calling in the assistance of the laity.

Of these two ideas the second became a powerful influence only during the last third of the 19th century, while the first permanently and entirely governed the politics of the Prussian and German princes. But in so doing the state went far beyond solicitous care for the continuance and order of Church communities. The State — i. e. during

the first half of the 19th century, the absolute State, the Monarch — wished to do more. It would of itself produce and compel religious fervour, pure doctrine, ritual and discipline. The state Churches of the post-reformation period wakened to new life. Frederick William III of Prussia made himself executor of this idea, and devoted all his royal power to it; nor did his successor deviate far from these notions, although his father's pedantic and old-fashioned government system irritated his romantic and fantastic mind. Almost all the princes, and governments of the age took the same course, if not all with the same solemn seriousness of purpose. The religious purport of their church reforming activity, their liturgies, etc, was taken from the romantic movement, the ideals of which lay in the past, beyond the philosophy and poetry of Kant and Goethe, in the old strict puritanism, in the Lutheran orthodoxy, and partly even in the unbroken unity of the Catholic church in the middle ages. Only one party of the German protestants, the liberals, opposed these attempts of the state, or the princes, to produce and rule religious life. They judged them inconsistent with the modern state idea rather than with the modern protestant conception of religion. But the liberal party lacked weight, and willingness to endure martyrdom, and an active positive ideal of religious fellowship. They restricted themselves more and more to the request that the ecclesiastical power of the princes should be constitutionally formed, and endeavoured to obtain a share of their power for the communities, or rather for the synods as the representatives of a coalition of communities. Their demands were granted in Rhenish Prussia and in Westphalia first, where the memory of the presbyterian self-government of the 17th and 18th centuries was still living, later also in other German countries and provinces.

But the greater part of the people, and indeed the leading portion not only took no offence at the creative activity of the state in regard to religion, but favoured it in consequence of a spreading dislike to the rationalistic state idea. While the latter had limited the state to the preservation of peace, and of the regulations of the law, romantic philosophy, and historical science formed the idea of a civilization-producing state, of a state representing the personality of the nation, a "makro-anthropos" and drew the entire national life within its province of activity, and effaced the limits which Luther had set to the power of the sword, and rationalism to the work of the state.

By the introduction of the constitutional system, which gave to the people and their representatives a share in political power, the objections to the interference of the state in religious matters, received fresh impetus. The parliament was undenominational; and considering

of strong catholic parties in the larger German states was to be anticipated; even Jews and atheists could become members, and indeed some were elected. It seemed impossible to leave the same influence over church affairs, which the king had exercised, with this undenominational state authority. The only natural consequence would have been to reduce this state influence to the outer support of the most important Church unions of the country, but for the rest to grant them self-government, and self-administration. But so clean a division was not accomplished. Rather did the effect of the introduction of the constitution prove a very fictitious construction of the relations between the state and the evangelical church. The state, now represented by the king and his parliament, claimed for itself supreme power over the church, by which was understood not only a restricting supervision, but a positive patronage. But the actual church government which in this way was separated from the state, was not made over to a committee of the evangelical congregations, but was given to the king personally. It was maintained, renewing an older theory, that the king did not exercise his ecclesiastical power as king and as head of the state — else it would have been shared by parliament, or been abolished — but by virtue of a title in his own right, and as heir, to the "jurisdictio episcopalis", to which he succeeded at the time of the reformation, when the old sees became extinct. Neither had his church-government duties ever formed part of his sovereign power, but had been regarded as an "An-nexum" as a by-office. If this proved correct, then naturally the Church government of the king was left intact by the introduction of the constitution, and by the division of political power; it remained with him as surely as the constitution could in no wise change his power over the crown land, and the court.

The Liberals declared themselves satisfied with the continuance of royal, instead of civil church government, and concentrated all their efforts upon the constitutional restricting of the king's rule, as also the state had been restricted before, by the institution of representation of the Church unions, by synods which were to share the legislative, administrative, and judicial power of the royal Church authorities, the consistories. Efforts which, as has been said before, were successful, as the royal church government could not but be persuaded that by such restraint they would gain both in weight and reputation, to resist any possible encroachments of the state, i. e. of parliament, on inner-ecclesiastical ground.

The royal church government thus constitutionally formed, and assisted by synods is the foundation of the evangelical ecclesiastical constitution in Germany. Only in unimportant countries the sovereign

the fact of a population of mixed creeds living together, the formation exercises church power to-day, without being tied to synodal organs. In one single district only does the church govern herself under the simple supervision of the state, in Alsace-Lorraine, the country joined to the German Empire as late as 1870.

Curiously enough the Prussian government made no attempt to amalgamate the churches of the countries annexed in 1866 to form a unity with the church of the older provinces. In each of them the king assumed ecclesiastical authority in place of the deposed sovereign. So, to-day, there are no less than seven "Established Churches" in Prussia alone, while the only connection between them consists in the fact of the king being first bishop of them all, albeit in each instance by a different channel. These seven churches have lately, by the urgent request of the state, been persuaded to enter into an agreement for economic purposes, concerning the payment of salaries, and pensions to the clergy, and the support of their widows and orphans.

The organization of the Churches in which German Protestantism at the present time, lives, is therefore as follows:

The thirty-one legally unconnected evangelical established churches of the German Empire, are confederations of the German ecclesiastical communities within a certain territory, which as a rule, is identical with the extent of a separate German state. The separate communities as well as the established churches are compulsory unions like the state, and self-governing corporations, towns, and districts. This compulsory character has been enjoined upon them by the state, and as a result every evangelical Christian is compelled by civil law to belong to the respective church community of his place of abode, as also every community belongs to the established church, and has to submit to her laws and commands.

Every separate citizen, but never an entire congregation has the right to quit the established church without loss of civil rights, according to a settled mode of proceeding. He then loses his claim to the church, as she loses hers to him. He is henceforth regarded as an atheist, unless he joins another Church or denomination. Besides the established evangelical, and the Roman Catholic churches, and not counting the unions of the Jewish synagogues, we have in Germany a number of other religious denominations, some of which are endowed, by special privilege, with the rights of a corporation, while some are mere organized societies. The formation of new denominations is permitted, if carried out according to the regulations of the law, in most of the German states, in a few the sanction of the state is required.

The evangelical congregations are corporations endowed by common law with self-government. They are represented by two different bodies, a greater and a lesser, elected by the adult male members of the congregation, the clergyman always being chairman, and manager of affairs. He is nominated either by election on the part of the congregational representatives, or by a patron who has the living in his gift, his nomination however being subject to the approval of the government. The acting power of the representatives is narrowly and strictly outlined, partly by the state, partly by the Church.

The church government, the ruling of the entire body of the church, belongs to the sovereign, who exercises it by means of purposely instituted ecclesiastical courts, called consistories, which in the larger established churches are divided into courts of first and last resort. In matters of ecclesiastical legislation they depend however on the assent of the highest synodic assemblies, which proceed by election of the representatives of communities in an ascending line from the synodic assemblies of the districts and provinces, a mischievous system of election by which a bare majority of the first standard is enabled to send deputies of their own persuasion only to the next, and so to prevent the minority from being represented at all. The presidents and the committees of the synods also assist the Church government in some matters of administration and jurisdiction.

Resolutions of the synod in matters which appear to touch the interest of the state, as for instance, the purchase of ground property, or buildings, and the fixing of the amount of parochial rates to be paid, as well as ecclesiastical laws brought about by agreement between the consistories and the synods, all need the approbation of the state, either of the provincial authorities, or the state ministry, and in some important cases the Diet. With the exception of these few arbitrary reservations the state does not concern itself with what the sovereign church power does or leaves undone, with or without the help of synods.

On the other hand the law of the state has granted weighty privileges to the corporations of the ecclesiastical self-government — always subject to the approval of the church government which is responsible to the state for everything — privileges which include above all the judicial personality, the right to buy and to sell, to inherit, to make contracts, and to levy taxes to a maximum-limit from the members of the communities. The state also lends its executive power to the legitimately passed orders of the ecclesiastical government, for example, to the exacting of taxes, or the carrying out of verdicts against the clergy and dependents.

Finally it should be mentioned that the state without any legal obligation not only defrays the expenses of the maintenance of the ecclesiastical-court authorities, but also gives very considerable subsidies towards the salaries of the clergy, their pensions, and their widows and orphans fund.

I trust to have been successful in proving that in Germany the state and the evangelical churches are connected in a most singular and intricate fashion. If we mean by the word "state" the constitutional power of the government and parliament, the church in Germany is all but free from the state. But if we take the word to stand for the princes of the various realms — and in Germany the monarchs have greater power than in most other countries — then the church is entirely in the hands of the state, for the monarch is the ruler of the church.

This is the result of a long evolution of ideas, surely it must not be the end!

ON THE POSSIBILITY OF A FREE CHRISTIANITY.

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The watchword — a free Christianity — is the rallying-cry of all those who, while they see in the world of to-day a radical and unmistakable change taking place in the foundations of all practical and theoretical spheres of life, still cannot and will not renounce the ethical and religious forces of Christianity. Bound by their conscience to this present world, they are compelled by their conviction of the absolute necessity of turning these forces to account for the benefit of the humanity of to-day, to refashion Christian thought, both for the present and the future. They can justify themselves by the innate freedom latent in the vital forces of Christianity, and in all ages they have had predecessors. But the actual problem which confronts them is a new one; and not only new, but — from all points of view, excessively difficult. It is the great question, whether it is at all possible for a whole religious world to take on new forms; whether in its remodelled condition, it will have strength and vitality enough to go through with its task, and to become through healthy activity and profound earnestness, the very salt of the earth for every form of culture which stands in need of its influence. None too large indeed is the number of those who work with truly religious zeal and with any practical result. So many men and women of to-day consider the task a radically wrong one, and those who are actively engaged prefer to take refuge in the ancient Church and its traditions. Surely here there is reason enough for self-examination and self-criticism. There are two ways in which the nature of a free Christianity can be briefly described: firstly, it replaces the authority of the Church by an inward personal spirit born of the powerful communal mind which has evolved freely and unfettered in the individual. Secondly, it transfigures the ancient conception of a miraculous healing of mankind — sick unto death by reason of sin, — into that of man's self elevated, liberated, saved, by winning a higher personal life from God. Now since this free Christianity is in harmony, generally speaking, with the syste-

matic hypotheses of modern thought, it is far more liable to its influences and its conflicts, than is the Christianity of the Church, which rejects such systematic hypotheses, and replaces them by knowledge based upon its own authority. The question then arises out of the inner constitution of such a free Christianity, whether it has in itself any real possibilities or not. The most important question is not whether such a Christianity could take root among the churches and attain a position for itself, though naturally, from a practical point of view, this is the most prominent one. The real question, at once the most profound and the most difficult, is whether it contains in itself anything which is actually possible, anything which can live; or whether it is merely the last echo of a dying Christianity.

This question we can best answer, by attempting to understand clearly the most important ways in which it encounters difficulties and opposition; only then can it be proved, if these can be removed and overcome.

The points of conflict which must, accordingly, be examined, are the following four: firstly, the collision between the Theism of the Jewish-Christian, and the doctrine of personality, with the modern Monism and the doctrine which denies personality; secondly, the increasing difficulty of binding the Christian world to the adoration of the person of Jesus, whose worship, as being the divine revelation which elevates and redeems, is the one binding-force in the community of real Christians; thirdly, the increasing difficulty of Christian regeneration and its teaching of Love, from the standpoint of the personal life, and in its relation to the indispensable virtues of bravery and justice which regulate the struggle for existence; and fourthly, the dissipation of every associative cult through the individual independence, which, recoiling upon itself and infinitely split up, characterizes the religion of the present day.

The first case is clear to everyone. Monism, although its motives are various, and its conclusions differ widely among themselves, is in wide circles the demand of the day, and is to be found in the smallest ramifications of modern thought. Its motives are, on the one hand, Rationalism in general, which, as the Eleatics did, refers every intelligible reality to the doctrine of identity, and explains on this ground, Unity as demanded by Reason, and disputes the very possibility of existence for any irrational reality. On the other hand, it is the idea of law, which science has so strongly developed, and which upholds, for the metaphysical conception of the universe, the uniformity, at least, of a law which binds together all kinds of multiplicity. Both conceptions may be interpreted from the ideal as well as from the

material standpoint, according to the fundamental relation of particular things to the whole. Further, an attitude which strongly favours Monism is the pantheistic conception of Art, which sees in the unconscious union of Nature with the creative spirit, the reality of Beauty, and in Beauty understood in this way, the whole secret of the universe. Finally, there is also here a religious motive, the mysticism, eloquently expressive of Identity, which regards the religious consciousness as the awakening to the perception of the individual's identity with the universe, which works out its destiny through the individual; and this religious motive gladly looks for support in its ideas to the monistic speculations regarding Unity. Variegated as the motives are, the effects of all these are likewise many; a Utilitarianism, which realizes the unity of the generic consciousness; a kind of mystic quietism; a naturalistic aestheticism; a relativism which transforms all things into each other, and robs every single object of any immediate relation to the Absolute; a pessimism which nullifies individual effort, and, by the aid of culture, shoots even beyond the mark of its own limitations. Over against these various tendencies stands the prophetic, Christian doctrine of Personality, as the belief in the attainable, eternal, and absolute values of Personality; in the permanence of an absolute standard of truth and goodness, opposed to all the groping and searching and erring of human beings; a belief in the harbouring of the ideal values of Personality in a being of the Godhead akin to them; in the possibility of the ultimate perfecting of Personality, in communion with the personal life of God. It is the fundamental dualism which separates the world of absolute truths and values from the world of the human creature, who, in his striving and fighting imagines himself created for the sake of this work. It is the fundamental Anti-Rationalism, to which the existence of things is an unfathomable wonder, only to be explained by the ordering will of God; and to which each individual actuality is, in spite of its intimate connection with the whole, at the same time, a new and thereby incomprehensible creation, and possesses a peculiar and actual reality of its own. Just on this account, it is, at the same time, an Optimism, confident of its aim, which sees absolute ultimate value as the final meaning of Reality, and looks upon its realization through God's creatures, drawn into the scheme of things by His act of creation, as the ultimate object of that intellectual activity which outlives and releases itself from the body and earthly existence. By this means is it possible for such a personality to make its own the belief in the eternity of the creation, the illimitability of the universe, the multiplicity of the spiritual world, the intimate connection of every special creation with the cohesion of the whole, the immanence of the creative will of God in the world

which has its source in Him. Still, however, there remains the irrationalism of the creation in small things as well as great, the dualism of God and the world, of the positive and the relative, of the eternal aims of life and nature which by freedom alone is able to raise itself up to their level. Moreover this radical irrationalism, this dualism, and this doctrine of Personality remain also as an immanent Theism, and all the more because sin and suffering must then be regarded not merely from the point of view of intelligible causality arising out of the universal cohesion of parts, but rather as an intentional antithesis to that supreme value which must be fought for to be won.

And against all this modern thought has no adequate counter argument. Monism, as evolved out of rationalism would only be justified if the world could only be interpreted by rationalistic categories, or if the conception of an all pervading universal law were clearer and easier to carry out — were, in short, the foundation and origin of all in true reality. Fact, as a matter of modern thought irrational motives are as strongly represented as the rational; and it is everywhere recognized that there is a distinct tendency to base the idea of law on a mythological foundation. It is nothing more than a deeply-seated prejudice which gives rise to the belief that a thing can only be recognized as definitely real, on condition of its being regarded, potentially at least, as rational; this belief modern life, as indeed other ages also, has successfully resisted. And so all that remains of any forms of speculation which tend to uniformity and rationalism, is the thought of a cohesion of things, infinite, inter-dependent and unbroken; which at the same time is irrational, not only from a general point of view, but regarded also in its novel and separate particulars. This being so, there remains also the hypothesis of the religious, theistic and personalistic attitude towards Reality. Nay, this on the contrary is just the indispensable presupposition for any belief in the permanence of absolute values and standards, and in the attainability of the absolute values of personality. This must be stripped of its anthropomorphic garb, as though the basis on which this world rests were something quite separate and distinct from the world itself; so also we must destroy the anthropomorphism which marks off boundaries to aims and objects, as if the question concerned the very limited aims of purely human well-being. But every notion of absolute Truth and absolute Goodness, and even the idea of the beautiful, nay indeed, that of Existence and Reality in general, demand some basis in Reality, some reason for which and in which everything exists, in contradistinction to the errors and delusions of created beings. The prophetic Christian idea is so intimately connected with the inmost convictions of our life. Mere pessimism and relativism has no scientific value; it is

caused by particular practical attitudes and points of view, and is destroyed as soon as any attempt is made at systematic analysis, because it is only rendered possible by the use of that very standard of the Absolute which it denies. The pessimist cannot accept belief in any objective reality attaching to such a standard, and consequently, either denies the value of effort in human affairs, or considers nothing but the trivialities of life, in doing which all idea of any higher standard is lost. On the other hand, an unspeakably greater and securer position is gained by the thought of overcoming pain and sin and the mere relativity of our existence, through belief in a divine Love which has us for its object, which draws us upwards through present and future strife, healing the pains of conscience, making clear to us the inward purpose of our being and unlike radical pessimism and relativism, never coming into deadly conflict with its own fundamental hypotheses.

Under these circumstances, there can be no idea ^{of} the prophetic Christian thought of God being dissipated by modern life and replaced by modern thought. It remains to-day as it has always been, the central point, the pivot on which rests every assertion of the absolute values of personal life. Now, as in ancient times, when, through it, the doctrines of Plato and the Stoics first became a world-power, it is the point of union for all tendencies and aspirations which fill up the spiritual life. For him who desires such a point of contact, who feels it his duty to desire it, only one religion of personality is possible, and that is the religious life which issued from the prophets and Jesus.

The second point is more difficult. Here the outlines of the Church's faith drawn from the Gospel and the dogma of Christ, have been much altered and humanised by historical criticism, and burdened with many critical difficulties. As a result of this, a more general difficulty arises: that of resting eternal Truths on historical facts, and of interpreting them unequivocally from a religious standpoint. Beyond this, the whole idea of a Redeemer suffers from the deep impression created by the destruction of the old notions of the earth and man as the centre of the universe; for when the period of mankind's existence is conceived of as extended to hundreds of thousands of years in the past and the future, when one imagines the change and destruction which has taken place in the great intellectual systems of culture, then it becomes impossible to think of this single personality as the centre of the whole history of humanity. All these impressions have made the absolutely central position of Jesus and his deification impossible. On the other hand, it is equally impossible and contradictory to transfer to a humanised Jesus (as many liberal theologians desire) the predicates which the Church has attached to Christ as the universal Redeemer

of the world. There is, however, also the fact that there is no other means of holding together the Christian community than that of acknowledging Jesus; that it is impossible to keep alive the peculiarly Christian idea of God without seeing in Jesus the life-giving embodiment of Him; that all the most important and characteristic ideas of Christianity, of that grace which enters into and possesses us, that sense of security which is offered us, that strength which elevates and subdues us, depend on a religious estimation and interpretation of Jesus as a revelation of God. To sever the Christian belief in God, in every sense, from the person of Jesus, would mean cutting away this belief from all its roots in the past, from the methods that have been employed to represent and contemplate it, from all that greatness which so immeasurably surpasses that of average men — ultimately, in fact, to destroy the belief itself.

Such however, is by no means the necessary consequence of modern thought. And yet the fact that the most profound and significant religious consciousness is not the spontaneous oft-repeated experience of any individual, is a necessary hypothesis of modern thought. Such experience is only possible for an indefinite nebulous kind of mysticism, and is hence quite barren. All religiousness that rises above the average requires symbols and embodiment some sort of personal representation and realisation of superior religious force, be it Plato, the Stoics, Kant or Fichte, or anyone of transcendent excellence who in intercourse with his fellows distributes the force of his religious consciousness. Fundamentally it is the same with the significance of Jesus for Christianity. He is the embodiment of the transcendent religious power, ever illuminated afresh through the centuries, whose pulse beats through the whole of Christendom, just as the vibration of a ship's engines are felt in every nook and corner of the vessel. For this reason, he will always remain a living force, wherever the prophetic Christian belief in God remains; and the belief in Him will, only by looking upwards to such a personality, raise itself to full power and security over the common weaknesses and poverty of mankind. If this is the case, then the image of Jesus will remain inseparable from all efficacious Christian belief in God. A Christian mysticism in which every believer feels himself to be a ray emanating from this central fire, where the followers always bind themselves together afresh in the religious interpretation and veneration of Jesus as the one who lifts us up above ourselves, who is the divine revelation strengthened by the historical process of the centuries, — such will always remain the central point of true and genuine

Christianity as long as it exists. Without this, the personalistic belief in God would itself pine away and die.

Such a Christian mysticism is not by any means impossible. What is to prevent the zealous believer from conjuring up in his imagination the figure of Jesus surrounded by the band of the Old Testament prophets and the mighty religious personages of later generations; and from acknowledging him as the fountain-head of our religious strength and security? It is not possible for the critics of biblical sources to destroy the chief outlines of Christ's teaching and personality; to connect the religious power of those who came after him, with the great and mighty figure of Jesus is not by any means an intolerable thought to religious consciousness. On the contrary, the intimacy of the relations of the great prototypes to their followers deepens with the importance of the teachings of life which have to be learned; limits the possibility of producing anything new in the particular religious system, and taxes to the utmost the capacity for labour, sympathy and self-sacrifice.

Here there is indeed no insuperable difficulty, fluctuating and uncertain as has become the feeling of latter-day men. One thing only would have to be abandoned, namely, the attitude which regards Jesus as the centre of the universe, or even as the centre only of human history, and deducing from this his essential importance. The boundlessness of the world necessitates the supposition of unlimited spiritual spheres, among which mankind as it has arisen through biological evolution, is only one and must think of itself only as part of an enormously greater cosmic life. To speak therefore of the position and significance of Jesus in the universe is quite out of the question. On the other hand it is also very difficult to think of the whole human race regarding Jesus as the supreme pinnacle of things, and to admit that all mankind can be finally conquered by the power of religion manifested in Jesus. The enormous extent of human history, the possibility of a grand alteration and even of a discontinuance in the chain of evolution, the many possible varieties of spiritual needs and the modes of satisfying them, — among the different groups and classes of human culture — all these make it possible that there may exist besides Christianity other religious connexions, which have their own prototype and redeemer. It is even conceivable that the entire Christian culture of Europe may disappear, and in some thousands of years to come, new and great forms of religion may arise. In that case, Jesus would simply be the religious centre of the European-Christian world, which would have its appropriate and destined religious basis in the religious life emanating from the prophets and from himself, and taking up into it the

results of antiquity, which it would further carry abroad into the world by its own vital power, so long as it is capable of attracting to itself foreign races and peoples. Then, presumably, the duration and soundness of the spiritual life of European Christianity would be bound up with the maintenance of its religious foundations; while, on the contrary, Christianity itself might possibly die out with it. All this would prove nothing against its truth if we could really regard it, among all the present religious forces, as the most active and the most profound. Every truth which came after, would have to contain its truth only for such other spheres of existence, it would not need to be bound up with the person of Jesus, but would connect itself with other prototypes and other symbols. For us and our sphere of existence, for our life and our impulses to expansion, however, the religious consciousness embodied in and represented by Jesus, and the higher humanity proceeding from him, would remain for us the deepest and most powerful source of that life in God of which we are capable and for which we are destined. We should be conscious of ourselves as standing before the countenance of God in the great circle of light which radiates from Jesus; and our only problem would be how truly to "experience" God by this way as ordained for us, and, so to say, to possess Him, after He has taken possession of us. Here we need not be led astray by the fact, that in the great divine life of the universe there exist other circles of light radiating from other centres, or that in future periods of human existence, after a new ice-age perhaps, and in entirely new forms, fresh circles of light may spring out of the depths of the divine life. For every circle and every rank the divine Truth which is eternal has its own particular historical form, and what is contained in it can never become falsified, in so far as it is actually Truth. This will be comprehended in every future form of truth, the more perfect and the more profound these forms are. Every period of time is in close relation to God, and we are closely related to him just because we come within the sphere of that circle of light which radiates from Christ. It is a delusion to think that a new religion will ever be possible for an age so deeply rooted in Christianity and the allied forces of antiquity. This age will stand and fall with its religion, and the great problem of its existence will be: whether it will be capable of keeping its own religious power and at the same time of imparting itself with all its spiritual possessions to the great peoples who appear anew on the horizon of the world. It will never be able to live on philosophic Atheism, an artificial resurrection of Platonism and Stoicism, bereft of their Christian admixtures, or on the mere intelligent anarchy of aphorisms.

Understood in this way there is no inherent impossibility, regarded from the standpoint of modern thought, in the grafting of Christian Theism, of the doctrine of personality, of Christian belief in the elevation and redemption of mankind transformed by the divine influence into a higher humanity — onto a religious appreciation and interpretation of the personality of Jesus. It is indeed no longer the mere Christological dogma of the Church in which the ideal of the true Christian cult is reached, but in its inmost motive, the Christ-mysticism of an inward union with the head of the community, from whom strength and life flow into the members, and the realisation that in him is the revelation and symbol of God. Without this, any such distinctive Christian would be impossible, and a religion without worship would be worship a decaying religion. Christian Theism, however, is not a decaying religion; it is the firm support of all that part of mankind which cling to the belief in Personality. In that case, our highest human powers and convictions, so far ahead as we can see, remain bound up with devotion to the historic communal life founded by Jesus. That which lies beyond our capacities to see and think, need not trouble as, practically speaking, and from a theoretical standpoint we can say to ourselves: no truth of our present life can be weakened by it so long as it is really proved to be such.

Now, if from the practical point of view it be asserted that the depths and solidity of the personal life of Christianity is the indispensable pivot around which all modern religious life revolves, new difficulties, it is true, arise, and just from the practical and ethical side in question. This is the third of the points of conflict mentioned above. Christian ethics are essentially religious ethics, making the attainment of a true personality only possible in God; making the morals of the individual, the ethics which require holiness dedicated to God; making the morals of society a system of ethics which binds all God's children to himself. The ultimate aim of individual action becomes the attaining to a personality filled out to eternity; the object of social action becomes the kingdom of divine Love which will be stronger than justice and force and the fight for existence. In this, Christian ethics are perfectly logical and consistent; for victory over the earthly self is only possible by the aid of the divine self; and a common bond of union, by means of something to which all else is subordinated, is only possible through the medium of the divine spirit. But it is just in this way that the aims of such conduct become divine, even while membership in the divine community is seen to be obtained on this side of the grave. Such a mode of conduct is a clear contrast to the earthly humanity which ennobles and spiritualizes merely nature and the community. Still, such a

system as this is far superior to the average conditions of life which consist merely in the regulation and discipline of the struggle for existence by means of powerful organizations, and the creation of suitable forms of society, justice and righteousness — far superior to the ordinary potentialities of life, which demand, above all, technical, economical and intellectual labour, bravery and courage, victorious strength, and energetic self-assertion. The Christian ideal contradicts the instinctive modern hold on the things of this life, the instinctive modern apotheosis of Reality. It appears as a kind of Utopia which deludes itself by imagining as possible what to other systems of ethics appears impossible, because of their pharisaical self-righteousness, and their exaggeration of the power of evil.

These difficulties exist without a doubt, and it is not to-day that they are for the first time experienced. They have existed from the beginning, and have been overcome only by compromise. They are, however, still more strongly felt at the present time, when the sphere of culture is immeasurably widened, thus very largely increasing the significance of the present world in the eyes of all men, when the orderly cohesion of everything in the universe draws all that is earthly into the unity of the divine life, and when the world itself, and the senses, become transfigured through an ultra-refined and artistic sense-culture. At the same time the relation of human life, to the mighty fundamental law of the struggle for existence, and further an insight into the infinitely complicated conditions of human affairs, arising out of the workings of nature and the social state — all these prove the impossibility for mere good-will and the inner bent of the disposition to triumph over the dangers and obstacles to which the nature and laws of the social life give rise. Of all this there can be no doubt. But equally certain is the profound impulse of the ethical personality to strike out, beyond the merely temporal, to an eternal and timeless condition of existence; undoubted also is the instinctive desire for an absolutely pure personal morality in which mankind is intimately bound together by a fellowship, which makes itself stronger than law, and power and force and fighting; a fellowship consisting in the unfettered inner understanding, in the bond of a mutually binding disposition. On the same lines there exists even to-day, an idea of the further evolution of the personality after the perishing of the body. If there is any such thing as the realization of an absolute Value beyond the mere relative value of every day existence, then this thought must be impossible to carry out without the assistant notion of a further advancement and perfection after earthly death, when the germ and the bud of a higher existence, won by the life in God, will blossom forth through an

ultimate return to the divine life. Therein lies nothing less than the problem of absolute Values in general, that is to say, the problem how to overcome the doctrine of Relativity. If personality as a whole first arises through absolute Values being admitted into the natural life of the soul, it is, at the same time, the problem of Personality, which must remain insoluble without the idea of a final perfection after death, despite all the obscurities and difficulties in which the question is involved. Every assertion about an ultimate existence demands some teaching about the final things; and this even in the merely temporal evolution of the human spirit. Every assertion of an absolute Value beyond the relative one also expects a Beyond in the metaphysical sense of the word. Consequently, human action and human experience become tinged with the colouring of the other world. It is just this characteristic which brings out Christian piety, and has enthroned it in the hearts of men. And so it denotes the ultimate requisite of the practical moral consciousness. It must, of course, be recognized that it is the highest and final demand, which can only be satisfied after other and nearer demands are fulfilled; and these cannot of themselves determine and create morality, for under them and along with them we must presuppose lower grades of morality. Their work can only begin when the coarser impulses of nature, the instincts which hold groups and classes together, and the confusion resulting from the struggle for existence, are shattered or transformed and ennobled by culture and organized labour, by justice and order, by intellectual and social discipline. Only when, conditions admit of the personality being elevated above mere nature, can we speak of a true morality binding personalities together, and perfecting them in its own great depths. And so it can only be understood as the highest and final grade of morality, which may permit the lower grades to experience its light and the inner sublimity of its radiant influence. The perfection of this highest grade, however, can only be realized in triumph over the earthly conditions of life. Only those who recognize this ideal can hope to partake of it; and in contradistinction to the others, it will have to make subservient to itself the rougher standards which are beneath it. It must always effect a compromise with the coarser and more robust moral forces, which the struggle for existence has brought into being; it will need to produce, as a power which itself must fight and seek, even out of itself, a certain hardness and sternness, as well as openness and mobility; though they will be, in its purest acceptation either lacking or superfluous. More particularly it will be able to take up into itself the sense of the overweening importance of the things of this world, as well as all sensual culture, in order to learn how wearying and sickening is the labour

M of this world alone by itself, and in order, through the ennobling of the senses, to spiritualize all sensuality. It will be able, nay it will be compelled to regard itself as the direct development of the foregoing grades of morality, and will never require to be absolutely opposed to them, if it learns to recognize and to comprehend those features in them which can lead them up to its own level. It will no longer feel that it is separated from the world because of its superior mission, it will feel rather a complete inner continuity with those lower grades, which overcomes all opposition in its elevation above mere worldliness. The freedom and disposition of a morality which desires above all to be the development of a life created by God, and bringing the souls of men into union with God, will then further look to it that every individuality completes that development in its own way; and in its own way too, as a result, build up new conditions for the life of this world and for that which is beyond.

All this is possible and to a large extent actual. In this sense Schleiermacher particularly carried over Christian Ethics into the dispositions and relations of modern life, and adjusted the different elements to each other. And this renewal of Christianity as a religious ethic of personality and of the community of persons becomes still more marked in the forms of Christianity arising out of the modern social movement. Christianity in the new situation becomes once more the message of the infinite worth of the soul and of the kingdom of God. The compromises with the morality of the world, which the earlier Christianity effected in its own way, must, it is true, still be effected in a new way. And here it is that we come upon great and living problems of the future. The problem of primitive Christianity is once more set, but on a new basis. That the morality of a highly-strung intellectual and material culture can not be simple, but must be mediating and reconciling, is in the nature of things. In every form of culture the breach between the highest religious values of life and the manner of life they demand, and the achievements and possessions of this world, and the corresponding system of ethics, is here only widened, and carried in both directions to its ultimate consequences (so far at least as they are known to us). Out of this there must arise the practical separation, on the one side, of certain groups, as well as infinitely various compromises in the individual's conduct in life. Theoretically, however, some cohesion of thought must be found, which leads up from one to the other through a process of internal mediation and transition, without indeed destroying the antitheses themselves in a mere notion of immanent ethical development. It is this which contains all that is profound and important in life. At the same time

the gulf must be bridged over and crossed; and just this is the meaning of the ethics of a free Christianity.

Now all this would be of little avail, if the cohesiveness and the power working of the Christian fellowship in worship were broken. A religion without worship, and without the vitalising force of a common life radiating from it, without the psychological strengthening of feeling and thought, would be a hopelessly decaying religion. This brings us to the fourth point. Here indeed great difficulties present themselves, especially for a free Christianity. The great old Confessions possess an effectual community of worship, though it is (especially in the case of Protestantism) to a large extent shattered. But here the position is explained by the fact that they have it, because from the first they were and are something more than a fellowship for worship. They were from the first instruments of salvation and redemption, which disputed among themselves which was the one true Christian instrument. They regarded Christianity as a supernatural communal establishment founded by God through Christ, provided with absolute infallible truth, and ordained bearers of that truth. Thus the community became for them the supernatural source and support of all common culture. Their object was to rule society as a whole, whether by force, or whether in expectation of being successful through the miraculous power working in them. The result always was that to obtain their domination and their cohesion, they were obliged to employ the most various political and social means. Thus the religious community obtained a power, the origin of which lay in the idea of an absolute Truth, and of its mission of dominion over society as a whole. It is still partly alive to-day, and partly there remains as a surviving active force the fellowship in worship, accepted as a matter of course.

But for an immense mass of the men of to-day the power of this sociological structure is broken. Operating in this direction were the mystic and enthusiastic communities, from the Baptists to the Pietists and the modern sects in which the inwardness of personal religious conviction, become a separate individual illuminating force, while the community becomes an association of comrades gathered round such a truth, resulting ultimately in a consciousness which renounces all participation in any community. In the same direction tended the analogies of scientific knowledge and certainty, which were understood to be a confirmation of the individual's power, free from tradition and ruling itself, and which, through the close interweaving of religious with scientific thought, lost ground to the others above mentioned. In addition there came later the entirely new sociology of the age of natural rights and individualism, in contradistinction to the

objective and subjective legacies and narrowing influences of the past, which derived all fellowship from the voluntary association of accordant individuals; and in case the accordance were lacking, made freedom from that fellowship the logical consequence. Now the sceptical and critical attitude towards religious affairs provided for this disagreement with the customs of the Church, while inward opposition against all churchdom with its absolute truths, was brought about through the ever-deepening feeling, that there could ever be only relative — or at least, only an approach to a final — truth. Out of all these has arisen to-day a religious subjectivity and individualism which makes the religious communities themselves voluntary federations, and reserves to itself full freedom and mobility for personal religious conviction. Liberalism and social democracy have here at least a point of contact, and the whole thinking world of to-day is a mass of inflexible subjective individualism in religious affairs. More especially, it is the peculiarity of free Christianity to be so strongly conscious of the personal conviction, of the relative and subjective character of all religious knowledge of its branching off in company with science and criticism, that it is no longer possible to speak of a real community, as an effectual common spirit. With this disappears also the fellowship in worship which cannot exist without the former, and which, further, because it has been bound up with tradition or because of its light-hearted transformations of tradition, has to-day for the most part lost its direct effectual power.

The vital question for a free Christianity is whether this consequence of previous development is unavoidable, and will be lasting. The objection might be raised, that the great wave of individualistic "natural right" is in process of being broken, and that in all spheres of activity a new sociology is always appearing, which, however, is no mere recasting of the old supernatural ties and tendencies, but which in its conception of the organic structure of the community, re-establishes a care for the whole before that of the individual, for the community before its members, for the common spirit before that of subjective units for education before the established autonomy. Everywhere liberalism yields to socialism. Only in the province of religion has the individualism of the former asserted itself also in socialism. But if socialism declares that religion is a private undertaking, it does so in the hope that it may help to destroy this superstition; whereas for itself, it preaches a metaphysic, and dogma, with as remorseless and absolute a claim as any church. The truth in this is, that there can only be a strong community where there is agreement in metaphysical convictions, and this admission will again re-act in the sphere of religion, in which socialism, has, for its part, had its soundest and earliest education, and where it has been

wrecked only by the revolt of the liberated individual against the compulsion exercised through the centuries. There also, the autonomy of personal and conscientious conviction means, as little as it does elsewhere, a radical lack of tradition, an absolute spontaneity. Everywhere there is still the inheritance of acquired knowledge, forces of life moulded by history which are not to be supplanted by newly-acquired knowledge, but to be vitally and personally appropriated and further developed. Then, in the province of religion, the question can only be the possibility of thoroughly spiritualising the historical forces, but not of an endless variety in personal knowledge, and the fashioning anew of the whole. This would mean that the communal spirit and tradition, as well as the vessel which contains both, namely, the organised community, would again find its true significance. All relativity and subjectivity can only mean — unless they are to denote a completely disintegrating scepticism — that the last word has not yet been spoken in any creed or religion, that the movement towards absolute truth is only on the way thither, that everywhere it is a question of approximate values. But then the highest of such approximate values have their particular and binding significance, thus containing in themselves something of the power of the Absolute and unite if not through the likeness of a complete possession at least through the common direction of their endeavour, and the common end in view. Radical individualism which, right up till ~~of~~ ^{to} day, has remained in the sphere of religion, ever since the period ^{of} to individualistic rationalism, and which threatens to become transformed into anarchy and scepticism through the weakening of rational self-confidence, will have to live itself out to its full consequences. It must have dissolved all fellowship with that which is naturally impelled to bring about close connection with the super-human; it must have awakened the passionate resistance of all religion which is a natural growth and is sensible of its common instincts. Finally, it must have gathered together the ancient churches for vehement resistance and have driven into their arms all souls who desire mutual fellowship and attachment. It must have laid bare to its depths the whole chaotic cleavage up of the modern spirit. Then it will be conscious of its own absurdity. and will gather itself together again to recover the common possession which it had lost. Then also will a free Christianity feel once more the necessity for organization, and for a common worship, which will represent their possession and help towards its realisation, and attract to itself those who are satiated and harrassed by the excess of religious individualism. And on the other hand, the pressure of the anti-individualistic, socialistic bureaucratic and capitalistic formation of rings must be carried through and felt to the uttermost, until it is seen what

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the free individual, firm in his religion and metaphysic, realised in a free Christianity and its fellowship of worship, must do for the saving of freedom and individuality, which today still seem as cheap as blackberries.. Then men must again learn to understand the organization in which alone such individuality can grow and assert itself. It must once more be realised that we must not saw off the branch on which we are sitting.

It is difficult to prophecy in what form this will or can be accomplished. The present European system in which privileged national churches stand politically side by side and rule, is a compromise between the old unity of the church and the modern mingling of religious convictions. It will hardly last for centuries longer, and the re-fashioning of these conditions will be one of the greatest problems for future leaders of church and state. Not until such a refashioning is accomplished, will the problem of the religious life become an active one; or those who have a share in it have a definite work to do. Only then will the question come to the front of the place to be taken by a free Christianity, by a free organization, whether it is to take on some new form of its own, or whether, at least, the great Protestant churches will be able to grant it freedom for independent action and communal autonomy. All this is the secret of the future. At the present moment new and separate organizations in Europe are quite impossible; it is only possible to look for space and room among the existing churches. Free Christianity has an intimate connection with the fundamental bases of these churches, and their Protestant organization has granted rights to the subjective religious life, to the function of criticism, which no one would willingly see lost. For an indefinite time to come, the only possible aim can be to give as much freedom as possible to a free Christianity, within the bounds of Protestantism, and at the same time not to lose or to falsify the great historical feeling of harbour and security within the church of the Reformers.

We may regard the problem which we have set ourselves, as one which is soluble in itself, even if we cannot lose sight of the vast difficulties, most of which will have to be dealt with in the future. We must above all, reckon with the fact that the spiritual poverty of the present age, and the yearning after the strength to be gained in faith, will once again, of itself, compel men to win afresh, or to recover some religious foundation for life. Theologians and professional representatives of philosophy and religion in whose hands — at least here in Germany — the whole matter is usually left, cannot effect this alone. They can only keep the torch alight, prepare for the future, and share their bread with those who seek it, as much as they desire: He who, under

these circumstances is faint-hearted and afraid, must yet cling to the fundamental spiritual certainty of all religion: that God is Lord of the world and of history; that even the present position of things and their transformations, are filled and created by him, and that we move equally in the sphere of the divine life as we do in that of our ~~own~~ ^{own}. Whatever may become of our search after a free Christianity, God sits upon the throne and His Truth will be victorious. The vital thing is not that we should rescue Christianity, but that we trust in the victory of God. What we feel as truth binding should on our conscience cannot be wholly false, and must lie in the direction of future progress. Let us then earnestly and faithfully hold to the task we comprehend, and leave the rest to God. For without God the present is of as little worth as any other age.

PAPERS BY FOREIGN DELEGATES

ADDRESS BY THE CHAIRMAN

THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONFERENCE, D. D. ...

III.

PAPERS BY FOREIGN DELEGATES

ADDRESS BY THE CHAIRMAN

THE REV. HENRY P. FORBES, D. D., DEAN OF THE THEOLOGICAL
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In the short time allowed me as the Presiding Officer of the occasion I may only briefly review for a few moments some changes which are going on in theological education in America and which have been going on during the 30 or more years in which I have been interested in it. They all grow out of the spirit of the age. The first change may be defined as coming out of the intensely practical spirit of the American people. Religion, as it was planted in America, had an intense other-worldliness. The present tendency is toward this-worldliness. There is an increasing conviction on the part, I think, of all thoughtful instructors in theology that a great need of the hour is that true combination of other-worldliness and this-worldliness which teaches that the best preparation for a life to come is to live nobly and truly here, and that no more noble, no more necessary task awaits the instructors of Christian ministers in the making than to suffuse and permeate the intense ambitions and volcanic energies of our continent with Christian ideas and Christian ideals and to make possible in that new land a nearer approach than has ever been made to the Kingdom of God upon earth. The second tendency running strongly in certain theological centres affects the position and the estimate of the sacred Scriptures. It was somewhere near 40 years ago that Matthew Arnold came to us as he came to you in England with his message of "The Bible as Literature", not dogma. Never was a word more needed in America, and never, perhaps, has a word been much more slowly heeded, in certain quarters at least, than there. But I am glad to see that the movement toward a truly historical and scientific interpretation and apprehension of the Bible is now nearly universal. It is clearly seen, in opposition to earlier ideas, that the Bible is no sectarian book. It is not, rigidly interpreted, a Baptist, a Presbyterian, Methodist, Universalist or Unitarian book. It is an ancient literature, from a far-off time, unequal in parts and very vivid and composite in its origin.

Out of this new conception of Scripture, out of this more accurate understanding of what it is in its origin and its substance, has grown and is growing a new liberty and freedom of interpretation and a new fraternity. On the other hand the more clearly it is seen that an accurate and complete understanding of Scripture demands special learning, the more clearly it is seen that the genius of the American people demands that there shall be an instruction in Scripture which shall leave to specialists, like our friend who is to speak, a more complete, adequate understanding of all its elements and the circumstances of its origin, running back into oriental life, Zoroastrian, Babylonian, Persian or Greek; and that, on the other hand, it is necessary for our theological schools to equip the ministers of the Christian Church in the busy life of America with an understanding of Scripture, whereby they shall be enabled to make its treasures of thought more intelligible to all. And so Hebrew, even in what are called our best theological schools, is becoming more and more an optional study and even Greek has, for the training of certain classes of ministers, come to be regarded as unnecessary.

In the third place, a change has come over the spirit of our theological schools, incident to a new apprehension of the world and especially of the meaning and significance of the great religions of humanity. The earlier attitude was one of ignorance, of contempt, of a silent disregard. It is only within 25 years that theological students have come to know anything worth the knowing about the great religions of the world. But renewed intercourse with other nations, the growth of a more fraternal spirit, the desire to understand humanity in all its history — all these have contributed in these later years to bring the historical study of religions prominently forward. And in my judgment, this is destined to influence profoundly future courses of study. In the first place, it has resulted already in a new psychology of religion. It is seen that religion is no supernatural gift from heaven, but a great and universal phenomenon. More attention, therefore, is paid to the new psychology of religion, to the understanding of the great phenomena of the lesser as well as of the greater religions of the world. And in the future this is destined to profoundly modify the meanings of such common, almost universal religious phrases and terms as "original sin", "conversion", "sanctification", "salvation", "redemption".

In the second place, there is already growing out of it a new apologetic — a new method of defending and of advancing the thought of the Christian religion, a new statement of its relation to other religions of the world, more adequately conforming to the conception of the common brotherhood of man. In the third place, there will come out of it, as there

is already coming out of it, a new missionary method, in which the ministers of the Gospel of Jesus Christ will go to the nations of the world with the open hand of fraternity, and not with the gloved, mailed hand and with the sword of opposition and destruction. And in my judgment, there will come what in these later years has come to be more and more the dream of my own personal life — there will come a new Bible, a grander volume than any on which the eyes of living man have ever rested — a great book of universal religion for the universal heart of mankind, in which indeed all the precious, priceless treasures of our Hebrew and Christian Scriptures will be preserved, but from which the outworn and useless will be taken away, only to supplement them with the grand and glorious ideal of the God-seeing seers in all the history of mankind.

THE THEOLOGICAL AND PRACTICAL ISSUES OF BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

BY B. W. BACON, D. D., LL. D., PROFESSOR OF NEW TESTAMENT
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I. To Lecky, the historian of Rationalism, the Protestant Reformation was the great rationalistic movement. Lecky was mainly interested in the intellectual emancipation which it brought. In reality the restraint which provoked the Reformation had oppressed the moral and religious quite as much as the intellectual instinct. Today too there are those who care more for emancipation in the sphere of conduct than in the sphere of thought. Free Christianity and Religious Progress have significance to them in proportion as they break down conventional barriers to impulse. By viewing only its negative aspect liberalism may be perverted into mere emancipation. To the Philistine it is synonymous with laxity. His notion of its intellectual freedom is expressed in the maxim: "It doesn't matter what you believe if you mean well." Moral freedom he interprets similarly. Preach a Sermon on the Mount, present the new ideal of sonship: its test not submission to prescriptive regulation, but likeness of disposition to the All-merciful Father; such men will understand you to maintain that the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees was needlessly strict. Point out, like a Paul, the higher, more exacting demands of a religion of the Spirit; you will be "slanderosly reported as saying, Let us sin the more that grace may abound." For the Philistine all criticism is destructive criticism. His ears are equipped with automatic transformers. The current as it arrives may be positive, negative, or alternating. As it penetrates it is all negative. Liberalism means to this man nothing but the abolition of restraint. If he be a lover of the old, it inspires him with horror; if eager for the new, with satisfaction. As between the reactionary Philistine and the radical Philistine it is the self-styled "liberal" who is the more dangerous. "Good Lord, deliver us from our friends; our enemies we can cope with ourselves."

How shall the great liberal movement of our own times achieve the positive, constructive results of the liberal movements of the first century and the sixteenth? How avoid the legalistic unitarianism of the great Semitic reaction of the seventh century, which we call Islam? How conserve the Hellenic contribution to our faith without falling into the dilettante eclecticism of the Gnostics, or into the intellectualism of the Renaissance?

The Reformation emancipated the individual Christian from hierocratic control; but it certainly did not depress the moral standard of Protestant Europe, nor dampen its religious ardor. Christianity, when it appeared, did not enervate the religious spirit on either its intellectual or its moral side. But Christianity was a movement of liberalism. It began as a revolt against biblicism. Jesus, successor of John the greatest of all the prophets, was a champion of the "unchurched" masses, the *aposynagogoi*. He was a "Friend of the publicans and sinners", the class who had first flocked to John because John proclaimed the religion of the prophets in its simplicity: "Wash you, make you clean." "What doth Jehovah require of thee but to do justly and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God." Jesus championed the religious consciousness of the plain man, the "babe", against the sophistications of the scribes. He did not shrink from asserting its authority against the scribes as censors of legitimacy and interpreters of the sacred book. "To as many as received him he gave the right to be called sons of God." The Scriptures he made not a book of law but a witness of life. Paul in turn asserted the principle of the autonomy of the Spirit. He reasserted it against Jesus' own disciples, when he saw them in danger of restoring the scribal system of book authority. But Paul's liberalism did not cut the nerve of evangelistic effort; nor did that of Jesus. To the Jew Christianity might mean mere libertinism; to the pagan it might mean "atheism". But it was only the antinomian and the gnostic who gave color to the charge.

Why was this? What made Jesus' revolt against the yoke of the law affirmative and not destructive? The restraints of Mosaism were to him no more than the Philistine ropes on the limbs of Samson. But his giant's power is never used like a giant. It always stops short of iconoclasm. Why was this? Manifestly because Jesus felt conventional restraint only when it became an obstacle to doing the will of Him that sent him, not as an obstacle to doing his own will. The moral liberalism of Jesus and Paul is not the overthrow of restraint. It is the advance of self-restraint toward its rightful sovereignty.

The truth is, great awakenings of spiritual life cannot fail to break the swaddling bands of authority. The molten lava of the religious

instinct will burst its way through the cold crust of past upheavals, as often and as surely as the constraint is felt. But the mere disruption of the crust is incidental. The essential fact is the reappearance of the deep undercurrent of heat and power. It is this which makes the volcano; not the mere mass of rock, whether crystallized and cold, or still fluid and glowing. The underlying source of all spiritual advance is the racial moral and religious consciousness, it is our human sense of brotherhood and of sonship. In successive ages it rises to higher and higher levels on the ruins of its own dead past. But you cannot re-animate an extinct volcano by cracking the lava-crust.

Not since the Reformation has there been a movement of liberalism comparable to that which we confront today. It is co-extensive with Christendom. It appears in all branches of the Church in proportion as the light of modern thought has penetrated the veils of obscurantism. Its common symptom is the world-wide crumbling of authority, in the state, in the home, in the church. As of old at Pentecost, so today, differences of language and of native land are overcome by participation in the spirit of the common Lord. In earlier times conflicting creeds were found barriers more difficult to surmount than differences of place or tongue. But now these too are yielding. Much is due to the growth of a more catholic, tolerant spirit; much perhaps to mere indifference. But the most significant factor is the shifting of the issue. The religious issue of our times is no longer such as formerly divided Catholic from Protestant, Evangelical from Unitarian. There are but two real parties in Christendom, the reactionaries and the progressives. There are what Auguste Sabatier would have called devotees of the religions of authority, and devotees of the religion of the Spirit. But while we acknowledge our debt to Sabatier for showing how the thesis of ecclesiasticism and antithesis of biblicism are surely resolving themselves under the disintegrating effects of democracy and science into the synthesis of a free Christianity of the Spirit, let us not forget the unwitting service rendered to the cause by His Holiness the Pope. Since infallible authority has defined for us the issue of the times with such clearness and precision, we scarcely need so long and cumbrous a title as that first adopted for these Congresses. We may include under the papal designation of "Modernism" those of every church and sect for whom the historic faith is a living kernel of wheat, dying and rising again in eternal growth and self-reproduction, not an inert mass of changeless metal. We are likely to be called, if we do not call ourselves, purely and simply a World's Congress of Modernists, freely professing our belief, against the ecclesiastical "stand patters", that the development of the faith

did not cease either with Aquinas or Calvin, and will not cease either with Pius IX, or Pius X, or ourselves. For in our time the unbearable yoke is not a requirement of sacrifice and offering, of tithing of mint and anise and cummin. It is a yoke of dogma. It invades the realm of the heart and mind before that of the conscience. It claims the right to define our faith. It employs, so far as may be, the old scribal penalty, exclusion from a "share in the world to come". But it claims more. It assumes to deny the name of Christ to this one and that one welcomed by Jesus as a brother and sister and mother. It superimposes upon Jesus' condition that we should "do the will of his Father" a new condition that we shall believe the theology of the fathers. Modernism therefore is the revolt of faith. It is mere caricature to speak of it as free thought. Freedom of thought is incidental. The movement is a re-awakening of the Christian consciousness, of the sense of sonship, of trust in the guiding Spirit of Truth, the essential elements in the movement of Jesus.

Many of us, I am sure, are disappointed not to see here one of the most progressive modernists of us all, M. l'Abbé Loisy. All of us would have been profoundly disappointed not to have seen and heard Prof. Harnack, who in many respects stands at the opposite pole of modernism, emphasizing the authority of the past, as Loisy emphasizes that of the present. For the great scholar of Lutheranism Christianity is what it was at a definite point of past time. For the able champion of progressive Catholicism Christianity is what it is at the present moment. But both are modernists; because for both the ultimate arbiter is the inward witness of the Spirit, the mind, heart, and conscience of the individual, illuminated from all sources of knowledge, controlled by prayerful submission to the eternal Spirit of Truth. Both can stand upon the common platform of Sabatier's "Religion of the Spirit", at least in so far as it represents the principle of Jesus, the principle of Paul, and of Luther, the principle of the believers' sonship —, with all that that implies of knowledge of the Father. Loisy will not deny that many things have grown upon the stock of Christianity which loyal criticism must prune away as excrescences and reactionary growths, nor that the standard of judgment must rest largely upon primitive belief. Harnack will not deny that criticism must confine itself to determining the line of historic advance. It cannot impose limits. We try the spirits by the testimony of the Spirit, in ourselves and in our brethren of present and of former times; but the substance of our religion is the consciousness of sonship that wells up in ourselves, an inward, universal, present witness that "God was in Christ,

reconciling the world unto himself". That is the one postulate of the faith.*

Does this seem to involve the removal of theology from her throne as queen of the sciences to the sphere of a department of sociology, a daughter of psychology, a sister of ethics? It may. But the alternative is that she stand outside the circle altogether — that she be no science at all. No refuge remains for the would-be science that still clings to the deductive method, save the limbo of delusion. Theology has no material save the phenomenology of the spirit; and it must treat its material objectively and historically, according to the recognized methods of psychology and history, or take its place with astrology, alchemy, and the black art. The "varieties of religious experience" which we study in the present must be our guides in interpreting the records of religious experience in the past. And before we interpret the records we must submit them to the recognized processes of comparison and criticism applied to other records, measuring to the best of our ability the degree of variation in the transmission of the testimony. On this condition — *ministrare, non ministrari* — as a servant of the spiritual life, interpreting its phenomena by comparison in past and present, theology may take its place among the sciences. Its two departments will be psychology and history. And in the field of history, biblical science, based on documentary analysis and constructive criticism, will take the place of foremost importance.

The practical issue is plain. The old question of authority is revived. It is not perversity that brings the question back, but the course of nature. If we are less tolerant of authority than our fathers, it is not because Satan has a stronger hold upon us, or democracy, or Americanism, or self-will, or any other essentially evil thing; but simply because the world as it outgrows its childhood is putting away childish things. Self-determination is displacing in all spheres of life, little by little, control by the constituted guardian. It is not a mark of decay, though it does involve a peril. It should be the sign of healthy adolescence. At all events it is inevitable, and it behoves us to take account of it. What then, to the modernist, is the place and function of authority? Whether in the sphere of conduct, or in the sphere of thought authority exists not to perpetuate itself, but to make itself superfluous

* It is a mistake to suppose that a postulate or axiom is a truth self-evident to all. The postulates of geometry are not self-evident to savages or children. **They are truths which once understood are found to be undeniable.** Christianity is in this sense justified in claiming to be both the absolute religion and yet to originate at a given time. Our divine sonship is self-evidencing. That is, it is found to be undeniable. But we had first to learn it from Jesus.

The object in view is self-control in conduct, self-direction in thought. Authority which has ceased to be pedagogic is tyranny.

A keen French observer of the relative decline of France alongside the enormous territorial expansion of the Anglo-saxon race in the last two centuries has attributed it to the greater development in the Anglo-saxon by education, by environment, by public opinion, of the quality of self-reliance. The Anglo-saxon citizen, at least since the day of Cromwell and Milton, is expected to have learned to think, speak and act for himself, not to depend upon others, whether parents, priests, teachers or officials. Rich or poor, aristocrat or commoner, the citizen who — as our colloquialism has it — “lies down on” his fellows, forfeits their respect.

That soul may breathe, but never lives,
Who much receives, but nothing gives;
Whom none can love, whom none can thank,
Creation's blot, creation's blank.

Such is our opinion of the non-productive consumer. We have no more respect for the man who lives on unearned convictions than for the man who lives on unearned wealth. So long as the Anglo-saxon has “superiority” in this quality of self-reliance, so long his will be the aggressive, progressive race of the world. If rapidly increasing luxury, if parental indulgence and individual self-indulgence, undermines self-reliance, “Anglo-saxon superiority” will vanish more quickly than it came.

In matters of religion the case cannot be otherwise. Self-reliance in this sphere means following of that “inward light” of God's Spirit which Jesus set over against the Pharisee's reliance on the scribe. You remember it was not “blind unbelief” but blind belief which Jesus thought was “sure to err”. Self-reliance is always hard to acquire; it is specially hard in the deep and vital matters of the Spirit. Blind belief is easy, the opening of the eyes of the mind is hard. It is painful to think, doubly painful if momentous issues hang upon it. Self-reliance, then, is the supreme lesson, the one thing that must be developed. Weaklings, and those who by nature, sex, or training have been taught to rely on others, recoil from it. The scribe of the kingdom of heaven is not so much he who substitutes a newer and more tenable doctrine for a creed outworn, as he who produces two thinkers where there was only one before. That is the present day problem of religious education.

And let us not under-estimate the task. Momentarily the moral unfitness of some great institution of authority such as the Roman Church of Luther's day, or the intellectual unfitness of the post-Reformation biblicists, may compel multitudes to seek other leadership.

We begin to think the world has become free. Not all the world — the proportion who in any one such movement of liberalism permanently rise to the religion of the Spirit is small. The great majority, at least in the second generation, will be found lifting groping tendrils of religious dependence toward the nearest prop. Their necks must have a collar, or collapse. And the demand evokes the supply. If priest and prelate fail, there will be a Mormon Joseph Smith, or a therapeutic Mrs. Eddy. "The trees went forth on a time to anoint a king over them; and they said unto the olive tree, Reign thou over us. But the olive tree said: Should I leave my oil, whereby men honor God and man, and go to wave to and fro over the trees? And the trees said to the fig tree, Come thou, and reign over us. But the fig tree, and the vine also, preferred service to sovereignty. Then said all the trees unto the bramble, Come thou, and reign over us. And the bramble said unto the trees, If in truth ye anoint me king over you, then come and put your trust in my shadow: and if not, let fire come out of the bramble and devour the cedars of Lebanon."

There will be "burnt districts" in the sphere of religious forestry wherever the old dogmatism gives way not to self-direction of the Spirit, but only to seven new devils worse than the first. The progressive secularization of the state, which is so rapidly thrusting upon the Church alone the titanic responsibility of religious and moral education, compels us to define our aim and methods in this sphere. Let us define them on the basic principle of our faith. We would have descendants that are "sons of God" in the sphere of religion and morality. Our task is not so much to uproot individual brambles, as to produce a forest where the trees stand clear and straight and strong, lifting their branches toward the breeze and sunshine of the upper air, a forest whose cathedral aisles re-echo to the footsteps of the living God. Here is the answer to those who dread the effects of criticism in the undermining of authority.

We can neither dispense with authority nor give it permanent control. Just so long as children must depend on parents, the intellectually weak upon the intellectually strong, so long authority will have a place. Yet in the ultimate resort the individual must decide for himself, if only in choosing the authority he will follow. The solution of this antinomy in the Religion of the Spirit lies in the nature of its authority, which is not outward, but inward. Like all authority in the kingdom of Christ it rests upon service. And so long as it renders service it need have no fear of being displaced. The decline of the authority of the dogmatist in these days of criticism, of self-government, of self-direction, has been no more rapid than the growth of the authority of the expert.

The dogmatist seeks to usurp the throne of judgment, whereas the lowliest of men has somewhere, away back in the remote corners of his consciousness, the sense that God made him the free-agent, the chooser, the judge of the truth he should accept. The expert asks only the chance to submit the evidence. Therefore such authority — pedagogic authority — will remain. It will play its full part in imposing the salutary check of experience upon the vagaries of individualism, when dogmatism has buried itself with its blind followers in the ditch. It will still secure continuity of growth in the normal line. But it will save its life by losing it. Its aim will be the suppression one after the other of all the intermediate authorities, itself included — yes, even Paul and Apollos and Cephas will be only “ministers through whom we believed” — to leave the individual soul face to face with the one supreme Authority, free, but not lawless; controlled, and yet autonomous.

Such will be the authority of religious history and criticism. Like Paul we shall be ever again in travail for our children; only not that they may remain children, but “that Christ may be formed in them and they stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ did set them free”.

II. But the present opportunity of addressing you was not given me as a theologian or ecclesiastic. In that domain I can but add my endorsement to great principles which seem to me worthy to constitute the platform of Modernism as expressed on the pages of Sabatier, and Eucken. I must pass from the practical and general to the specific or technical phase of my subject, believing that the rapid crumbling of external authority, whether that of ecclesiasticism or of biblicism, requires no acceleration at the hand of the critic, and hopeful that in the great practical problem of religious education that now confronts the Christian world, he will be recognized as having a higher function than the mere abolition of restraint.

For the task of the constructive critic in developing new incentive to self-directed thought and philanthropic service there can be no better discipline than that re-interpretation of Scripture in which we are now engaged according to the purely historical method; not as the scribes who “think that in them they have eternal life”, while they come not to its source; but as those who find eternal life in their testimony to it as it was manifested in Jesus. An American scholar has recently distinguished this modern or historical method as follows: — “The fathers inquired: What do the men of the Bible teach us in philosophy and ethics? We ask, what did the men of the Bible experience in aim and motive?”* In spite of all dogma the former method inevitably tends

* H. P. Smith. Presidential address before the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis. December 1909. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Volume XXVII.

to make the Bible the word of men. The latter, though it draws no hard and fast line between canonical and uncanonical, and is least disposed to exempt from criticism that which it values most, inevitably tends to make the Bible the word of God. For God has spoken, as he still speaks, through events, and through the reaction past and present between events and the human mind. He speaks through "the life as it was manifested." This is the Logos of God. The events themselves, so far as criticism can form accurate judgment of them, are one part of our biblical material. The other part is the interpretation put upon the events by contemporary and later writers. That interpretation is to us no longer obligatory. It is now viewed objectively. It simply forms a part of the phenomenology of the Spirit. To the Christian, of course, the interaction of Mosaism and prophetism revealed in Old Testament literature will have independent value, besides its primary contribution to the history of religion and ethics, because it forms the historic background of the religious consciousness of Jesus. We wish to understand his ideas genetically. But the mere teaching of Jesus forms a minor part of the content of New Testament literature. Moreover the ideas are no more obligatory here than in the Old Testament. The language of 1 John 1: 2 expresses the fact: "The Life was manifested; and we have seen, and bear witness, and declare unto you the life, the eternal life, which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us." As Hegel said, "The teaching of Jesus taken by itself belongs to the world of ordinary figurative ideas only, and has to do with the inner feeling and disposition; it is supplemented by the representation of the divine idea in his life and fate."*

The gospel of the Pauline churches, the only gospel we can clearly distinguish among them for a full generation after their foundation, was a "representation of the divine idea in Jesus' life and fate". Christianity began as a religion of the Spirit. Its principal missionary could resolve to know nothing of the historical Jesus, that he might devote his attention the more exclusively to the eternal Christ of his own experience. It was only among the Aramaic-speaking churches of Jewish descent that the gospel came to be conceived on the plan of synagogue religion, and embodied in a collection of the precepts of Jesus, which all men everywhere were to be taught to observe, in order thus to escape the punishments and obtain the rewards of "the world to come." The reduction of this gospel of law and promise to written form in the Aramaic-speaking churches may have been simultaneous with the circulation of the great Pauline Epistles among the Greek-speaking churches, or

* *Philosophy of Religion*, vol. III. p. 85. (English translation.)

was possibly a little later. Combined in different manner and degree with the Petrine reminiscences of Jesus' life it has given us the so-called Synoptic literature, Mark, Matthew, and the double treatise attributed to Luke. This, with the cognate Epistle of James, is the only part of New Testament literature wherein the Jewish-Christian point of view attains even the semblance of control. Everywhere else the point of departure is the Greek idea, incarnation, the "manifestation of the life, the eternal life which was with the Father and was manifested in Jesus." The recognition of this fundamental distinction in New Testament literature is comparable in importance to nothing less than the addition of a New Testament to the Hebrew canon. It is a summons to the genetic study of Christian ideas from the view-point of comparative religion. It means that now instead of looking upon the Hebrew mind, race, religion, and literature as "separate from every other that is upon the face of the whole earth," and upon the religion developed in Palestine as the one true revealed religion, to which all others stand in the relation of degenerate corruptions, if not as caricatures invented by Satan, we recognize that the Hebrews in mind, race, religion, and literature were eclectic, absorptive, assimilative, in just that high degree which their situation at the four cross roads of the ancient world and their chequered history would lead us to expect. As with the Japanese today the very virility of the Hebrew's individual self-consciousness made it possible for him to borrow more copiously from others, without endangering his own distinctive character. The ethical monotheism developed by the prophets on the basis of the old tribal Yahweh religion was strong enough to incorporate and assimilate, from Canaanite, Babylonian, Persian, Egyptian, and Greek sources, elements which would have drowned out a less vigorous faith. Even Pharisean orthodoxy was already a highly complex development of the religious sense. The literature of Apocalypse and of Wisdom represent the impact of Persian and of Greek ideas respectively upon the Hebrew nucleus. So later with the "paternal theism" of Jesus. It was endowed with vigor at least equal to that of the religion of the prophets. It could take up and dominate large factors from the Hellenistic types of individualistic or redemptive religion which rivalled its claims upon the adherence of the world. New discoveries in the realm of contemporary popular religion in the Graeco-Roman world have compelled this enlarged view of the literary history of the New Testament. We have developed what is called a Religions-geschichtliche Schule, whose object includes the tracing of the contributions of non-Jewish religions to our faith, particularly the contributions of the individualistic-humanistic religions of redemption, which under the name of "mysteries" (*teletai*) came to take the place among

the masses of the old ethnic or national faiths, whose significance had vanished in the cosmopolitanism of the empire. Our broader outlook is the inevitable result of the historical method. One cannot study biblical ideas genetically without getting repeatedly off the map of Palestine. The arbitrary distinction of Jew and Gentile vanishes. All become one in Christ Jesus, and we find ourselves contemplating perforce the whole tree of the moral and religious development of humanity as a single growth. Judaism and Christianity represent only the central line of highest development. The branches are not alternately cut off and grafted in; but some are found more, some less nearly in the line of normal development. We understand, appreciate, and are confirmed in our own religious and moral consciousness, as we study it genetically; for we discover that here too creation has been by the evolutionary process. Evolution is the mode of operation by which our religious consciousness has come into being. The validity and meaning of this consciousness present another question. Here as elsewhere science abdicates before the question of final causation. But the modern student of the phenomenology of the Spirit must henceforth recognize that Christianity has also a Greek as well as a Hebrew ancestry.

As scientists, then, we distinguish in biblical literature between the Hebrew and the Greek period. As critics of the New Testament we distinguish between the Synoptic literature and the Pauline; between the Semitic element, which concerns itself primarily with the new law promulgated by the "prophet like unto Moses", and the Hellenistic, which concerns itself primarily with the divine manifestation of "the Life." The immediate result is that the semi-popular reviews re-echo with controversies of "Jesus or Christ"; or, as they have it in Germany, "Jesus or Paul?" Both controversies mean the same. Both mean that the old Petro-Pauline conflict is not yet extinct, that 2000 years have not sufficed for the complete and perfect adjustment of the two factors, the Semitic and Aryan, of our religious pedigree.

It was this twofold aspect of our historic faith which last Saturday morning was treated before this Congress by our greatest living church historian, under the title "The Twofold Gospel." Professor Harnack distinguished the gospel of Christ, preached during his life-time to the *apostoloi* of Galilee, from the gospel about Christ, preached after his death by Peter and Paul. There is the less need then for me to dwell upon the broad, far-reaching facts. No authority (expert authority, I mean) can equal Harnack's for making clear the fact, and the significance of the fact, that the beginnings of Christianity as a religion were due to Peter and Paul preaching the gospel about Christ to Jews and Gentiles, and that the gospel of Christ was, like the law, "brought in

alongside." It came almost as a recrudescence of Judaism, propagated from Jerusalem by men who opposed and denounced the Apostle Paul, and were ultimately cut off from the great Greek-speaking, Greek-thinking body of the Church catholic. Their opposition was answered by appeal to "the Spirit", evidenced by present phenomena. As the centre of gravity passed gradually to the West, Jewish conservatives came to be regarded as narrow-minded unbelievers, incapable of appreciating the great idea of incarnation, and the divinity, or deity, of Jesus. The term Ebionite, supposed to mean "poor", was interpreted by the Greek fathers in this sense. Within the recollection of the informants of Papias (Jerusalem elders, as I hold them to be), the Church had still been dependent for its knowledge of what Jesus taught on a single document, and that not Greek at all, but Aramaic, or possibly even Hebrew, at all events incapable of circulating outside of Syria. The nearest approach the Greek-speaking Church had made to incorporating the gospel of Jesus was the Roman attempt to reproduce the preaching of Peter, our Gospel of Mark. But the aim even of this writing is not to teach men to "observe all things whatsoever Jesus had commanded." Its aim is to produce faith in his person as the Son of God by relating the marvels of his ministry, his vicarious death and divinely wrought resurrection. Jesus was he in whom "the whole fountain of the Holy Spirit", the Spirit of adoption which makes men sons of God, had taken up its abode. In its fundamental Petro-Pauline purpose the Gospel of Mark is, then, as widely different from the Matthaean Gospel of the Precepts as in language and place of origin. It still represents the religion of the Spirit, however affected by the tendencies of the sub-apostolic period, and the disappearance of the charismatic endowments. These are concentrated now in the person of Jesus. The argument is no longer:

"The Spirit and the gifts are ours
Through him that with us sideth."

The argument has become: The Spirit and the gifts were his; thus he was proved to be the Son of God. The testimony of the Logos becomes not the life that is manifested, but the Life that was manifested. Petrine reminiscence thus comes to the aid of Pauline mysticism, and at the same time takes a step backward towards the religion of authority.

Henceforth the development of New Testament literature was purely on Greek soil, but with increasing respect for Semitic tradition. The next step was the combination of the Matthaean Palestinian book of Precepts with the Petro-Pauline, Roman story of the ministry, death and resurrection. The aim was to produce records of "the sayings and

doings", of Jesus, with increasing emphasis on his superhuman personality. In southern Syria, probably including Egypt, this combination produced our Greek Matthew, a book which clings to the old apostolic name, and was therefore placed first in canonical order. At Antioch and in the regions of northern Syria the combining process evoked the twofold historical work attributed to Luke, a "former treatise" on "the things which Jesus began both to do and to teach", and a second (soon to be treated as quite inferior in interest of subject), on the work of the Spirit through the apostles and the Church. Like all evangelists, these authors, called from their common material Synoptic, aimed to embody, each for the churches of his own region, the gospel, the whole gospel, and nothing but the gospel. Each defined Christianity as locally understood at the time. But it should never be forgotten that the primary combination was of the Hebrew Precepts with the Greek Redemptive Drama.

For a time the Church's need of an authoritative exposition of its faith seemed satisfied. In addition to the Pauline Epistles, which had circulated among the Greek-speaking churches from the beginning, and had called forth certain secondary products of the same type as occasion required (I mean Hebrews, First Peter and those epistles which purport to be from Paul, but whose authenticity is questionable), the churches had now the Synoptic literature, which professed to give the gospel of Jesus, already half-eclipsed as it was by importations from the gospel about Jesus. But the most important centre of Paulinism was still to be heard from. Moreover the most important factors of Paulinism, the deepest-lying, most vital elements of the Pauline doctrine about Christ, had failed of incorporation in the somewhat crude and unreflecting Roman Gospel of Mark. The infancy chapters of Matthew and Luke were poor attempts to do them justice. These indispensable factors thus failed altogether to find adequate expression in the Synoptic canon. Not one trace, for example, appears anywhere in the Synoptic writings of a doctrine of Jesus' pre-existence. There is scarcely a trace of the atonement doctrine. But Paul's whole gospel of the second Adam, the man from heaven "who for our sakes, though he was rich became poor", humbling himself and exchanging the form of God for the form of a servant, depends upon these. By virtue of his avatar-doctrine, as the Oriental would call it, Paul's preaching had absorbed the vital content of the current Logos doctrine of Stoicism, and carried to their logical conclusion the Hellenizing tendencies of the Hebrew Wisdom teachers. Paul's Christology of incarnation and atonement had won the Greek-speaking world. Could it be now repudiated? How keenly the inadequacy of Mark's mere adoptianist

Christology was felt is evidenced by the crude and discordant attempts of our first and third evangelists to supply the deficiency in their opening chapters. Manifestly a fourth gospel was needed on this score.

Then there was the equally indispensable element of Pauline teaching, equally characteristic of the Greek idea of redemption; the idea of mystic union with Christ. This was the deepest-lying fact of Paul's religious experience, his gospel of the Spirit. Churches of Pauline origin, in which baptism and the Lord's supper were sacraments, symbolizing the union of the divine life with the human, could not be expected to remain satisfied with mere compilations of the precepts of Jesus; nor even with reports "both of the sayings and doings", if they gave no expression to the Pauline doctrine of the new birth of the Spirit, or limited the idea, as in the Petrine tradition, to its outward manifestations, especially when these latter were more and more limited to the great personages of the past. What came to be called the "spiritual gospel" was the response to an irrepressible demand of the times. Ephesus, the great headquarters of Paulinism, brought forth the Gospel and Epistles subsequently attributed to John. All critics recognize the true historical place of this so-called "Johannine" literature, as the late-flowering product of Paul's sowing. Unfortunately traditions based on the conjectures of polemic writers of the second century interpose today their opaque mass between these writings and a general appreciation of their real, their historical, significance. The chief battle of New Testament criticism in our times is therefore concerned with giving to these all-important products of the greater Pauline churches at the end of the first century their true historical position. The result to New Testament literature as a whole will be not less illuminating than the recognition in Pentateuchal criticism of the true date of the priestly elements of Hebrew historiography.

One factor of the New Testament critic's material has thus far been left out of account. I mean the apocalyptic writings. The Book of Revelation seems at first to stand apart from the rest of the canon. Indeed its atmosphere is so alien to Greek thought that it alone of its type has been permitted to remain in canonical standing, and that only after a battle whose echoes even now have scarcely died away, and in a form greatly modified from the original Palestinian document. This writing too was put in circulation at Ephesus under the name of John, and owes its acceptance to this apostolic imprimatur. In fact it was from the Revelation that the tradition of Johannine authorship took its rise. Not till more than half a century later, and on foreign soil, do we begin to hear the name of John associated with other writings.

Ultimately the Gospel, the Epistles and the Revelation attributed to John were made to form a kind of Ephesian canon.

The reason for this Palestinian importation into the churches of Asia in "the end of the reign of Domitian" becomes plain when we notice the tendencies and demands of the times. Law and promise were urgently called for. Polycarp's warnings against the ultra-Paulinists who were "perverting the precepts of the Lord to their own lusts and denying the resurrection and judgment" is accompanied by an exhortation to "turn to the word handed down to us from the beginning". We hardly need the Pastoral Epistles, the Epistles of Ignatius, the Johannine Epistles, and Papias, to corroborate this evidence. To counteract the individualism of Docetic and antinomian heresy the Church was turning back toward the older Apostles, especially toward the neo-legalism of Matthew. But a gospel of law based on external authority required as its complement the incentive of promise. Biblicism and apocalypics go hand in hand*. Where is the power of the scribe, if he can give no assurance to the obedient of "a share in the world to come?" It is only the mystic who can make virtue its own reward by defining it as an apprehending of the eternal life through the indwelling Spirit. To Papias, a true yokefellow of Polycarp, Matthew (i. e. our Matthew, consisting of the Precepts re-enforced from the Petrine reminiscences of Mark) and the Revelation of John are the two writings which present the essence of Christianity; and Papias worthily represents the backward eddy of his times. Nevertheless it is also here at Ephesus at the beginning of the second century that the truly catholic apostolic spirit had reached its literary culmination. True Paulinism itself was at stake, yes, the very religion of the Spirit. If it perished here it perished without prospect of return. On the one side the forces of Docetic individualism and antinomianism were producing a travesty of the historic faith, diffusing it in vague theosophic mysticism; on the other were set all the forces of traditional authority and neo-legalism. The biblicist and the ecclesiastic were working together to save Christianity according to their own idea of its salvation. The fourth evangelist has a conception more akin to Paul. A middle course must be steered. Justice must be done to the gospel of Jesus; therefore even the legalism of Matthaean tradition finds its transfigured counterpart in the dialogues of the Fourth Gospel, and in the stressing of the new commandment of Jesus in First John. Even the apocalyptic eschatology finds a place, though eschatology is for the most part subsumed,

* The same tendency is shown at a little later period by the author of Second Peter, who supplements "Jude's" denunciation of the antinomian Gnostics by an apocalyptic eschatology attributed to Peter.

as had come more and more to be the case with Paul, under the mystical doctrine of eternal life, "the life that is hid with Christ in God". But chiefly was it needful to do more adequate justice to the gospel **about** Christ, and on its inward as well as on its external side. Mark's presentation of the earthly career of Jesus as an epitome of charismatic endowment with the Spirit, required to be taken up and carried further. There must be more than a momentary transfiguration scene; the whole life of Jesus must be shown as an incarnation of the Logos.

The endeavor to meet this situation: justice to the Matthaean-Petrine conception of the gospel of the historic Jesus, and equal justice to the Pauline doctrine of the eternal Christ, the life-giving Spirit, the endeavor to meet it in face of Docetic libertinism, has given us the Ephesian gospel and epistles, a solution out of the sub-apostolic age of the problem which re-emerges upon the scene today, the problem of Schleiermacher versus Ritschl, of Paul versus the Galilean Apostles, of psychology versus history, of the Religion of the Spirit versus the Religions of Authority. The author himself defines his purpose in terms which might well serve to express the whole effort of modernism: "Concerning the Logos of life — for the life was manifested, and we have seen, and bear witness, and declare unto you the life, the eternal life which was with the Father and was manifested unto us, — that which we have seen and heard declare we unto you also, that ye also may have fellowship with us: yea, and our fellowship is with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ". It is one of the ironies of fate that the superb anonymity of this great successor of Paul, this sub-apostolic champion of the religion of the Spirit against the recrudescence of biblicism and ecclesiasticism, should have been sacrificed to the insatiable demand of his period for apostolic authority; so that his work could come down to us only under the name and patronage of one of the narrower of the three "pillars" of Jewish-Christian conservatism in Jerusalem, under the title "the Gospel and Epistles of John!"

The brief space at my disposal allows no room to consider more than this one supreme question of New Testament criticism in our time: the place and significance of the Johannine literature. I should be glad, if time permitted, to take up the almost equally vital question of the Messianic consciousness and the message of Jesus. Christianity began, as already made plain, with the resurrection faith, "Christ in us the hope of glory". It was a Religion of the Spirit pure and simple. We have been mainly concerned thus far with this gospel **about** Christ, because there is so little else in New Testament literature. But there never would have been a resurrection faith in an eternal Christ "manifested as the son of God with power", if there had not first been a historical

Jesus who summed up Old Testament religion in the hope of a kingdom of God whose essence was the relation of sonship and brotherhood. Even now a severance of the faith from its roots in the historically developed Messianism of the religion of the prophets would deprive it of its social message, as completely as Docetic severance of the eternal Logos-Christ from the historic Jesus would rob it of its ethical values. Among modern attempts to define the message of Jesus the fashion of the day is to magnify the apocalyptic element at the expense of the ethico-religious. Much depends on whether we have, or have not, a right to call the title "Son of Man", with its Danielic connotations, "the favorite self-designation of Jesus". The title is absent from Paul, absent from the Petrine speeches of Acts. Only critical comparison of the Q-source, the Petrine tradition of Mark, and the Lukan sources, can settle the question. Should we, however, even be compelled to answer Oskar Holtzmann's question, "Was Jesus a visionary?" in the affirmative, as I emphatically do not think we should, still we should only have to place the emphasis otherwise than he placed it. Whether it was life as such, or only "the other life", with which he chiefly concerned himself, the historic Jesus brought the paternal theism of the Old Testament to its culmination in the doctrine of a kingdom of God which is realized progressively as men, even the lowliest, become participant in that moral union with the Father in which Jesus was consciously victorious over the world. "Ye shall be sons and daughters of the Highest"; this was the gospel of Christ. The gospel about Christ is the progressive interpretation of Jesus' life as one who gave this message reality out of his own experience.

Neither gospel is complete without the other. If Professor Percy Gardner's conception of the task of "Modernity"* be true we must so combine the research of the historical critic and that of the psychologist of religion as to do for our age what the great successor of Paul in Ephesus did for his: declare the Logos of life as something which both is from the beginning and yet was also seen and heard and handled in human form. Jesus Christ is the meeting-point of both gospels, of the religion of Old Testament and of New. For "the life, the eternal life which was with the Father", in which we ourselves are participants, was also "manifested", and can be "declared" by historical testimony "unto you".

* **Modernity and the Churches.** London. 1909.

A SURVEY OF LIBERAL RELIGION IN THE UNITED STATES.

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Liberty has its beginnings in an animal instinct which resents interference. It has its highest expression in a divine ideal which joyously surrenders itself to the highest control. Freedom begins in insurrection, and finds its fulfilment in a divine personality. History may be created by impulse, but its progress is committed to the hand of reason. Human emotions are the masterful influences in human life; the intellect takes its orders from them for any given task, but the adjustment of emotion and intellect together constitutes the rational life. It would not be too much to say that the essential business of effectual human life is the education of the emotions in terms of the reason. These things are said by way of introduction to my theme of the progress of liberal religion in the United States. For religion, which often begins as the partner of the State, frequently develops, as the continent of Europe well knows, into the controlling influence in the State. It is therefore interesting to enquire how a Republic, which began as separate colonies, and proceeded to a unity of all conflicting interests, has treated the subject of personal religion, for religion in its last analysis must be personal, as, in its whole structure, there are but two supports eventually, namely **God and the Soul**. It is a common place to say that all efforts of religious organization have had as their purpose to build a bridge, or to provide a vehicle, or to furnish an instrument, or to formulate a contract, or to establish an institution, by virtue of which God and the Soul shall be brought into moral coalescence. In its most filial aspects the word of Jesus prevails: "If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed." This is the animal instinct raised to its highest power, when it finds its realization in filial and joyful subjection to the will of God the Father. This filial agreement finds its expression in terms of power in the perfect statement of freedom in those other words of the Master of Life: "I and my Father are one". The story of religious progress in such a Republic, as that from which I come, is marked, not so much

by signal events of which edicts guaranteeing liberty are the expression, as by the steady advance from the liberty which seeks safety in flight from foreign oppression, and which eventuates now in a common expression for which the name "social conscience" has been originated, and to which the term quite satisfactorily applies. This it is my purpose in part to indicate. It is a fundamental law in the genesis of life that we pass from what is homogeneous to infinite variety. Nature seems by this method to seek the multiplication of the breed; the higher evolution provides for the improvement of the species. It was quite natural, therefore, that in the escape to a new world, the first impulse of liberty in the colonies on American soil should have taken the form of infinite variety of expression. In New England they called themselves Pilgrims, Puritans, and Independents; and many of their freer spirits found it necessary before many years to flee, no longer from "Lords Bishop" but from the tyranny of "Lords Brethren". The same wind that brought the Mayflower to Plymouth Bay carried Roger Williams out of the Massachusetts colony into Rhode Island; and the same resentment in the name of liberty which sought refuge on an inhospitable shore, found its critic in Samuel Gorton, who was haled back to Massachusetts from Rhode Island that he might be subjected to penal servitude for a difference of opinion. Perhaps the colony of Maryland is entitled to the earliest expression of religious liberty, but it was a religious liberty so limited that the denial of the Trinity and a doubt as to the divinity of Jesus Christ were still punishable with death. The Virginia establishment of State religion, which was evaded by freemen and prescribed for bondmen, found its rebuke in the fine democracy of Thomas Jefferson, when church establishment and the rights of primogeniture disappeared together. The colonial life of the early New England Independents sought to guard itself by making the suffrage in the town-meeting contingent upon the sacraments of the church. The followers of Fox in Pennsylvania found their highest distinction as the Society of Friends, not so much by an aimable agreement between themselves as by a just attitude toward the savages of the Pennsylvania forests. In earliest New York, English succeeded Dutch, and Roman Catholicism was tolerated in the earlier part of the nineteenth century; and finally the Jew, in New York's great metropolitan centre, finds himself in the largest Jewish city in the world, being one-sixth of a population of four and a half million. These are some of the fluctuations in those tides of the spirit which rise and fall upon the shores of the State in its effort to provide the largest liberty for the religious instinct.

For the student of religion the chief interest is to find what happens when State control is forbidden in the field of religion, where entire

freedom of expression is allowed to the sects, and where every effort to distinctly "recognize God" by inserting that sacred name into the Constitution of the nation, has been successfully resisted. It is of course natural under such conditions of instinctive liberty that multiform expression of denominational life should be found. Our enquiry is to find an answer in present conditions which shall account, not for each religious insurrection in detail, but for a unity that repudiates uniformity and yet constitutes at once an expression of the religious life and a promotion of religious freedom.

One aspect of religion was carried over from the Old World to the New, namely the increase of adherents to the various forms of faith by means of upheavals of religious emotion in terms of religious revival. What appeared in England and in Germany as a "Reformation" declares itself in the American Republic as "a new birth". The influence of Whitefield in England reasserts itself in revivalist efforts in the New World. The spiritual revolution inspired by the Wesleys in England flames in revivals through the colonies, and, later, in the States, by Methodist revivals. The Calvinism of Geneva, which kindled the fires about the feet of Servetus, reasserts itself in the burning zeal of Jonathan Edwards and the revival whose inspiration is the fear of the future. The Protestant Episcopal church in the United States makes its first declaration for freedom in refusing in the last part of the eighteenth century to join the Athanasian creed and the Nicene statement in the same book of prayer. Whether this was a triumph of logic, which saw their inconsistency, or a desire to move upon the public mind by way of the least objection, has not yet been determined. The Society of Friends, so largely a dominant influence in the religious life of the Middle States, agreed to disagree as Hicksite and Orthodox along the lines of that earlier contention of the fourth century in which homoousian and homoiousian "differed by an iota". Necessarily this promotion of church membership by revival has raised the question whether a conflagration of the emotions results more in consuming the unworthy or in freeing the conscience; refining the product, or reducing its quantity. The usual consequence in all periods of revival in the United States has been to deepen religious feeling in a community at the expense of the clarifying of its reason. But, as many of those revivals have been associated as to time with financial crisis, it may be an illustration of the fact that "reason is no match for superstition, and one great emotion must be expelled by another". To the student of history it is always a question whether or not bankruptcy on earth promotes the hope of heaven. It is not the purpose of this address to make a nice valuation of these conflicting interests.

It might be said that the first determination of society transplanted to the New World to assert itself against the church appeared in the Half Way Covenant of the New England churches. It was not likely that the Massachusetts colony, which declared for a free school three years after it had established a church, would long restrict those freely educated, by a refusal of the vote to the unbaptized; and the permission of a divided authority in religion in the family was sure to assert itself in the interest of the town meeting. Liberty of opinion even in the "totally depraved" must sooner or later assert itself on a field which has already surrendered to universal free education. Even the perplexities of the colonists left room for the intrusion of the problem whether the free education of the "totally depraved" was to be a gain to the State. However the colonists may have brought over to the New World the doctrine of the Fall of Man, they devoted themselves with unremitting industry to the improvement of human nature. It is therefore entirely to be expected that Joseph Priestley, driven out of England for the liberality of his views, and his scientific enquiries, should set up his laboratory on the Susquehanna, and become the founder of the first Unitarian church of that neighborhood. And as Harvard College was planted before the middle of the seventeenth century, it was to be expected that sooner or later the Congregationalism of New England should find diverse expression in doctrinal debate. And here, as everywhere, were the reserve of the conservative and the adventure of the free thinker confronted with the task of producing a state of mind which should be **„in thought free, in temper reverent, and in method scientific“**. How soon the praying man may rise from his knees to achieve a new victory in terms of free thought is a calculation which must inevitably occupy the student of religious progress.

It was to be expected that the mistake of the fourth century should be found repeating itself in the New World. That tendency, begun in the century preceding, finding its organized expression in the Council of Nicaea, and its crystallized product in the year 381 A. D. in the Council of Constantinople, may be called the greatest historical heresy, for it sought to substitute accuracy of opinion for integrity of character, and hoped to shift the centre of gravity from ethics to intellect; and when the sense of power in the Roman world came to the reinforcement of the penetrating Greek mind, all the forces were present which should eventually institutionalize religion, and make intellectual accuracy the guarantee of orthodoxy. It has been well said by a critic of our institutions, that "America is a place where all the mistakes of the past are tried over on a large scale"; so the first form of religious freedom in the United States appeared in violent assertion of doctrinal accuracy

and pride of intellectual acuteness. I can only refer in part by name to the controversies based upon conformity on the one side, and upon protest on the other, which have given to the United States multiform names for varying opinions in religion. The Presbyterian church government still survives in some eight or ten distinct varieties in the census of the current year; Methodism, which fell into two camps in 1844 on the question of slavery, was not ardent enough to bridge the chasm on either side of which the embattled hosts of the Civil War were found encamped; the subdivisions of High Church, and Low Church, and Broad Church, which gave ground to contending opinions in England, were found in some shadowy discrimination in the Protestant Episcopal church of the New World; and Congregationalism, which was thought in the beginning to constitute, if not a State Church in New England democracy, at least a dominant influence in religious councils, finally fell apart and carried into courts of law contending opinions as to the nature of God and the divine claims of Jesus Christ. Of course they did not ask the courts to decide those erudite questions, but only to determine the respective rights of the contending parties to the church property.

Now what has evolved from this chaos? Obviously, if there is to be a religious State, or better perhaps, a state of religion in a nation, it cannot surrender itself to what has been called the "habit of insurrection", nor, in a people so energetic and vital, can it be restrained from times of emotional upheaval. But if religious progress is to be an experience rather than a proclamation, it must justify itself in certain practical aspects. Now, what are these aspects?

First, there is in the United States a great consensus of opinion that the cultivation of a field is far more important than the maintaining of its walls. Nice determination of boundaries interest serious men in the religious field less and less. Now that the fear of wild cattle has been reduced to its lowest terms, it has been generally agreed that to build a wall is to occupy with a defense ground that should be under cultivation. Therefore it is a welcome sign in all communities at all progressive in their views, that they seek economy in use of religious machinery, and the development in its simplest form of religious power. Uniformity steadily gives way to the desire for unity, and in the great body of thinking men effectiveness for social welfare rises above the necessity for intellectual agreement. We agree to differ where formerly we contended for individual opinion. The evidences of this are not far to seek; associations of men on the basis of practical reform are now maintained without regard to religious opinion. In some of the States as notably in Massachusetts and New York, ministers are united upon

question of practical betterment for the community in which they reside, on the evils they seek to cure, rather than the terms in which the cure is to be effected. As, for instance, in the New York State Conference of Religion, ten denominations, differing in theological views, have for ten years worked together in the field of social ethics and personal righteousness, without marring a single session of its conferences by an unkind word. At the tenth Annual Meeting of this body, there appeared upon the programme the names of the Episcopal rector of the church in which the meeting was held, a Congregationalist, a Presbyterian, two Jewish rabbis, a Universalist, and a Unitarian, who all sounded one note of ethical advancement, inspired by one religious desire. Indeed the search of the promoters of real religion in organizing their efforts is for titles that shall express their union, and not for phrases that shall vindicate their differences. The free thinker no longer, unless vulgar, finds it necessary to assert his freedom; nor does the prelate, unless utterly benighted, insist upon his authority; but both agree to work for the common good. The advice of Emerson in the second session of the Free Religious Society in Boston, is now a commonplace; when men unite for the common good they accept his advice to "leave controversy to communities more idle and more ignorant than themselves!" And the witty remark made not long ago concerning a prosecution for heresy has become a classic of humor, namely that "a prosecution for heresy is like the fight of two dogs in a flower garden; it settles nothing but the flowers!" So in every union for effort for the common good, despite differences of opinion held by individuals, one thinks he sees the recovery of the clergy from the discredited position into which they fell, in the public mind, when they contended for prerogative in which the common mind was no longer interested. It is perhaps too much to say that the *odium theologicum* has disappeared in the American Republic, but its tiny stream of vitriol has been much diluted by the incoming flood of social well-being. As in chemical analysis, we hope in the religious world to read the verdict "of organic matter only a trace". It would be too much to say that any community has reached the point where worship in a single church sufficiently large to hold the community's worshippers has been agreed on, but it is no longer popular in small communities to multiply conventicles in which the worshipper shall starve for lack of spiritual nourishment and the institutions shall fail for lack of adequate support. Fifty years ago it was quite common that towns of from five to ten thousand people should be overchurched sometimes to the degree that five thousand inhabitants saw the rising spires of fifteen churches of different names; and the problem of voluntary support of the services of religion came to be a competition in which

the eloquence of the minister and the ingenuity of the congregation were combined to invite the largest numbers procurable by the devices which minister and people invented. There is a widespread dissent now from this procedure. Clerical oratory has declined, because the desire for it has depreciated. The church is no longer the sole centre of intellectual activity in a community, as in earlier times; this intellectual activity is now diverted to the free library and the clubs of student enquirers which appear everywhere. In other days it was thought that the women attended most assiduously the altar fires of devotion; now the church justifies itself by the associated effort of men and women for social reform. A view almost universally prevails that the church exists for the sake of the community, and any privileges that remain to it, such as the exemption from taxation and the voluntary support of its ministry, are a tribute by the State conceded to the church's efficiency. The sanctity of the Ark of the Covenant has been replaced as a figure of speech by the dynamo and power-house; the church is represented as a place for gathering energy for future distribution. This change cannot fail to appear as wholesome, for in the last analysis, not the multiplication of churches or the enrichment of services, but the education of men and the enrichment of life, must take precedence.

Many causes have operated to this end. Reaction from the panic caused by scientific enquiry during the last fifty years has discriminated religion from all its accidents. The rise of the higher criticism, for which the New World is vastly indebted to Germany and Holland, has shown, in the language of Father Tyrrell, that "Revelation is an experience, and not a statement". The discovery of the universality of religion as proven by the survival of its many scriptures, has shamed the pretensions of a narrower view. It has been discovered that the Divine Being spoke other languages than Hebrew, with its subsequent lame translations into Greek; and whilst there are occasional outbreaks of missionary zeal for the conversion of the heathen, the United States is at heart more concerned with the development of oriental trade than with the so-called enlightenment of the oriental soul. It shows a certain diffidence indeed in offering its crude religious opinions to the Hindu, the Chinaman, the Japanese, who had the habit of religious meditation before the New World was on the map. Missionary interest in the conversion of the heathen is occasionally promoted by "forced draught", but there is everywhere a growing impression that if a nation were really Christian, commerce would be its natural missionary conveyance.

The cause most considerable in this decline of religious zeal has been currently reported to be the spirit of materialism. The most modest

American cannot disclaim the tribute to American energy and practical enterprise, and yet thoughtful men realize that commercial piracy is not to be confused with spiritual adventure, and to preserve the reverences of life in spite of the inflation of prosperity has been a question of serious concern even to those who know that religion is not an end in itself. A great body of earnest men and women agonize over the question of how we may enrich life independently of enriched circumstances. It is not insignificant that the American mind should be so largely taken up by the new interest in psychical research; when it is most scientific it is perilously emotional, and when it is most emotional it tends to irreligion. But there are not wanting many indications that the materialistic temper of the American public shall witness the soul's revenges for its own neglect. The rapid growth of what is technically known as "The Church of Christ, Scientist", and commonly called "Christian Science", is an instance in point. It illustrates the quotation already used, words attributed to the late Anthony Froude, that "Reason is no match for superstition, but one great emotion must be expelled by another". An amendment of this statement might perhaps be suggested by the force with which emotions rush to fill a vacuum. But there are many of us who still maintain that "the cure of souls" hannot be achieved by even a spiritual remedy for the infirmities of the flesh. Perhaps the finest proof of the growing confidence of the American mind in the everlasting reality of religion, is to be seen in the thoughtful way in which earnest men welcome any experiment, however illogical, as a temporary life-preserver cast to those who are struggling in the current of the time. The most insignificant force co-operative with religion, latest to appear on the field, and recruited from the common reserves of life, is found in what is called the rise of "the social conscience." With all its extravagances, materialism has been convinced that life has a spiritual meaning; with all the vulgarities incident to the possession of wealth in the hands of social inexperience, many a corporate success is discovering a soul within its body. It would be too much to say that the phrase of an English thinker, that "man has a body, but man is a spirit", has yet found its expression in the thought of the United States, but the moral uses of property appear more easily discovered than "the moral uses of dark things". And whilst it is vainly supposed in some quarters that the relief of misery is the guarantee of character, the truth which that extravagance covers, steadily asserts itself, namely that it is vain to propose regeneration to the victims of injustice. Of course this struggle to right the wrong and to enlarge the opportunity of those inopportunately placed in life, is subject to the peril which always arises in the conflict between individual initiative and

social justice. Upon this field religion appears in some sort as an arbiter, and the church still remains, under all its names, and in all its varieties of expression, the only institution which is devoted to the regeneration of character in terms of divine affection, and its final claim upon popular regard will be found when religion can prove that it is not an end in itself, but a means to an end, and that end the enhancing of the values of human life in terms of enrichment of human character.

A very vital consideration in any survey of religious thought in the United States arises from the tremendous current of immigration which flows into that country. This often represents in a single year a million immigrants, received in the main at the port of New York. In times of financial depression, the recurrent tide will sometimes carry away from the country a half million of these people, who return however, or are replaced, in other years. This matter is mentioned here because to any nation, situated like the United States, it is obvious that so great a tide of immigration must necessarily be a matter of great civic concern. How much more then must it be reckoned with in a nation where no State church and no recognition of religion by civic authority can intervene in the interests of religious education. In the City of New York alone, from its mixed population of four millions and a half, in a single year there are twenty-five thousand new applicants for free education in the public schools, and in no public school may any religious instruction be given. It is difficult to deal with the subject without seeming to magnify the risks involved. The assimilation of this new material by the State does not present insuperable difficulties to the student of political science. This is true even in face of the consideration that in thirty years the character of the immigration has not simply changed, but that there has been almost a reversal of characteristics. Thirty years ago the immigration was German, Irish, and Scandinavian; to-day it is Italian, Greek, and Slav. Obviously these questions, so interesting to the student of civics, can have no adequate notice in this address. But it must be remembered that these nationalities, and a score of others, have come out of religious conditions diverse from these which meet them in the New World. I can only mention, without furnishing proofs, in these limitations of time, certain admitted facts. By the law of statistics, and the experience of nations, by immigration and birth the Roman Catholic population of the United States should now be twenty-five millions at least. The Church itself only claims thirteen millions of adherents, and this number includes every baptized infant. The lament is heard on every side, respecting the large secession, morally and religiously, from the orthodox Jewish faith. This does not simply mean the rise of reformed Judaism, or the

strong tendencies to Societies of Ethical Culture, but that in great communities of Jews of the orthodox faith, the control of the younger generation by the faith of their fathers manifestly declines. These are only items in the general condition that, in a country where religion has no ecclesiastical control, the apostasy from the faith of their fathers of the immigrant group is a demonstrated fact. It is not possible to give adequate attention to this loss of adherents by the religions represented by all the great immigrant group. I merely present to you the phenomena involved by the assimilation of foreign peoples into the body politic upon one side, and the steady loss of these same peoples from under the spiritual direction of the religions from which they came. That many of these apostates call themselves free thinkers, does not relieve them from the suspicion that many of them are the slaves of their own liberty.

To these causes and to others may be attributed certain transformations in the aspects of religion in the United States. The Puritan Sabbath, which a hundred years ago was regarded as the normal expression of religious observance once in seven days, has now practically disappeared, even from the place of its birth in New England. In cosmopolitan communities it is to be expected that this phase of religious observance should disappear. Our great cities do not differ in this particular very much from the great cities of the Continent. Vain protests are made by persons of Sabbatarian temperament and habit of mind, declaring that we must not have in the United States what they call "the continental Sunday". But even the distinction of the continental Sunday as between holyday and holiday, which marks the discrimination of its hours, does not prevail in the great cities of the United States. The statutes are enacted to protect what is called the Christian Sabbath, but singularly enough they do not cover by their protection the Sabbath of the Jew, and in the great cities in which campaigns of moral zeal call for the closing of pleasure resorts on the first day of the week, in the interest of a quiet Sunday, they are entirely oblivious of the claims of those to whom the seventh day of the week is equally sacred; and in the city of New York for instance, in which the Jewish population is eight hundred thousand, no one thinks to enquire on Saturday whether the saloon or pleasure resort has suspended its activities. Whether this is a failure of logic or a failure of charity it is no part of this address to determine. One cannot enter this field of enquiry as to the observances of religion without recognizing the universal complaint in the United States of an abandonment of the churches by the native populations. It is no uncommon thing to find towns of from twelve hundred to five thousand population in

which fifty years ago contending sects housed themselves, each in its own sanctuary, protesting against difference of opinion, and therefore necessitating multiplicity of places of worship. Reference has been made to this in an earlier paragraph, but so painfully has this phenomenon in the religious world been recognized that it is little less than a scandal, to which attention is called by such phrases as "towns over-churched", or "districts burnt over" by one form of revival after another. It is more than a witticism that told how when an old sea-captain returned to his native town in New England and found himself at variance with his fellow-worshippers, he would promptly go off and build a church for himself. This was only an aspect of that earlier devotion to sectarian differences which was expressed by a small group of Calvinists who, in 1745, left a church of prevailing Arminian opinions, and gave as a reason, that they "could no longer endure the heretical views and damnable good works" of the church which they left. These are only humorous aspects of a great historic change, in which the impossibility of uniformity in religious expression is seen to be no longer important, and results in an abandonment by the majority of the population of all forms of religious observance.

It must not however be supposed that this growing indifference of great numbers of people to church observance represents a disrespect for religion in itself considered, or in a lowering of the moral standards of the people. There are many proofs to the contrary. The reaction from mythology felt by every scientific mind does not necessarily, nor actually, involve the abandonment of religion as "an everlasting reality". It only means that the results of the laboratory, and the results of the theological seminary have not been able to claim equal attention; and perhaps one of the best signs of the awakened interest upon the part of the training schools for the ministry of religion is that in almost every theological faculty there is now to be found a Chair of Sociology. This means the general admission by the religious teachers that every social question is a moral question, and that no moral question can be lost sight of by the religious teacher.

More superficial causes however, than those named above, have also their potent influence upon the observances of religion as represented by holy days and church services. The bicycle of ten years ago, as a means of escaping from the cities on Sunday, has now been replaced by the automobile, and the little excursion parties of other days find their parallel now in the open golf links which are multiplied around every centre of population. The rational minister cannot very well make protest against these things, for he himself has been invaded by the suspicion that perhaps his preaching is not an exact

substitute for the rational enjoyment of the laity. One must recognize that the habits of religious observance, however elevating or refining and enriching to the nature of man, are not an end in themselves, and their abandonment by large numbers of the people does not represent necessarily a decay of vital religion. The old distinction between the regenerate and the unregenerate was a horizontal line which separated the elect from the lost. That line has now become perpendicular, and separates the serious-minded workers for the general good from the frivolous and thoughtless who in one sense or another live upon the general good which the more serious have created. One cannot forbear to quote that great declaration of James Martineau's, that: "For all time the difference must be infinite between the partisan of beliefs and the man whose heart is set upon reality."

Whatever reaction the United States may witness from this condition of unassorted opinion, multiplied declarations of independence, and erratic forms of idealism, it is quite certain that the moral tone and the interest in practical righteousness steadily ascends. It is inevitable that the people who have "the superstition of being busy" may underrate the value of meditation, and that a people given to exaggerated forms of enterprise may not highly value the influence of prayer. It is difficult for a man to depend upon Heaven when he has the habit of answering his own prayers. The general opinion prevails that sects are no longer to be regarded as competing centres of population. It is almost universally held that what it is necessary for a man to know it must be easy for a man to understand. Obviously if this be the general opinion; the clergy as interpreters of difficulties, and magical revealers of mysteries, must lose their importance, and turn to some nobler task. This nobler task is awaiting their activity on every hand. In the personal life of the people it may be regarded as the deepening of religious conviction, the simplifying of religious expression, the cultivation of the reverences of life, the quickening of the social conscience, the control of the easily-kindled fires of ethical passion, the organization of new and better methods for the current miracles of benevolence.

All this involves a steady purpose to simplify life, to elevate **being** above mere **doing**, to place upon character the directest emphasis, and upon condition and circumstance the right valuation. Wealth is so common in the New World that, it should not be a surprise nor a vanity to its possessors, nor a cause of envy or rancor to its beholders. Its vulgarities must eventually disappear in its utilities, and its material aggrandizement must find some method by which it may be transmuted into culture; and as the church, under whatever name, has its true function in the building of character, under the irresistible guidance of divine

affections, it must still stand as the only institution in this new society which represents that divine and special task. In the degree in which it can maintain itself for this special function will it justify what it has cost to produce and what it still costs to maintain, and so far as it can be free from control in order to a complete self-control, will it realize for America the hope of its most devoted lovers, that the marching host of the New World from east to west shall hear afar in advance of its moving column, the singers who shall praise the "Beauty of holiness". It cannot be claimed that religion is yet adequately free, but it may very well be contended that "it is free to be made free"; and both within the church and outside its fold there is a multitude of believers in the fine word of Herbert Spencer:

"Not as adventitious will the good man think the hope that is in him. The truth he sees clearly he will fearlessly utter, being sure that in doing this he is playing his right part in the world. If he can achieve the end he aims at, well; if not, well also, but not so well".

THE LONGING OF MAN FOR THE INFINITE.

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The one thing in religion that has been laid hold of and developed into a doctrine by Herbert Spencer, is this, that religion has to do with a mystery. "Religions diametrically opposed in their overt dogmas, are perfectly at one in the tacit conviction that the existence of the world with all it contains and all which surrounds it, is a mystery **calling for interpretation.**" The "element which all creeds have in common" is that "there is a problem to be solved." (The italics are mine.) It is forgotten that the essence of religion is to be sought in the **interpretation** of the mystery, in the **solution** of the problem; and the mystery alone, the problem alone, is dealt with as the content of religion. What men understand by religion is the hope it holds out, the light that it casts on their path. It is not despair and darkness which men seek in faith. There is enough of it without faith; and the aid of oracles, prophets, revelations, has not been eagerly invoked with the object of adding to the helplessness and the perplexity of man. As Principal Caird says, "religion by its very nature contains, and must ever contain, an element of mystery; but a religion **all** mystery is an absurd and impossible notion." There are mysteries which are antagonistic to religion, which are the trials of faith; and the power of faith is shown by its subduing their depressing influence. It is only when

"with an eye made quiet by the power
Of harmony, and the deep power of joy,
We see into the life of things,"

that we can experience

"that blessed mood,
In which the burthen of the mystery,
In which the heavy and the weary weight
Of all this unintelligible world,
Is lightened."

It is not "the burthen of the mystery," but the lightening thereof, that belongs to faith. Faith inspires the hope that though now we see through a glass, darkly, we shall hereafter see Truth face to face.

The basic truth of religion is that the Infinite reveals itself to man. It can never be comprehended, but it can be apprehended so as to create a living relationship between man and God. The longing of man is answered by the condescension of God. In ancient Hindu thought, the truth that communion is rendered possible, not by the power of man, but by the power of God, is thus expressed.

"This Self cannot be gained by the Vedas, nor by understanding, nor by great learning. It can be gained by him only whom it chooses. This Self reveals its body (nature) to him." (*Kathopanishad*, 1, 2.23.) The longing for the Infinite, which leads man in his utter need to idealise the finite in love as well as in religion, is not a longing doomed to disappointment. The idealisation of the finite which marks the less advanced forms of faith, is itself a witness of man's continued seeking of the Infinite. And this seeking, emancipated from error, finds definite expression in spiritual Theism, which teaches that spiritual life consists in the realisation of the Infinite—a realisation eternally progressive, never to be complete—in mind and heart and will. This progressive, unending realisation on the part of man is rendered possible by a progressive, unending self-revelation—a revelation eternally progressive, never to be complete—on the part of the Supreme Being. "The human mind has a summit. This summit is the Ideal. God descends, man rises to it." The Ideal is the Infinite stretching into man. We are not, however, conscious of this until the thought of the Infinite has dawned upon our minds.

If there are reasons "for inferring that human beliefs in general, and especially the perennial ones, contain, under whatever disguises of error, some soul of truth," if indeed religious ideas have a source which "must be deep-seated," this soul of truth, this source of religion, must be sought in a direction precisely contrary to that in which Agnosticism has searched for its pearl of great price—"The Power which the universe manifests to us is inscrutable." The one truth which under various "disguises of error" nearly every great religion has affirmed is that, in some way or other, God is accessible to man. This is the root-idea of the doctrines of revelation and incarnation. This verily is the soul of truth that has breathed life into the most irrational creeds. What a pity that in an interpretation of religion by a great thinker, this most vital element of it should be left out and a doctrine diametrically opposite put forward as the essence of religion! It is this faith in the Divine self-revelation that imparts a deep spiritual meaning even to dogmas based

on error and superstition. Great spiritual teachers, so far from regarding the attempt to know God as a fruitless quest, have urged men to seek that knowledge as the one thing needful. The Upanishads: "Know that Being (literally, Person) who ought to be known." (Prasna, VI, 7). "There is nothing higher than this to be known" (Svetasvatara 1, 12), "the knowledge of Brahman, the foundation of all knowledge." (Mandukya, I, 1, 1.) "The lower knowledge is the Rig-Veda, Yajur-Veda, Sama-Veda, Atharva-Veda, Siksha (phonetics), Kalpa (ceremonial), Vyakarana (grammar), Nirukta (etymology), Chhandas (metre), Jyotisha (astronomy); but the highest knowledge is that by which the Indestructible (Brahman) is apprehended."* (Mundaka, I, 1, 5). The Old Testament: "I desire mercy, and not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings." (Hosea, VI, 6.) "The earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord." (Isaiah, XI, 8, 9.) Plato: "The essential Form of Good is the highest object of science." "If we know every thing else perfectly, without knowing this, it will profit us nothing." And this idea of the revelation of the Divine nature to man, which creates an inner affinity among the most divergent creeds, has not been affirmed merely as a speculative principle. It has nourished the religious sentiment and deeply stirred the heart of man. The cry, "Thou art our Father," has come down from the hoary past when our ancestors chanted the hymns of the Vedas. And this faith has imposed law on the conduct of men, who have recognised God as the ordainer of the law of righteousness. Purity of heart has been felt to be the indispensable condition of communion with the Supreme Being.

"He who has not turned away from his wickedness, who is not tranquil, and subdued, or whose mind is not at rest, can never obtain the Self even by intelligence."** Jesus: "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." God has thus been regarded as the highest object of affection as well as of knowledge, and the hope of communion with him has imposed a severe discipline on the human will.

Will it be said that revelation is a superstition of the past? — a dream dispelled by

"these garish summer days, when we
Scarcely believe much more than we can see"?

Wordsworth's answer is:

"In such access of mind, in such high hour
Of visitation from the living God,
Thought was not; in enjoyment it expired."

* Max Müller's Translation. ** Max Müller (slightly altered).

And Emerson: "Men have come to speak of the revelation as somewhat long ago given and done, as if God were dead." "It is the office of a true teacher to show us that God is, not was, that He speaketh, not spake." To teach this is the mission of spiritual Theism. To the members of the Brahmo Samaj this faith is as the bread of life. We believe in revelation not less, but more, than the adherents of traditional creeds. We believe in a continued self-revelation on the part of God. Devendranath Tagore said no one was a true Theist until he had access to the Divine presence. This is the fountain of life that makes us whole and pure. Keshub Chunder Sen said one glimpse of God makes one's spiritual life secure for fifteen years.

In holding that in the "assertion of a Reality utterly inscrutable in nature, Religion finds an assertion essentially coinciding with her own," Agnosticism entirely overlooks essential elements of religion, and it puts an altogether wrong interpretation on that element of it with which we are here most concerned—the sense of the Infinite cherished and cultivated by faith. It is the "consciousness of an Incomprehensible Power" which is the foundation of Agnostic philosophy. And it is "just that consciousness," we are told, "on which Religion dwells." Now in the language of religion, "incomprehensible," as applied to the Infinite, means something very different from what the Agnostic understands by it. Our most intense experiences baffle our powers of comprehension and expression. We habitually speak of deep joy as well as of crushing sorrow as unutterable. We speak of inconceivable anguish and ineffable glory. Things by which we are most deeply impressed, or which far exceed the range of our own powers, convey the suggestion of something incomprehensible. Is not a mother's love a mystery to all but mothers? Is not the martyrdom of Socrates or Jesus incomprehensible to men in general? St. Paul speaks of a peace "which passeth understanding." Wordsworth speaks of "the life which cannot die" as "the mystery." Emerson says that Jesus "saw with open eye the mystery of the soul." And what must be the thoughts of man in the presence of the Infinite? What his language in speaking of it? The Hindu sage speaks of the joy of knowing God as "ineffable bliss." (*Kathopanishad*, II, 2, 14). And Wordsworth

"was only then

Contented, when with bliss ineffable

He felt the sentiment of Being spread

O'er all that moves and all that seemeth still."

It must have been a precisely similar experience which prompted the aspiration uttered in the opening words of *Ishopanishad*: "All things are to be overspread by God." Such longing can be roused only by an

infinitely beautiful Being, not by something utterly inscrutable. It is only an unspeakable glory, and not an unspeakably deep void, that can make man exclaim— "What is man that thou art mindful of him, and the son of man that thou visitest him?" It is an overpowering sense of the greatness of God that makes man say, He cannot be found out by searching. Standing on the verge of unfathomable depths, we are constrained to exclaim, "O Thou Infinite! who can know thee?" But we utter these words in joy, not in despair. We utter them as contemplating the awful Power which it is our blessed privilege to contemplate for evermore, not as denying the right of man to contemplate it. We utter them as in the presence of the Infinite, not as declaring that man has no access to that presence. Spencer notices with satisfaction, in the "cultivated theology of the present day," such expressions as that "a God understood would be no God at all." The same thought is more beautifully expressed in ancient Hindu theology: "I neither do not know it nor know it: he among us who understands this, knows it (Brahman)." (*Kenopanishad*, II, 2): "It (Brahman) is known to him who thinks he does not know it, not known to him who thinks he knows it." (*Ibid*, II, 3). The consciousness of the Infinite is not a thing of to-day. It has swept down the ages like a golden stream of thought from the dim past.

The Infinite which is related to the religious sentiment is not an object of inference. "It is impossible," says Spencer, "to consider the First Cause as finite. But if it cannot be finite, it must be infinite." This is not the language of spiritual longing or spiritual experience. This is not the Infinite which man "cannot bury under the Finite." Worship has been called "the kneeling of the soul": this is not the Infinite before which the soul would kneel for ever. Tennyson's brief prayer, when bowed by affliction, was: "O Thou Infinite! Amen." You would not address this Infinite as "O Thou." The Infinite recognised by the spiritual faculty is directly and immediately present to the mind as the supreme reality. God, says Victor Hugo, is "the Living Infinite." The sense of the Infinite is a distinct, positive element in the constitution of the human mind. It is one of the organs of the soul. It may exist, though only in an imperfect form, apart from religion. But it is only by union with the religious sentiment that it becomes most definite and attains its highest development. In whatever way the sense of the Infinite may be awakened in us, it cannot influence our spiritual life until we have an immediate, intuitive consciousness of the Infinite as the highest object of knowledge, love and reverence. A glimpse of the Infinite as a living reality is a revelation. Therewith begins a gradual transformation, or rather a gradual unveiling, of life and nature, and there come

suggestions of the Infinite from things which gave us no hints of it before. A lovely form, or a melody heard from afar to melt into silence, or a delicate fragrance, acts as a spell to reveal the Unseen, inspiring the soul with a sacred desire which is itself a fulfilment.

"Though Omnipresence," says Spencer, "is unthinkable, yet, as experience discloses no bounds to the diffusion of phenomena, we are unable to think of limits to the presence of this Power." This shows the wide difference between the idea of the Infinite deduced from the finite, and the same idea as a positive reality supplying a key to the interpretation of the finite. The true indication of what we really understand by the Infinite is our tendency to take it or the finite as the ultimate point of reference in the light of which things are to be viewed. We may indeed ascend to the Infinite from the finite; but when the ascent has really been achieved, we take it, not in theory alone, but in thought and feeling, as the ultimate measure of things. The negative idea of omnipresence given above cannot be a source of spiritual joy, as when that idea is present to the mind as a positive truth which is its own witness: "He has gone round (to the ends of the universe)." By no process of reasoning can we reach the Infinite on its intensive side, to be realised in feeling as well as in thought, as the Source of all life, the awful, measureless depth of which would be suggested, if we were pure in heart and had true faith, by a pebble as well as by the starry heavens. Omnipresence is inferred from the fact that "experience discloses no bounds to the diffusion of phenomena." Whence could it be inferred that an uncontained beauty becomes visible in melody? What arguments would show the Divine holiness reflected in everything bright and beautiful?

A uniplanar Infinite, of which the only thing affirmed is that it is an Incomprehensible Power, not only does not suffice for the needs of the soul; it does not even suffice for the needs of art or of true intellectual culture. "The beauty of which we are in quest," says Sir Joshua Reynolds, "is general and intellectual; it is an idea that subsists only in the mind; the sight never beheld it, nor has the hand expressed it; it is an idea residing in the breast of the artist, which he is always labouring to impart, and which he dies at last without imparting." Here is an aspect of man's relation to the Infinite, recognised outside of "dogmatic theology," which cannot be caught in the net of the Agnostic scheme. Here is a vital truth, uttered with unquestionable sincerity, which is fatal to the theory of an Infinite absolutely inscrutable in nature. The Infinite being the supreme reality, the universe abounds in hints of it, any one of which, if followed far enough, will lead to it. It being the soul of things, any aspect of them, dwelt on with deep reflection,

will reveal it. "Both the spirit of Greece and the spirit of Judaea," says Matthew Arnold, "reach the infinite, which is the true goal of all poetry and all art,—the Greek spirit by beauty, the Hebrew spirit by sublimity." Lo! Matthew Arnold, affecting ignorance of the art of philosophising, here philosophises deeply, and, here at any rate, he has the truth on his side. The human mind is impelled to seek the Infinite, now seeking access through this entrance, now through that. Shelley, like the Greek mind, entered by the door of beauty. But the Infinite, when revealed to us as the Life of all life, cannot be confined to any one plane of being. Every great attribute of the outer or the inner world, carrying with it the assurance of its own worth, is felt to be a revelation of the Divine nature. Agnosticism is consistent in denying the rationality of worship, for power alone cannot be an object of worship. It appeals to the religious sentiment, only when it is an attribute of Mind and expresses the authority of a Sovereign Will ruling the universe.

"From fear of it (Brahman) does fire burn, from fear of it does the sun shine; from fear of it do Indra (the god of rain) and Vayu (air) and Death, the fifth, run (along their respective courses)." (*Kathopanishad*, II. 3. 3).

But the moment we predicate of the Infinite anything but power, we are charged with anthropomorphism. There is no escape for us from it unless we mount the bleak heights of sceptical philosophy. As, however, we are of the universe and in it, there must be some affinities between it and ourselves. The mind and heart of man must bear some traces of the Source whence he comes. If we may at all rely on the testimony of consciousness, all our instincts, impulses and sentiments do not stand on the same footing. Some of them we fearlessly own and act upon in spite of resistance and persecution, others make cowards of us to ourselves; some make the universe joyous and beautiful to us, robbing even death of its sting; others make it cheerless, repulsive, terrible. We must take this as a clue to the nature of our relations with the universe, unless we are resolved to shut our eyes to the mystic inscriptions on nature and the mind of man that tell us of a Whence and Whither. "The emphatic Thou shalt" of the moral sentiment, which is as real as anything we know, is a clear revelation of the allegiance we owe to the Cause of our being. It is as truly a manifestation of the Infinite as religious beliefs are "modes of manifestation of the Unknowable."* The most transient blush caused by the thought of a wrong word uttered or a wrong feeling cherished, is homage paid to the Righteousness of God. Even the great modern champion of Agnosticism

* Spencer, *First Principles*, p. 90, ed. 1904.

relies for moral guidance, as we have noticed before, upon beliefs "produced in him by the Unknown Cause." What words can declare the sanctity of pure affection and the vileness of sensuality as they are declared by our feelings? When I press my child to my bosom, I feel I am in entire accord with the Spirit of the universe. When I cherish a low desire I bring discord in the place of this harmony: I cannot stand unabashed before the World-Soul. It is in worship and communion that we are awakened to a sense of our unholiness. Standing in the presence of the All-holy, we feel how unworthy we are in His sight. Through what agony of repentance have we to seek the peace of God! No tree would cast a shadow if there were not a sun above; and the very fact that sin casts a black shadow over the heart shows that we are encompassed by realms of light. It is strange that where there is so much insistence on there being germs of truth in old beliefs, it should be ignored that there is a soul of truth in the words that God made man in His own image. There is a Divine in man. The more man progresses in moral enlightenment, the more clearly does he discern the Divine in himself. We cannot ascend to the Infinite except through the highest that is in us. This, however, is only a part of the truth. It is the light of God which enables us to recognise the godlike in ourselves. As I have said before, the Infinite, when once known as the supreme reality, supplies a key to the interpretation of the finite.

"It seems strange," says Spencer, "that men should suppose the highest worship to lie in assimilating the object of their worship to themselves. Not in asserting a transcendent difference, but in asserting a certain likeness, consists the element of their creed which they think essential." Worship does require a difference; the object of adoration must stand on a far higher plane than the worshipper. But it is impossible without some affinities of nature, some points of contact, between the two. We have said before that there may be a sense of the Infinite without religion. And it is true that there has been religion without a sense of the Infinite. Theistic writers have admitted that "there is only too much in religious and theological literature" to justify the censure of Spencer.* But the essential truths of religion should no more be discarded on account of the errors with which they have been mixed up than science should be suppressed on account of the falsehoods taught in its name. The religious consciousness is of such a complex character, the relation of man to God is so many-sided, that some of these aspects may naturally be seized and insisted on without others being recognised, and thus there may result one-sidedness,

* Ward, *Naturalism and Agnosticism*, II, p. 268.

disproportion, error. The consciousness of the Infinite as related to the religious sentiment is reached by the human mind in an advanced stage of spiritual culture. The question for us is, whether an assertion of man's realition to God as the highest object of love and adoration is consistent with an emphatic affirmation of the Divine infinitude. The dividing line between the Infinite of sceptical thought and the Infinite of religion is an appeal to the moral and emotional nature of man. Agnosticism discards such an appeal in order to avoid anthropomorphic conceptions of the First Cause. The vital question we have to consider is, whether the recognition of a "transcendent difference" between man as a finite being and the First Cause as the Infinite leaves any scope for the exercise of religious feeling. Is such a recognition consistent with the belief that man can have no true peace and joy without a knowledge of God? Is it consistent with an attitude of loving contemplation, of intense longing and joyous adoration on the part of man towards the Infinite? Can man rejoice in the Infinite? I have said before that the essential idea of religion is a revelation of the Divine nature to man: Is the idea of such a revelation consistent with a realisation of the truth that God is infinite? The question is one of fact, not of abstract reasoning; and the answer is to be sought in the history of spiritual experience.

Let us turn to ancient Hindu thought. The realisation of God as the One in the many, as immanent in man and nature, is declared to be a source of abiding peace:

"Grasping without hands, hasting without feet, he sees without eyes, he hears without ears. He knows all things knowable, but there is no one to know him. They call him the first and great Person. The Self, smaller than small, greater than great, is hidden in the heart of the creature. One who has left all grief behind, sees the Lord, free from desire, and (his) glory, by the grace of the Creator (the Lord)".* (Svetasvatáropanishad, III, 19. 20.)

"The Eternal in the transient, the Consciousness of conscious beings, who, though one, fulfils the desires of many, — to the wise who see Him in themselves, not to others, belongs eternal peace." (Káthopaniśhad, II, 2. 13.)

"By truthfulness, indeed by penance, right knowledge, and abstinence must that Self be always gained; the Self whom anchorites purged of their sins see is bright and like a light within the body."** (Mundakopaniśhad, III, 1, 5.)

* I have partly adopted the translation of Max Müller, partly that of S. Tattvabhushan.

** Max Müller, slightly altered.

"He is not apprehended by the eye, nor by speech, nor by the other senses, nor by penance or good works. When a man's nature has become purified by the serene light of knowledge, he sees that Indivisible one by meditation."* (Ibid, III, I. 8.)

Only a glimpse of the glory of God could have inspired utterances like the following:

"The sun does not shine there, nor the moon and the stars, nor these lightnings, much less this fire. After that shining One does everything shine. All this shines by His light." (Svetasvatropanishad, VI, 14; Mundaka, II, 2, 10.)

"He who knows the bliss of that Brahman, from whence all speech with the mind, turns away, unable to reach it, fears nothing."** (Taittiriopanishad, II, 9.)

"The Infinite is bliss. There is no bliss in anything finite. The Infinite only is bliss."*** (Chhandogyoponishad, VII, 23.)

Plato, like the spiritual teachers of ancient India, regards God as the highest object of knowledge, and he views all finite lovelines in the light of the supreme loveliness of God. "In the world of knowledge, the essential Form of Good is the limit of our inquiries, and can barely be perceived; but, when perceived, we cannot help concluding that it is in every case the source of all that is bright and beautiful." One can speak thus, only when the light of the Divine Beauty has dawned on one's soul. And it is in the contemplation of that Beauty that the Hindu and the Greek mind are both awakened to a consciousness of immortality. Communion with the Supreme discloses a relationship too sacred to terminate with earthly life. Svetasvatara: "By knowing Him alone does one pass beyond death." Plato: "If man had eyes to see the true beauty, the Divine beauty, pure and clear and unalloyed." "Do you not see that in that communion, only beholding beauty with the eye of the mind, he will be enabled . . . to be immortal." And Emerson — who among modern spiritual teachers has affirmed the infinity of God so emphatically as he? "We cannot say," he says, "God is self-conscious or not self-conscious, for the moment we cast our eye on that dread nature it soars infinitely out of all definition and dazzles all inquest."**** Could Spencer wish for anything better? And what is his testimony on man's relation to the Infinite? He "seeks counsel of it in his doubts, repairs to it in his dangers, prays to it in his undertakings. It seems to him the face which the Creator uncovers to his

* Max Müller; but in translating the last line I have followed S. Tattvabhusan.

** Max Müller. *** Max Müller. **** Quoted in Cabot's *Life*, I, 342.

child.** He hears the comforting voice of God in affliction.** He parts from the contemplation of the universal beauty with the feeling that it "rather belongs to ages than to mortal life."

It is a matter of the deepest thankfulness to us that in the Brahma Samaj there have been seekers of God whose inmost experiences are in entire harmony with these precious testimonies on the intimate nature of man's relationship to God. By example as well as by precept they have taught men to seek abiding peace and joy in communion with the Supreme Being. And these teachings have borne precious fruit in the lives of those from whom it has met with loyal acceptance. The hymns of Raja Rammohan Ray (the founder of the Brahma Samaj), which created a new epoch in the religious poetry of Bengal, are marked by an austere simplicity of faith. They remind us of the transitoriness of all earthly things and urge us to seek to know the Infinite Spirit pervading all finite things, the One revealed in the many. And this faith, at once so simple and lofty, was a source of deep spiritual joy to this great man. Tears would often flow down his cheeks as he listened to a hymn, and he would sometimes embrace others joyfully in such moments of fervour. The severe moral discipline his faith imposed on him is shown by the fact that prayer was with him a constant habit. He told Miss Hare that whenever an evil thought entered his mind he prayed***. And the great lesson of the life of Devendranath Tagore, who breathed a new life into the Brahma Samaj when it lost all vitality after its founder had passed away, is the deep blessedness of communion with the Infinite. His Autobiography, a work of unique value, is as wonderful a story as any that ever was written of a remarkable conversion, brought about by his having suddenly experienced a heavenly joy and peace which weaned his heart for ever from the pleasures of this world, and followed by years of passionate seeking which was at last crowned by a lasting union with God. He was the instrument chosen by Providence for enriching the spiritual life of the Brahma Samaj with the lesson of communion — a lesson impressed on our minds by a life abounding in wide spaces of silence and seclusion filled by deep spiritual blessedness. Absorbed in meditation or rapt in communion, he would sometimes entirely forget his surroundings. He would wander far from human habitations along a lone mountain path while darkness spread over the earth, or would remain seated for hours in the open air insensible to the fierce rays of the blazing tropical sun. He would

* Quoted in Garnett's *Life*, p. 68.

** *Threnody*.

*** Mary Carpenter's *Last Days of Rammohan Roy*, ed 1875 p. 147.

pace up and down his apartment at dead of night repeating the words **Saparyagat** "He has gone round (to the ends of the Universe)" — or some other favourite text. His voice would tremble with emotion as he uttered the words **Rasobaisah** ("God is sweetness indeed") or **Bhumalbasukham** ("The Infinite only is bliss"). Keshub Chunder Sen, who was ordained a minister of the Brahma Samaj by Devendranath Tagore, parted from him after having worked together with him for a few years, as on certain matters of vital importance their ideals pointed in widely different directions. But in respect of the truth that the right of communion belongs to every seeker of God and that it is the highest privilege of spiritual life, there in perfect agreement between them. Salvation, "the soul's highest heaven", says Keshub Chunder Sen, "is nothing but communion". "In the perfection of **yoga** or communion is the perfection of our heavenly life or spiritual felicity."

We have said before that the one truth which nearly every great religion has affirmed is that, in some way or other, God is accessible to man. The faith cherished and inculcated by the Brahma Samaj is that God is directly and immediately accessible to every seeker. It is the mission of universal Theism — the larger faith which is dawning upon the world — to free the doctrine of revelation from the limitations imposed upon it by creeds based on tradition and authority and thus remove the barriers falsely set up between man and God. It is the first duty of every teacher of spiritual Theism to help to lift the heavy burden which has so long weighed upon the longing of the human soul for union with God, — the burden of the doctrine that we cannot hear the Divine voice as it was heard by a chosen few in the past, we cannot contemplate the Divine glory which was revealed to a prophet here or a seer there long ago, and we must therefore be contented with their reports of what they heard and saw. This pernicious error the Brahma Samaj has sought to dispel, not by abstract reasoning merely, but by testimonies of spiritual experience. And is not theology without spiritual experience like science without the study of nature? **Anandarupamamritam yadbibhati** "He that reveals himself (literally shines forth) as bliss and sweetness": this, which forms a part of the creed of the Brahma Samaj, expresses a simple and absolute truth. A direct, immediate self-revelation on the part of God to the soul is the only true revelation. It is the one sure ground of faith. It discloses how intimate is the relationship between God and the human soul. None can be a mediator between man and God; for none can be nearer to man, none can love him with a deeper love, than God. It is God that mediates between man and man, between man and nature. When once we have had the consciousness of His presence in the soul, our eye is

opened to the Divine within us and in all things around us. All spiritual teaching is of value only as leading men to seek to know God and inspiring them with courage and hope in facing the trials of spiritual life. If there is anything regarding which we cannot be contented with the reports of others, it is the nature of our relationship to God. The seeker of infinite beauty cannot be contented with accounts of how others have felt in its presence. He cannot take aught else, even the whole universe, as a substitute for it. The wisest teachers have urged men to seek God **within themselves**. **Kathopanishad** (quoted above). "To the wise who see Him in themselves, not to others, belongs eternal peace." Jesus: "The Kingdom of God is **within** you." "In the outer world," says Devendranath Tagore, "we see the image of God; in the soul alone can we see His true self. In the beauties of nature, in the loveliness of the human face, in the virtuous acts of the pious, we can but see a reflection of the Divine nature. In the soul alone is His living self present. It is there that He is revealed as the True, the All-knowing, the Infinite." It is in communion that we have an immediate, overpowering consciousness of love, holiness, beauty, as attributes of the Divine nature. We no longer reason, we have a direct vision of the truths which it is our highest aspiration to realise. A single accent of the Divine voice dispels all doubt and despondency in a moment. "My God says 'I am' and all doubt is at an end."* When a glimpse of God floods the heart with love and sweetness, the humblest believer becomes a witness of the truth that God is Love. In this direct revelation of the Divine love and in the unveiling of infinite beauty to the human soul, we have the crowning evidence of immortality. For there is thus revealed a relationship which is too sacred to be severed.

The truth of these revelations is attested by the fact that we cannot command them at our will. We have to wait for them. When a vision of glory has passed away, we have to seek a return of it by earnest prayer and loyal obedience to the Divine will. The tides of the inner life are acknowledged by all seekers of God to be one of the great trials of spiritual life; and one noteworthy mark of spiritual strength is the power to wait patiently for a return of the heavenly gleams that have vanished after having shone for a few brief moments on our path. With what agony of soul have men thirsted for the light of the Divine presence when it has disappeared after having given them a foretaste of heavenly bliss! Secondly, the truth of these visions is proved by satisfied need and by the fulness of peace and joy which they bring. Sacred joy has the power to rob the bitterest afflictions of their sting, to revive

* Keshub Chunder Sen, "Asia's Message to Europe."

lost hopes, to clothe the world in a heavenly beauty. Profound overpowering joy alone can inspire words like these: "I am not now on earth, nor in heaven; I am in that highest world, I live and move and have my being in the midst of the glory of God. The mind cannot comprehend this joy, how could words utter it?" And then, we have evidence of still higher value in the moral exaltation which a sense of the nearness of God brings with it. What words can express the joy of holiness with which we are filled when we stand in the presence of God? Then do we realise that holiness is something positive and not the mere absence of sin, it is to the soul as fragrance is to flowers, or as radiance is to the stars. We have then a revelation of the unity of the Good and the Beautiful. The light of these visions discloses the hidden stains of the soul, and we are constrained to struggle after inward righteousness. Of the truth of spiritual experience no higher evidence can be demanded or offered than this of realised moral ideals and of its serving as a power to chasten and elevate our inmost nature. Lastly, we are struck by a noteworthy fact as we listen to the utterances of the seekers of God — the community of thought and sentiment that prevails among them. No thoughtful mind can fail to be impressed by the striking similarities of experience to which they give expression. And wherein is such concurrence of testimony more notable than in the expression of a longing for the Infinite which nothing can subdue, and of a deep ineffable bliss when the soul has a vision of the Unseen? The spiritual sympathies thus created draw together hearts separated as widely as possible by every circumstance of earthly life. And there is thus foreshadowed a noble spiritual Theism which is destined to be the common faith of all humanity. It is true, as we have said before, that there has been religion without a longing for the Infinite. But the highest stage in the ascent of faith is marked by such a longing, and that cannot be a universal religion which does not seek to satisfy it. For universal religion must rise to the level of the highest experiences of the soul; it must satisfy the deepest longings of our nature; it must enable us to know and feel the best that man has known and felt. It is a spiritual law that we are bound to seek the highest that is accessible to us. And the human soul has risen to the loftiest height, it has known the deepest blessedness, only in communion with the Infinite.

THE UNITARIAN MOVEMENT IN POLAND FROM 1560—1660.

BY PROF. H. VON MERCZYNG, OF ST. PETERSBURG.

The Republic* of Poland comprised in the sixteenth century an enormous realm which extended from the Oder to the Dwina and Dnieper, from the Baltic to the Black Sea. — It was in this territory, which was larger than the German Empire of today, that the religious renaissance movement achieved its greatest triumphs. This was due to the fact that, with the exception of little Transylvania, it was the only kingdom, where under Sigismundus Augustus, last of the Jagellones, religious freedom existed supreme. It is true that under the reign of Sigismund I, the predecessor of Augustus, the Reformation (mostly according with the Lutheran pattern) found its way into the country in 1520, and that as early as then an adherent of Unitarianism was to be found in the person of Catharina Zalaszowska Wajglowa who was burnt at Cracow; but all these beginnings were very feeble ones as the Catholic ecclesiastics had the supreme power under Sigismund I. in all religious matters in Poland. It was only under Sigismundus Augustus that the Parliaments in 1552 and 1562, cancelled the so-called „Execution“ of the Ecclesiastical Courts, that is to say, the condemnatory verdicts of the Catholic archbishops had no longer any exequatour against heretics in Poland as far as the State was concerned; finally, in 1573 general tolerance „inter dissidentes de religione christiana“ was declared by Parliament to be a fundamental law of the Republic.

Consequently in 1552 there began a general reformation movement in Poland. Hundreds of Protestant communities were established throughout the country, and half of the senators as well as most of the provincial deputies joined the Evangelical Church; in fact one of the best known living Catholic Polish historians, Dr. Bobrzynski, the present governor of Galicia, is of the opinion that every one prominent by

* Poland although it had kings was officially known as a Republic, the Kings being elected theoretically by all those entitled to vote, i. e. all noblemen. Practically, the election of the Kings was Poland's greatest misfortune.

intelligence, position, and influence in Poland at that time abandoned the Catholic Church. The climax of this movement was reached in 1570 at the Convention of Sandomir where the three Polish evangelical national Churches, the Lutheran, Calvinist and Bohemian Brothers founded a Union, which unfortunately was not often acknowledged later on. The reasons why this promising reformatory movement in Poland came to an end do not come within the scope of this article; English and German readers will find the best information on that subject in the works of Count Valerian Krasinski*, works which still maintain their literary repute. Count Krasinski belonged to one of the few Polish noble families who adhered to the Protestant faith into the middle of the nineteenth century.

We will limit ourselves here to outlining the Unitarian movement. It is a psychological fact that every revolution goes further than was intended originally. Servetus took the same course as Calvin, but he went further; after the National Meeting in France of 1789 came the National Convention of 1793. The same applies to Poland. When the Polish Protestants (by reason of scriptural research) abandoned the doctrine of justification held by the Catholic Church and adopted the *sola fide* of the Reformers as the fundamental pillar of their religious views, many of them proceeded to criticise the Trinitarian and Christological dogmas of the ancient Churches. The influence of many Italians, including Laelius Sozzini (the uncle of Faustus Sozzini who played such a prominent part in the Unitarian movement in Poland later on) who thanks to religious tolerance were living in Cracow, was also responsible for this. After 1560 Gregor Pauli, the pastor of the Cracow Evangelical community, became the most pronounced champion of the antitrinitarian and new Christological views. In 1563 about 30 communities around Cracow seceded from the Polish Evangelical Church and established the "ecclesia minor", the Polish Unitarian Church. Simultaneously Unitarian views spread in the Eastern half of the Polish Republic in Lithuania where the head of the Reformation movement, Prince Nicholas, the Black Radzivil, governor of Lithuania, who unfortunately died in 1565, became much affected with antitrinitarian doctrines.

But the further progress of the Unitarian movement in the decades following was impeded to a great extent by an extraordinary development of sects in the bosom of the antitrinitarian Church. So many religious

* Historical Sketch of the Rise, Progress and Decline of the Reformation in Poland and of the influence which the scriptural doctrines have exercised on that country in literary, moral and political respects, by Count Valerian Krasinski, London 1838. To the Protestants of the British Empire and of the United States dedicated by a Polish Protestant. French and German translations have been made and a Polish one in 1900.

differences developed in this Church from 1570 to 1590 that, perhaps they can only be equalled by the number during the early days of Christendom. Almost all the theological views that had been combatted at the Conventions at Nicea, Ephesus and Chalcedon as heretical, cropped up again in Poland. What had been condemned by our forefathers at Chalcedon, evoked enthusiasm towards the end of the XVI century amongst the Polish noblemen at their country seats from the Dnieper to the Oder. Monarchists, Monotheletes, Sabellians, Nonadorants etc. etc. were all represented. Convention followed convention and fought among themselves. Tolstoy's doctrine — the non-resistance to evil — was dogmatically and practically worked out in detail by one of the Polish sects, which even prohibited its adherents from carrying weapons and accepting civic positions. Again the Nonadorants — as in Transylvania — inclined to an almost rationalistic view of religion. To investigate the doctrines of all these Polish antitrinitarian sects is a task that has not yet been accomplished, as, unfortunately, the whole of their literature, which is exclusively in Polish, was destroyed during the Catholic reaction in the 17th and 18th centuries, only a few rare specimens being preserved in various libraries.

In any case the chief heads of the sects at that time, whom we know of, were: Simeon Budny, pastor in Lithuania, who was an extreme rationalist and who inclined towards Davidis; Farnowski, preacher in the foot-hills of the Polish Carpathians, who upheld the pre-existence of Christ; Czechowic, preacher at Lubilia, who was strongly inclined towards Anabaptism, and who, denying the pre-existence, combatted Farnowski; and numerous others (Petrus Gonesius, preacher at Wengrow etc.). Although this abundant development of sects pointed towards a very active religious movement it might very easily have been the grave of the whole movement at that time (about 1600) for, as contemporaries report, the eternal disputes and quarrels turned many away to rejoin the Roman Catholic Church.

But the decay of the Unitarian Church in Poland was to come about differently and there were many glorious times for it still in store. The Polish Antitrinitarians owe this to Faustus Sozzini (Socinus) the Italian Reformer and logician, who endeavoured to unite the most varied sects into one Polish Antitrinitarian Church which, after his death (1604) was called the Socinian Church, in addition to the official name of "Polish brothers" (*fratres Poloni*).

Socinus, who, being an Italian nobleman was received by the Polish aristocracy with open arms, and who was married to an aristocratic Polish lady, was able to bring about the desired union. A small town named Rakow, about 50 miles to the North of Cracow, and which had

been founded by a Count Sieninski a Polish Antitrinitarian nobleman in 1570, became the mental centre of the Polish Unitarians, who then became identical with the Socinians. A celebrated Unitarian school* was founded there which was almost similar to a University and was attended by about 1000 students; the chief printing establishment of the Socinians was situated there, and all the Socinian Conventions were held there. Socinus hardly survived the new era of progress for the Unitarian doctrine in Poland; he died on the 3rd of March at Lucawice, a Unitarian community about 30 kilometres to the South East of Cracow. His chief work the Rakow dogmatic Catechism, which united all Polish Unitarians, was only printed in Polish after his death, at Rakow in 1605; later on the well-known Latin translation followed: the Catechesis Ecclesiarum Polonicarum Unum Deum Patrem, illiusque Filium unigenitum, una cum Spiritu Sancto ex S. Scriptura confitentium; later on this was translated into almost all the languages of the civilised world**. Socinus was assisted in this Catechism by the first Unitarian theologians of Poland, namely, Moskovzewski, Crell, Sand, and others. By a most peculiar coincidence the monument of Sozzini has remained untouched by the storms that swept over it*** although, as has already been mentioned, the grave is empty and the bones of the great "heretic" thrown out long ago. Socinus's other work in Poland, his spiritual work, has also been destroyed, but quite half a century after his death.

Meantime, strengthened by harmony, Unitarianism continued to develop constantly. Towards 1620 it spread greatly in the Polish Palatinate Volhynien, where the peasants — chiefly Ruthenians, or Little Russians — belonged mainly to the Greek Church. I have been successful in proving that**** the celebrated pseudo-Demetrius went over to the Socinian Church on his first appearance in Poland, and that as Tsar of Moscow in 1606 at Moscow received a Polish Socinian deputation from the Convention at Rakow.

But the end was at hand. The Catholic reaction in Poland under Sigismundus III (1588—1632) was in full swing, and although the fundamental law of tolerance was not repealed, in practice it was constantly being encroached on.

A charge was brought against the Socinians in the Parliament of 1638 to the effect that two students of the Rakow school shot with

* In one of my works published by the Cracow Academy of Sciences I have pointed out the high standard of mathematics and natural sciences at this University.

** The English translation was condemned in London under James I.

*** The author visited it in 1897, and a second time in 1910 with the general secretary of the Congress Berlin Revd. Dr. Wendte.

**** In the Historical Magazine, Warachaw, and in Russian by Pater Pierling, S. J. in the „Russian antiquities“ Russkaja Starina.

bow and arrows at a cross that stood in a field. This accusation, which seems to have been false, formed the reason for suppressing the school, the press and community of Rakow in perpetuity, and for introducing Catholic service into the church. Since that time — almost three centuries ago — Rakow, which was well known throughout Europe as a prosperous town, has sunk into a miserable village where only a few hundred Jewish inhabitants carry on a sordid existence.

The blow at Rakow was followed by others. On the Unitarians transferring their school to Kiesielin, near Wolhynien, the Parliament closed that school in 1644, also on a shallow pretence. The Parliament of 1647 then banished the Unitarian theologian, Jonas Szlichtyng from Bukowiec, and his Polish book, in which the Unitarian doctrine was defended, was condemned to be burnt. It is true that many people protested against this outrage but the protest had no effect against superior force — *vana sine viribus ira*.

At last the end came. In 1655 the republic was swarmed over by enemies from all sides. Sweden under Karl Gustav conquered almost the whole of the crown lands, whereas the Eastern Provinces (Lithuania) were occupied by Russian troops. A general uprising, however, saved the Republic on that occasion. Although curtailed, the Polish Commonwealth was saved. The uprising, however, was accompanied by a great display of religious Catholic fanaticism. After the peace, revenge was demanded on all sides on the Dissenters, the infidels and the heretics, to whom the Swedes, the enemies of the Republic, belonged. The Polish Evangelicals were at that time too numerous to be banished, consequently revenge was taken on the "Deniers of Christ" the "Arians" (the Unitarians were called by this name in the Polish law). At the Parliament at Warsaw in 1658 it was declared that the law of tolerance of 1573 did not extend to deniers of Christ; all Unitarians were requested either to become Catholics within three years, or to sell their estates and quit the country for ever. Simultaneously, the Unitarian service was prohibited as well as the adoption of the Unitarian faith. The Parliament of 1659 curtailed the term to one year, and the 10th July 1660 proved the last day of the Unitarians in Poland. Several hundred families belonging to the highest Polish nobility sold their belongings for a pittance and quitted like beggars their country, leaving home, money, dignities and positions behind them. Even to-day, two hundred and fifty years later, we must bow our heads in reverence when we think of the conviction of faith that accompanied the exodus of these poor Polish brothers, as they were called.

Transylvania chiefly, and then East Prussia, the governor of which at that time was the Polish Evangelical Prince Boguslaus Radzivil,

were their places of refuge. Up to the end of the XVIII century Polish communities could be found scattered here and there in those countries. Then they disappeared. The Polish Unitarians amalgamated with the Hungarian Unitarian population and those in East Prussia with the German Evangelicals. And only the Polish names, which are sometimes identical with those of the highest Polish aristocracy, remain to remind us of the great share that in former times the Republic of Poland took in the religious development of mankind.

I take the opportunity here of offering my most hearty thanks to my esteemed Unitarian friends in Kolozsvar (Transylvania), Herr Peterfi Denes and Dr. Boros, professor at the theological faculty there, for the most kind assistance they rendered me on my two visits to Kolozsvar in order to search for forgotten Polish Convention protocols.*

*) Professor von Merczyngi was successful in discovering in Hungary copies of the protocols of the first 7 years of the Polish Synode, 1560—1567.

A GERMAN-AMERICAN PROFESSOR AT MEADVILLE SEMINARY

BY PROFESSOR CLAYTON R. BOWEN, OF MEADVILLE THEOLOGICAL
SCHOOL, MEADVILLE (PA.)

I am not going to make a speech. I am here to bring you a greeting and a message of hope from the German Free Churches in America. I want to give you a short account of an undertaking, which appears to me to be most intimately bound up with the spirit and the aims of this international Congress for Free Christianity.

One of the most important of the many factors which have made such a congress at all possible, is the frequent interchange of students and teachers between the universities of different nations. All of us here today gladly acknowledge the fact that Germany occupies the first place as the alma mater of all modern theologians.

Now the province of free-handed science is in the fullest sense international. Here, if anywhere, must be found complete unison in the working together of all peoples; and my object now is to speak to you of an attempt at such a harmony as this. You knew how immense has been in previous years the number of German emigrants to America. We, for our know part, that in almost all our cities one of the most valuable factors in the population, is that which consists in that large number of citizens, who are, either by birth or origin, of German descent.

At the time of this great emigration, the Germans always brought along with them to their new country their own church. Many, of course, connected themselves with communities which already existed in their new home, communities of a Lutheran or Reform tendency, or else they were very pleased to see such established among them. Many others, however, united to form free Evangelical churches without connecting themselves in any way with an older church. As early as the eighteenth century, a number of such free communities arose in the eastern states; and there are some in New York, Baltimore and Philadelphia which are already 250 years old.

These communities have all of them an entirely free constitution; everyone exists for itself without any synod or other higher ecclesiastical commission. Many of them have grown very largely and have magnificent churches and as much money as they want. But it is just their independence which constitutes their weakness. They are too isolated. They have no life in common with other similar bodies. This has long been a source of complaint, but great unwillingness has been shown to attack in any way the complete independence of individual churches. In the central states there are today about 200 of these free German communities, especially in the towns of Pittsburg, Cleveland, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and the districts around them. Now in the last few years, urgent necessity has been felt for some joint communal action. Discontent is rife among them in spite of the large number of members, in spite of the large attendance at their services, in spite of their richness in worldly goods. It is felt that their spiritual and religious life is suffering on account of this isolation. The only thing which has up to the present held them in a sort of way together is a union of preachers to which almost all the ministers belong.

Now these communities, existing as they do independent of any higher ecclesiastical authority, are, from a theological point of view, perfectly free. Their liberal theology has kept pace with that of the German institutions and they share the standpoint taken by the American Unitarian churches and the other liberal bodies, which are gathered together at this congress. Perhaps the most serious difficulty in their position is the increasing lack of candidates for the ministry educated up to the point required. The German theological faculties in America are, all of them, strongly orthodox in their tenets; the American liberals, of course, have no knowledge of the German language, or of the customs in vogue among the German communities.

There was, however, a theological faculty which always showed deep sympathy with these communities, and always welcomed their students, and a considerable number of capable young men have been educated as pastors for these congregations in the course of the last 25 years at the "Meadville Theological School". This institution was founded in the year 1844 by the generosity of a Dutchman, Harm Jan Huidekoper, of blessed memory. A man of deeply religious personality, he called himself, as did most of the free spirits in America at that time, a Unitarian. The new institution was founded by him with the help of his son, Friederich, who was a well-known theologian, and the author of very valuable investigations of old church history and of the New Testament. The school, however, was not established

as a distinctively Unitarian school; it was determined according to the express wish of the founder, that it was to be only a free school of theology, which was not to be in any respect under the control of a church or ecclesiastical body. In the year 1846, the school was granted a charter by the state of Pennsylvania, and in the documents it was again expressly declared, that this institution does not and must not stand in any relationship to any church community. Such a school was at that time quite unheard of in America, and even today there are only a few theological seminaries which, like Meadville, have no connection with any particular sect. It is well known what an enormous number of sects there are in America and how far the idea of division into sects is carried. The Unitarian is almost the only one which stands in friendly relationship with this school, which is much valued by them and receives liberal contributions from them towards its upkeep and extension.

Now all American professors are well acquainted with the intellectual life and the methods of the German universities, and most of them have studied in Germany for a longer or shorter period. Our curriculum is drawn up according to the pattern of a German course in theology; the names of Weizsäcker and Holtzmann, Pfeleiderer and Harnack, Herrmann and Eucken are daily mentioned in our lecture rooms. The study of the German language and the reading of German theological classics have long taken a prominent place in our courses. In our libraries are to be found the works of German theologians, the more recent as well as the older ones, and in addition, the more important theological journals written in German.

For the reasons above mentioned, the Meadville School appeared to the free Evangelical German communities to be the most suitable place for the education of their future pastors. One thing, however, was wanting — a professor of homiletics and practical theology in German. More than a year ago, Dr. Voss of Pittsburg came forward in the name of the communities which he represented, with a proposal to our trustees (directors) with regard to the founding of such a professorship. The plan was joyfully received by all of us, the necessary means have been already collected, and the chair is established. The next term — the autumn of 1910 — we expect the inaugural speech of the new professor.

There is another thing however which is very important for the complete carrying out of this excellent plan. We must have German students. We expect some very soon from different communities, but they have to study three and in most cases four years; in the meantime pastors are urgently needed at the present moment. In order to make

this undertaking a success, its leaders have turned their eyes to the "Fatherland", and desire to make an appeal to the representatives of free German theology who are gathered together at this congress. Is it not possible to induce a considerable number of theological students — the more the better — to go to America and enter the Meadville School, with the object of later becoming ministers in the German communities there! It is mainly those who are within a year or two of the end of their studies whom the trustees have in mind, but of course, younger students will also be heartily welcome.

The following is what is required of these young men. Those who have reached the last year of their studies would be expected to study at Meadville one year, that is, from the end of September to the beginning of the following June, and would have, at the same time, to devote themselves to the study of English, which is necessary because German no longer suffices in these communities. The teaching is quite free, and the cost of living in such a small town is not expensive, 250 dollars would cover the whole year's expenses, including the journey to America. The student would receive a scholarship of 100 dollars from the School, and the communities would endeavour to collect money for their students besides.

As soon as the course of these students is at an end, they would take up their professional duties immediately, and take over independent communities. Their income, according to previous experience, would amount to about 750 to a 1000 dollars, with an official residence included. Thus they would have distinct advantages. Of course, it might easily happen that some of them would be unable to adapt themselves to American conditions, and would desire to return to their own country. For the benefit of such cases, it is to be hoped that the German authorities in question will allow those students who wish to make the experiment, to study for one year in Meadville and to have this period counted in Germany. They could then, if they wished, return home without having lost any time; but negotiations on this point have not yet been undertaken.

I have called attention in a few words to the material advantages, but I should like at the same time to emphasize the fact — which is pretty well understood — that enthusiasm and willing sacrifice are required in this profession, because it is a divine profession. The communities over in America have a great desire to be led by faithful spirits from their beloved "Fatherland". There is a great deal expected, and a great deal to do. The forces of America are to a considerable extent German forces. The disciples of Jesus in Germany must be willing to stand by

their brethren who have crossed the seas in their struggle for the future well-being of the people. I wish therefore, in conclusion, to express as urgently as I can, the desire and the hope of your citizens afar off, that every student of theology who hears these words, or hears of them, should take earnest thought for the matter, and that every one of you determine to give your support to the extent of spreading the news of this undertaking among the students with whom you come in contact. With your help, it will be possible to give rise, in a far off country, to a mighty German religious community, which shall be powerful, and which shall be free. We place our confidence in you and hope for the best.

FREE RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN HUNGARY

BY PROFESSOR GEORGE BOROS, KOLOZSVAR, HUNGARY.

I am a Unitarian. My programme is: liberality in searching the truths of theology, and in judging the religious opinions of others. When I come across the opinions of those who differ from me, I am induced to enter first of all into a serious consideration of it, and after that I come to judge and only in the last instance do I begin to criticise. I was educated to put before all other things, patience and forbearance, to pay honour and respect to others. This religious and moral training led me to become very severe with myself.

This being a general tendency in my household of faith, I am afraid we have lost several good opportunities, when we could have made propaganda for our opinions. The tree of the Unitarian faith, I believe, grew not so much in its branches as in its roots.

The persecution of three hundred years, which was generally directed against the central place of the Unitarian Church of Hungary, created a strange and unusual position between the centre and the branches. As a fact, instead of the smaller country-congregations, which lived among strangers, appealing to the Consistory or the bishop of the Church for aid, these sent out their men to collect money and other help for them, among the poor country farmers. From the aids thus collected, the bishop, professors and teachers received their very scanty salary.

In this weakness of the Church lay however its real power. The members kept up a constant touch among themselves. The young students served as best missionaries. The whole Unitarian Community was one body and one soul. The Unitarians were conspicuous on account of their unity in life and work. Strangers were convinced that they used some sign by which they recognised each other at once.

To this inner power came as a happy addition the sympathy and trust with which strangers used to surround the Unitarians, if they got to know them personally. There are known several instances, when non-Unitarians entrusted the education of their children to Unitarian

teachers, and also when they took a Unitarian lawyer for their advocate. These conditions which were at first personal, carried with them a deep sympathy towards the Religion also. Happily for them, it turned out several times, that the Unitarians made the best figures in statistics, they had the greatest number of those who could read and write, and the smallest number of prisoners. It was acknowledged that a Unitarian was diligent, sober, and forebearing in his office.

In the year 1848 a considerable change took place. The Hungarian parliament extended the rights of Unitarians, which they had enjoyed since the Reformation time in Transylvania, all over Hungary. The Unitarian Religion was made equal with the others in their rights. But many great difficulties hindered the realisation of the advantages assured by law. First of all a terrible political oppression came down upon the country in 1850 which kept on for fifteen years. During this time even the old Transylvanian Unitarian Church had to fight very hard in order to maintain herself in life. There was no possibility for any kind of independent or progressive work. This oppression was carried on by the powerful and always Catholic dynasty of the Hapsburgs. They knew full well, that independent living and thinking in religion would be followed by the same in politics also. They knew that the great heroes of independence, Rákoci and Kossuth, acquired their best recruits from among the Protestants. A Hungarian peasant of Protestant education could never bear a foreign government.

During these hard and heavy fights for independence, the Hungarian Protestants became, as a rule, conservative in thinking and living, and this they carried even into their religion.

The liberal ideas of the XIX-th Century, started in Germany, had their influence in Hungary also. In the second half of the XIX-th century a movement got on foot, and a spirited work began, with the fundamental idea of uniting the Lutheran and Calvinist branches of Protestantism. The leaders hoped that in this way they might create new life and new thinking not only in their own Churches, but in the whole country as well. The banner of these crusades was in the hands of highly cultivated, spiritually gifted and morally strong men. Unfortunately this movement suffered shipwreck on the rock of the old conservatism of some Protestant leaders.

But in spite of its short duration, this movement bore good fruits. New thoughts, new energy entered into the veins of the whole population. The most important questions of Church life and Theology came under free discussion. The result of thirty years' progress was that dogmatic questions retired into the background, the Protestant liberals shook hands with the Unitarians. The dawn of this new era

was however disturbed over and over again, but this was simply incidental, and we began to cherish the hope that some day a perfect change for the better would be seen and enjoyed. The basis of this hope was that each new movement carried in it less and less cause for animosity. People began to feel a sincere respect for each others' opinion and character.

The flood of new life and new ideas ran over the battle-field of every-day struggles, and swept away all the rubbish left from the past. The best thinkers are come to see that such great souls as Luther, Calvin, Francis Dávid, Schleiermacher, Channing, Strauss, Renan, Martineau, Pfeleiderer and Harnack can not only take place side by side in our libraries, but also help us in our enterprises to success.

We Unitarians hold every year a Congress of Free Christianity and Religious Freedom in our country.

If some one would take the trouble to collect carefully all positive signs of religious thinking and living in Hungary, he would come to see, that here also there are a good many who stick to the old formulas, but at the same time he would certainly see, that all those who stayed behind in religion, drew themselves out of the way of the tides of modern ideas. They cannot make progress because they wil not. At the same time, however, we are surprised to see, that there are a great many not only in the Protestant and Unitarian Churches, but in the Roman Catholic, in the Eastern, and Jewish Churches, who go to the extreme in their religious thinking as against their Church or priest. They leave the dogmas and ancient theories behind, and are climbing upwards on that Sinai, from which the Moses of the new age is to declare the new law. This declaration will continue on from age to age for ever.

It was just last year (1909) that Count Stephen Tisza, chief lay-president of the Hungarian Calvinist Church, a well known politician, and Dr. Michael Zsilinszky, chief curator of the Lutheran Church, and formerly state-secretary for education and religion, made surprising declarations in favour of liberal progress in religion. "Away with those slow attempts and that unreasonable timidity. The Hungarian people wants a new religion, new Bible, a sincere and open religious life." A still greater surprise was it when the Roman Catholic bishop, Dr. Prohászka, in one of his socialist lectures shouted to the ears of his large audience: "We want a new Jesus, a new love, and we must carry all that into the life of the people." I am not going to say that this liberal Roman Catholic bishop is going to co-operate with liberal Protestants, but it is undeniable that in Hungary we have heard the same ideas and words declared by a bishop, against which the Pope is carrying on a constant fight. This is indeed Modernism, and it is quite certain that there are very few educated men in the civil order, who would consent to the intentions

of the Papal see. However, we all admit and acknowledge, that the organisation of the Catholic Church, and the ceremonials of her churches, are strong and have a great power in them to keep people together.

Catholicism wishes to have effect on the feeling and Protestantism on the thinking of men. This is a fact even to-day. Besides having an immense wealth under her control, she is able to make great sacrifices for the religious needs of the people and this is the best form of propagandism. The Transylvanian Roman Catholic bishop invites to his dinner-table the Protestant bishop, he lets his blessing fall on the Protestant sufferer in the hospital, and offers prayer for his health too. The Roman Catholic lay-president leads his Committee before the Unitarian bishop when the latter pays a visit to his place, and even the priest goes to see him to express his respect for him.

Well, indeed, modern culture and the general and social conceptions have pulled down the China-walls from among the churches, and built new bridges over the chasms which formerly surrounded the walls. To-day we exchange our Church-newspapers and in our criticism we practice the greatest courtesy possible.

The theological academy of the Lutheran Church raises its voice in defence of the Calvinist professor of church-history, against whom his Church broke out in hard condemnation, because he dared to criticise Calvin, the reformer. The same Lutheran Church invites the Unitarian theological professor to lecture to its people about the Unitarians of England and America.

In Transylvania the Lutheran Church have kept in use their ancient language, the German, and also their manners and customs for 800 years. They kept themselves away from the life and influence of the Hungarian nation, but their bishop was ready to send his greeting when the Unitarian Church held the 300 years' festival of her establishment. Ecclesiastical and lay-leaders of this same Church are beginning to see now that there is not one European country which would give so much advantage to Churches and nationalities, living within her boundaries, as the Hungarian state does.

It is very easy with us to mix at first sight the Catholic church with the Protestant, and the latter ones with each other, if we look only at their outer sign, the cross or the star, but there is a great difference in their inner life, since the Unitarian always, the Calvinist mostly, uses the Hungarian language in the pulpit, the Roman in her liturgy uses the Latin, the Greek, the Wallachian, Slavonian or other language; the Lutheran Hungarian, German and Slavic. We are trying to find unity in faith, in love and liberty, but we do not always find it, because some of the Churches, and especially the Greek Wallachians, mix

up Church-life with politics, and leave religion as only of secondary consideration. They sometimes take part in such political movements as are directed against the life and unity of their greatest benefactor, the Hungarian State. For this reason we come in touch with the leaders of the Greek Church very seldom. They give very little chance for new thoughts to enter among them. Their religious and theological literature is moving on a very narrow line. It is orthodox and bears a political colouring.

It would be very difficult to prophesy what is to be the new phase of Theology in this country, but we may say for certain, that henceforth all those who read the new products of theological literature, will go forward close together in the same direction. International thoughts and ideas are under a constant and quick exchange. In former times we received new thoughts from Germany, England, Holland, Italy and other countries through our students who studied in their universities, now their papers and periodicals are doing the same service. It is a great pity that the Hungarian language is not known and consequently our ideas and thoughts reach foreign lands very slowly, if ever.

One remark must still be added. Just lately, mysticism, that opponent of rationalism, has been trying to take hold of Protestant thought and some are already carried into extremes. We often meet the apostles and missionaries of Baptism, Nazarenism, Christian Science and the like, and they succeed in gaining audience here and there. These and other instances go to show that souls are waiting and yearning for something new and refreshing. We believe that many of the old shall pass away, some of the new ideas shall take their place, and we shall meet some day and perhaps not so very long hence a new, and energetic, liberal, and nobly-religious, and conscientiously believing life here, if the leaders do not fail to keep on and if the liberal religious thinkers and workers carry on their work, so gloriously begun.

THE RELIGIOUS VIEWS OF BJÖRNSSON AND IBSEN.

By KRISTOFER JANSON, CHANSON, CHRISTIANIA.

I have been asked to give a brief outline of the religious views of Björnsson and Ibsen. This will not be so easy, as neither of them, to my knowledge, has expressed himself to any extent on the subject. We must resort to their works for information, and as the persons of the poetry do not always express the opinions of the author, but must speak out of their own character and views, which may perhaps be contrary to the opinions of the author, we must look at these expressions critically, and not tear them away from their connections.

I ought, however, to be better able to do this than most, as for a number of years I was the nearest neighbour of Björnsson, and was daily together with him, and I have also had the pleasure of being personally acquainted with the other of our great poets named. Björnsson was the son of a clergyman. His childhood in the parsonage of his parents, in one of the most charming and magnificent regions of Norway, and his personal love of father and mother, early aroused in his soul a feeling of reverence for things sacred. As a youth, commencing to think for himself, he was carried away by the Grundtvigian movement, which started in Denmark and extended to Norway.

The religious side of this movement was an opposition to the dry, soulless rationalism, that had taken possession of most of the pulpits of Denmark and Norway. The young minister Grundtvig gave expression to this opposition when he chose as a text for his probational sermon: "Why have the words of the Lord disappeared from his house?" The sermon aroused much attention. A bitter theological discussion followed between the friends of Grundtvig and his opponents, and Grundtvig suffered much from it, but triumphed so far at last, that he gathered a flock of the best youth of Denmark around his banner. Though orthodox in his dogmas, he had a leaning towards a more liberal faith. He criticised the idolatrous worship of the Scriptures. He denied the doctrine of total

depravity. "The image of God in man has not been lost," he said, "else man would not have the capacity to receive the grace of God. The remnant of God's image in the soul is just the soil in which God can plant his seed, and from which our salvation grows up." This belief gave his followers more hope, more joy, more faith in the divinity of man, and gave them a greater desire, than the rest of the orthodox party possessed, to work for the mental and moral elevation of the community.

The opponents of Grundtvig nicknamed his views of Christianity "the happy Christianity". His successor, Brandt, characterised his ideas thus: "Grundtvig's catechism may be written in three small paragraphs: 1. Spirit is power. 2. Spirit reveals itself only in the word. 3. Spirit works in freedom."

Grundtvig was very zealous for the continuation of the Lutheran reformation. Simultaneously with the religious revival there was an awakening of patriotic feeling. Grundtvig saw, that what the Common School could give, was too little to satisfy the needs of the masses. To ask of those, who would continue the work of their fathers as farmers, artisans and laborers, that they should attend the Latin School for six or seven years, was too much. "No, let us get schools for the common people," they said, "where they can hear lectures, that will arouse love in their hearts for the history and literature of their country, and will awaken their interest in the great questions of the day." In that manner Grundtvig became the father of the popular High Schools, which have had, and still continue to have, an immense influence on the youth of Denmark and Norway. In half-yearly winter courses the young boys and girls of the peasantry assemble at the High School, and through oral narration of the lives of remarkable men and women, who, so to say, have made the history of the world and of their native land, through lectures on the discoveries and inventions, that have lifted humanity in culture, through instruction in the proper use of their mother-tongue, through study of arithmetic, geography and the sciences, the minds of the pupils are developed and enlarged. One of the most inspiring means of arousing interest at these schools is the art of song. Both religious and patriotic songs resound in all the hours of the school and the recesses outside. Grundtvig himself wrote more than four hundred hymns, many of them marvellous gems. In the last years of Grundtvig's life his friends from all the three Scandinavian countries used to meet at Copenhagen on his birthday, to celebrate it with speeches, sermons and songs.

There were sometimes as many as three thousand persons present, among them several hundred clergymen. And when they blended their voices in singing the beautiful hymns, written by the venerable prophet and poet, the hall often shook with enthusiasm.

Such was the religious atmosphere, which Björnson was breathing throughout the years of his youth. He participated in the meetings of the Grundtvigians, had his best friends in their company, was often on a visit to their popular High schools, both in Denmark and Norway, and delighted the scholars with his inspiring discourses. He wrote ardent patriotic songs, when the war was being waged with Germany for the sovereignty of Schleswig, and when the old prophet died in 1872, Björnson wrote two beautiful poems in memory of Grundtvig and brought the farewell and thanks from Norway to his grave.

In the year 1875 Björnson bought a farm in Gausdal in Norway. At that place was established a High school, in which I was a teacher. Thus it happened, that I became his nearest neighbour for seven years. At that time he began to study the works of the German and Dutch critics of the Bible, and it wrought a violent change in his religious beliefs. Here were arranged crushing truths, which nobody knew or paid attention to at home, though these works had been accessible for a number of years. Why did not the educated and religiously interested people spread this information broadcast over the land? No, they had kept away from the hungry the bread of life, for the purpose of holding them down in the old ignorance and power of priestcraft. Björnson was frothing with inward rage. He himself had been deceived, cheated — that was the word. How serious his mental struggle was, I often witnessed myself. Sometimes when I came to him, I found him pale from excitement. Like a caged lion, he walked the floor to and fro, shaking his mane. He tore his hair and doubled his fists, while perspiration gathered on his forehead. And then, as is frequently the case, he went to the opposite extreme. He suspected all the old theological doctrines to be mere priestly impositions, and he swallowed uncritically all information that removed the foundation from under the old gods. I was often compelled to rush into the fire to save, if I might, a shred of honour for ancient Abraham, Moses or David. I shall never forget his flaming speech about the immoral and insane dogma of eternal damnation.

Out of this struggle Björnson emerged as an agnostic. He put an interrogation point after every subject of discussion. "We cannot know anything about it. May be it is so; may be it is not. If there is a personal immortality beyond the grave, we must accept it, perhaps be thankful for it."

I am reminded of a funeral, where some of us, the friends of the poet, had spoken at the bier of the joy to be found in the thought of an eternal life, that should be a continuous labour in love, till perfection had been reached. On our return from the cemetery Björnson said: "I have never been able to understand your joy in the thought of an

eternal life. As for me, I regard annihilation as the most desirable thing. When we have struggled and toiled through this life we ought to rest at last. The thought of continuation is painful to me."

In spite of his scepticism Björnson always preserved his respect for beliefs seriously entertained by others, even when such beliefs were fanatical in the extreme. He showed this best in the beautiful picture he has drawn of the "miracle-minister" Sang from Nordland, in his play, "Above Human Power."

By the dogmatists, however, he has been regarded as an iconoclast. In the preface to his play, "The King", he says: "When my opponents want to characterise my work in a few words they say: 'He attacks the throne and the altar.' I think I have served mental liberty. It is wholesome, once in a while, in the land of a state-church to remember what Christianity is. It is not an institution, still less a book, least of all a priestly robe or a house. **It is a life in God, according to the precepts and example of Jesus.** Maybe there are people, who imagine they attack Christianity, when they examine the history, origin or morality of a dogma. I don't think so. Honest investigation can only make it grow. Christianity, with or without its apparatus of dogmas, will, in what is the kernel of it, remain for thousands of years after us. There will always be spiritually-minded people, who through it will become nobler, some of them even great. I respect all of them. Among the Christians I have friends whom I love; never for a moment have I intended to attack their Christianity. I have no higher wish than to see them attempt, by its help, to change in full earnest some things in society."

Björnson settled down in his agnostic opinions. His doubt of a personal immortality and continuation of existence beyond the grave rather grew to denial than remained mere doubt. In the last utterance from him on this subject he says*, "If we could get so far on this earth that we knew it, then I might understand, that we would continue our life here or elsewhere to know more. If we ourselves always developed, then I might conceive, that there would be no room left for further development. We should have to be moved over into a new existence to be able to continue our growth. But the fact is, when we have reached the age of 50 or 60 — even before — we begin to grow downwards just as fast as we formerly grew upwards. If we live long enough, we end by becoming just as helpless and ignorant children as we were, when we commenced. What, then, should we continue our life for? What is there in us that is not of the earth? The soul is described as if it were something different from and more than the highest function of the

* A letter on immortality in "Samtiden", 1907.

body, as something for and by itself; but this view, so far as I know, is not supported by proofs. Some complain of the possibilities which are lost when a man dies, before he attains his full development — and this the fewest attain. Can we think, that we are born to a life so incomplete? Yes, this is in accord with what we are accustomed to see, namely, that the possibilities of billions are lost every year. Progress for us consists in creating better conditions, so that fewer possibilities will be lost. Let us do the good for the sake of the race and find our reward in its progress; let us suffer for the sake of mankind and believe, that suffering is a contribution to a better time for it. Do I not believe, then, that there is a God? you will probably inquire. Yes, I believe in something that is the order and harmony of all forces. But to how much confusion has it not led, that people form relations to that, which they do not know?"

Those, who through psychical research believe to have proved the immortality of the soul, Björnson treats with undeserved contempt. He speaks of spiritism as "a raging disease, a humbug." He admits, nevertheless, that "there is, no doubt, more around us, than we can see or know," and he says that "it is no longer defensible to dispose of these things as pure self-delusions." These utterances of Björnson are plain enough. He denies the existence of spirit separated from the body; he regards it only as "the highest function of the body," denies consequently an individual immortality in a world beyond the grave. All thinking, all labour must be done for the race, all suffering must be patiently borne, that the coming generation may obtain better conditions to live under.

This view comes out very strongly in his social drama "Above Human Power," where he lets the two children Credo and Spera, who represent the hopes of the future, express the opinion, that the inventions, which better the conditions of mankind, will solve the labour question. Credo says "What inventions there will be! What wealth! But father said that that is nothing, compared to what will come, when all human beings some day **move home again to earth.**" And Spera continues: "Heaven is here. In our hearts, you know, there is heaven." Credo replies: "In the future and in everything we do for it, is heaven."

Still the poet's aspiration sometimes breaks through the steel armour in which he has cramped his thought and his heart; as for instance, when with joy he pays homage to God, as not only "the order and harmony of all forces", but as a creative, life-giving and guiding personality:

"Source of sources, well of light,
 Who dost kindle all the suns,
 Thou, who sowest in all brains —
 Thoughts are lighted and extinguished,

Worlds are opened and are closed
 In the new thy light is flowing,
 Thou, who wast and art and shalt be!"
 (From the cantata: Light.)

And in the following hymn, vibrating with religious feeling,⁵ he tries to give utterance to the thoughts that assail him, when confronted with God everywhere in the world:

"Who art thou with the numerous names
 From thousands of ages and tongues?
 Thou wast refuge to us in our need,
 Thou wast hope to the people oppressed,
 Thou wast guest in the chamber of death,
 Thou wast sunshine in gladness of life!
 Still thy image we varyingly form,
 And we call every view revelation,
 And each person thinks his is the true one,
 Till it bursts in a painful experience.
 Oh, but be whom thou wilt,
 For I know that thou art
 As the eternal cry in my soul — it is Thou!
 For justice and light,
 For triumph of right,
 In its power revealed — it is Thou! it is Thou!
 All the laws which we see
 Or conceive of, and those
 Which we never shall dream of at all — it is Thou!
 And their protecting care
 Round my life they have laid,
 And it sings in my heart — it is Thou! it is Thou."

Even the spirits, so deeply despised by him, find favor in his sight, when he exclaims in "The King":

"The spirit-world's society
 Surrounds, like clouds, our life."
 "Rejoice, rejoice triumphal peals!
 Crowds of spirits cleave the air,
 And it glitters, as, in sunshine, snowlike shores."

When the young king's soul is carried home, the choir sings:

"Look around thee,
 See the flock that did surround thee,
 When the truth was in thy heart, was in thy deed."

The genii are then surrounded by "the multitude of the heavenly host."

The poet also lets the spirit of the deceased old king look down on his son and discover, how all the weeds he had planted in his heart and mind are now grown up luxuriantly. From this we must conclude that the mind of the poet is inconsistent enough at times to break through his ironclad theories.

To determine the religious views of Ibsen is more difficult, because he never, to my knowledge, has expressed himself definitely on this subject. But in so far as the real religion of a man is, what he preaches in his daily life, and not what he professes in his creed, the great monuments, made by Ibsen in his mental workshop, his social dramas, must represent his religious confession. In these plays he unmercifully swings the lash over the world's widespread sins, hypocrisy, sophistry, immorality, indifference to woman's rights, worship of the right of the majority. Ibsen has at all times maintained the right of the individual in opposition to the opinions of the crowd, both in state and church. One must have perfect freedom to develop his individuality, but one must also be ready to take the consequences of his action. To be true to one's ideal, that is the challenge of Ibsen to the rising generation.

With a steady, but pitiless hand, like the surgeon cutting with his knife into the quivering flesh, he has exposed the sins of society, and has slashed at its lies in all forms. He has been an exhorter to repentance.

One of the poetical works of Ibsen, specially treating religious subjects, is "Brand". In that work, too, he intends to show how degrading and demoralizing it is to blot out, so to say, one's personal originality or individuality and make oneself a mere cog-wheel in the machinery of state or church. Through Brand the poet maintains the rights of the individual to think freely and act freely, according as his call commands him. But we should make a great mistake if we supposed, that Ibsen would present Brand, the man, as his religious ideal. Brand looms up above his soulless surroundings like a mighty tree in the forest; he preaches through his character and work self-sacrifice for others as the chief element in Christianity. But he succumbs in the fight, not as a suffering victim of the ignorance and prejudice of his day, but because he himself lacks perception of the many-sided nature of love, both in man and in God, and because he did not take into account, that the course of development is a slow advance, inch by inch, and cannot be forced to sudden leaps by commandments of might. To transform

human wills to voluntarily choose and live the reform is not done in a day or two. Although Ibsen has not furnished us with any dogmatic confession, he was altogether too intelligent a man to be orthodox, and he has not, like Björnsson, taken a position of denial in regard to the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. In "The Masterbuilder Solness" he takes hold of the occult questions. Solness has discovered, that he possesses the remarkable power, whose laws he does not comprehend, by an act of his will to create in the consciousness of others the notion that what he has only desired, in reality has happened. When he would explain this, he says: "It is not oneself alone, which does such great things. Oh, no, the helpers and servants, they must be with us, — they also, if it is to amount to anything. But they never come of themselves. One must call them perseveringly. As it were, inwardly, you know. For it is the 'troll' in one, you see, — it is that which calls to the powers outside us. And then you must give in — whether you will or no."

We are reminded by this of the words in the Epistle to the Ephesians: "For our wrestling is not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of the world, against spiritual wickedness in the heavenly places."

But was it necessary, that Ibsen should have any personal connection with these utterances of the masterbuilder Solness? Is not Solness considered half-mad? Yes, I am convinced that the occult phenomena, the co-operation both for good and for evil between the world here in the flesh and the invisible powers above — "the good devils and bad devils, light-haired devils and dark-haired devils" as Solness expresses it — very much occupied the imagination of Ibsen. For when, some years ago, I gave some lectures at Christiania on Spiritualism and the doctrine of reincarnation, Ibsen was present, and after the lectures he stepped up to the platform, in full view of the audience, and took my hand and thanked me. Of this, at least, we may be sure: Nothing agitating the minds of his contemporaries, nothing of vital importance in the development of humanity remained distant to the searching and penetrating intellect of Henrik Ibsen.

LE CHRISTIANISME PROGRESSIF ET LA RELIGION DE L'ESPRIT.

PAR ETIENNE GIRAN.

Je ne crois pas avoir besoin d'user de grandes précautions oratoires pour en arriver à dire que les religions et les christianismes professés sont loin de répondre à l'idéal que nous nous faisons de la Religion et du Christianisme. Il me semble même qu'il y aurait quelque naïveté à insister longuement sur les causes de la suspicion dans laquelle on les tient dans les milieux libres penseurs. L'intellectualisme et l'inconsistance de nos formules pieuses, le dogmatisme invétéré de nos théologies, le cléricalisme de nos associations religieuses — si laïques qu'elles puissent nous paraître — le traditionnalisme dévot de nos cérémonies cultuelles, ne peuvent nous laisser aucun doute à ce sujet.

Et malgré qu'on puisse épiloguer à perte de vue sur la réalité et les aspirations de la conscience moderne, un fait s'impose : c'est que, devant la conscience moderne, les religions et les christianismes professés sont en fâcheuse posture.

Il y a, certes, de nombreux motifs de s'en affliger, mais peut-être y a-t-il aussi quelque raison de s'en réjouir. N'est-ce pas réconfortant de voir que la conviction personnelle, avec tous ses périls, l'emporte sur les certitudes apaisantes de la tradition ou sur les doctrines des maîtres de l'heure ? Tous ceux qui — dans les églises ou en dehors d'elles — s'efforcent de libérer la conscience des servages spirituels travaillent — qu'ils le veuillent ou non — à l'épuration du sentiment religieux et à l'avènement du culte en esprit. Et malgré les ruines qu'ils accumulent, malgré l'apparente impiété de leur geste, ce sont des ouvriers de Dieu. Ils ne s'y trompaient pas ceux qui, à l'origine même de la Réforme s'élevaient contre le dogmatisme des Réformateurs et qui, par leur indomptable rébellion sauvaient du désastre les principes mêmes de la Réforme. Ouvrier de Dieu cet obscur humaniste si calomnié, cet humble prote d'imprimerie exilé de Genève, ce moucheron, comme il s'appelait lui-même — Sébastien Castellion — qui eut l'audace de s'attaquer à

l'autoritarisme de Calvin et qui, affrontant toutes les persécutions osa protester contre la pétrification naissante de la doctrine et réclamer une incessante révision des croyances professées, une progressive **réforme de la Réforme**. — Et quelle hauteur de vues dans son programme de Réformateur et comme nos pauvres gestes de libération sont médiocres à côté des vastes horizons que découvre sa pensée!

« Il y a, écrit-il, une éducation divine du genre humain qui passe par plusieurs phases.

« Un premier âge est celui de la Loi: c'est l'enfance de l'humanité. . . .

« A la Loi succède le Christ qui a apporté à l'humanité adolescente une connaissance de Dieu beaucoup plus étendue mais encore imparfaite Aussi promet-il à ses disciples l'Esprit saint pour achever de les instruire et de les mener à la pleine vérité.

« Voilà les trois âges par lesquels passe, par rapport à nous, l'Esprit de Dieu: ce n'est pas lui qui varie, c'est notre capacité de connaissance qui grandit. On peut appeler ces trois âges: l'âge du Père qui **gouverne** l'enfant par la Loi, l'âge du Fils qui **instruit** l'adolescent par l'Évangile, l'âge de l'Esprit qui **dirige** l'homme adulte par sa parfaite inspiration.

« Et comme dans la vie corporelle, c'est un même souffle vital qui anime successivement l'enfant, l'adolescent et l'homme, ainsi, dans l'ordre spirituel, c'est un seul et même Esprit de Dieu qui **commence** au moyen de la Loi, qui **développe** par l'Évangile et qui **achève** par l'Esprit. »

On peut discuter la documentation de cette théorie ou faire des réserves sur le caractère de telle ou telle expression, mais nous sommes au XVI^{ème} siècle, et je ne crois pas qu'on ait jamais posé, avec plus d'audace tranquille et plus de netteté, les bases mêmes de la religion de l'Esprit.

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Les notions des hommes évoluent, disparaissent ou meurent: l'Esprit reste l'immuable Réalité. Son inconcevable et mystérieuse Présence domine toute l'histoire.

Inlassable, il sollicite toutes les curiosités, il allume toutes les saintes inquiétudes, il excite sans trêve notre soif de connaître et fouette notre volonté. Il n'est pas un sentiment élevé, une idée généreuse, un acte de désintéressement ou de libération qui ne soit une réponse à son irrésistible appel ou à son incessante recherche. Il n'est pas une minute, pas un millième de seconde que n'emplisse sa Présence: l'insondable durée des siècles déborde de son intarissable activité. L'Esprit éclaire, anime et vivifie le monde. Nous pouvons, parfois, dans notre orgueil ou notre aveuglement croire que c'est notre raison, notre cœur, notre conscience qui font éclore en nous les splendeurs du Vrai saisi, du Bien entrevu,

du Beau rêvé; en réalité derrière ce Vrai, ce Bien et ce Beau, c'est l'Esprit qui, invinciblement, nous attire; et au sein de cette raison, de ce cœur et de cette conscience en travail, c'est l'Esprit qui rend témoignage. Il existe, paraît-il, en Bretagne, un étrange rocher dont le mystère trouble le voyageur. C'est en vain qu'on le frappe brutalement à coups de marteau, les coups le blessent sans éveiller en lui la moindre sonorité; mais si, ramassant sur le sol, un éclat de pierre détaché de sa masse, on le heurte, même légèrement . . . le rocher silencieux s'anime, un frémississement parcourt son corps et, tout vibrant d'une sonorité imprévue, il sonne comme une cloche d'airain. C'est en vain qu'on frapperait à coups redoublés sur notre raison ou notre cœur ou notre conscience,

« tant plus à frapper on s'amuse

tant plus de marteaux on y use, » *

mais qu'une pensée ardente, qu'un sentiment profond, messagers de l'Esprit, les touche, la raison tressaille, la conscience s'exalte, le cœur s'enthousiasme! Semblable au rocher de Bretagne notre être intime ne s'émeut qu'au contact d'un être de même nature et, sanctuaire humain de l'Esprit vivant, il ne vibre qu'au contact de l'Esprit.

C'est ce contact direct, personnel, permanent qui fait de l'expérience religieuse, l'imprenable forteresse à l'abri de laquelle toutes les sincérités humaines peuvent élever pieusement l'édifice de leur foi. Car — et c'est là, la grande merveille — si l'Esprit reste insaisi dans sa plénitude, il semble habiter tout entier dans l'âme du plus humble d'entre les fils des hommes et son témoignage en nous est si immédiat, si précis, si impérieux qu'aucune puissance humaine ne saurait réduire notre inflexible conviction. Mais cette immédiateté du témoignage interne serait un redoutable privilège si nous n'étions intimement persuadés que l'Esprit dans son absoluité échappe à toutes les étreintes. Tous ceux qui s'essaient à l'enfermer dans des formules pieuses ressemblent à ce prince de la légende hindoue qui, tendant vers le ciel ses pauvres mains avides, voulait, d'un geste dément, emprisonner les étoiles.

L'Esprit se révèle à chacun dans la mesure où il est en état de le saisir. Et c'est pour cela qu'il y a tant d'inégalités dans la moisson de clartés spirituelles des différents peuples; mais c'est pour cela aussi que la plus infime de ces clartés est un rayon de la même Lumière et que les belles certitudes qui, dès l'aurore des siècles, ont bercé et bercent encore l'humanité douloureuse, ont la même origine et le même caractère. Echos du même Verbe, les diverses révélations sont de même nature. Filles de l'âme humaine et de l'Esprit vivant, toutes les religions sont sœurs. Mais si belles qu'elles puissent être, si divines que soient leurs

* dystique huguenot.

affirmations, si puissamment génératrices qu'elles soient de vie spirituelle, elles ne sont que de pauvres essais de communion avec l'irréalisable Esprit, des balbutiements d'âmes, conscientes de la grande Présence, mais incapables encore de saisir l'insaisissable Réalité. Les christianismes professés eux-mêmes — ces christianismes orgueilleux auxquels nous nous rattachons et qui, oublieux de l'humilité du Maître dont ils de réclament, se sont faits les ridicules dépositaires de la Vérité absolue — n'échappent pas à la règle commune. Etapes actuelles du sentiment religieux dans le monde chrétien, ils ne sont que des réalisations plus ou moins infidèles de la religion de l'Esprit.

Certes la religion de l'Esprit n'est étrangère à aucune de ces manifestations religieuses, mais, nettement distincte de chacune d'elles, elle les domine toutes de la hauteur de son absolue spiritualité.

Elle déborde toutes les classifications et échappe à tous les contrôles. Edifiée sur le témoignage interne, elle est essentiellement personnelle et tel qui nous paraît irrégulier parce qu'il refuse de participer aux formes des religions professées, peut être, en son for intérieur plus religieux que ceux qui passent leurs jours en prière; tel qu'on appelle sceptique parce qu'il remet tout en question peut être un homme de foi ardente; tel qu'on appelle hérétique, parce qu'il repousse des certitudes qui semblent établies, peut être un grand croyant; tel qu'on condamne pour ses dangereuses erreurs peut être un serviteur enthousiaste de la vérité.

La religion de l'Esprit — intérieure et personnelle — ne peut donc se concevoir sans la libre recherche avec son cortège de postulats: le droit au doute, générateur de progrès; le droit à l'hérésie, créatrice de fécondes hypothèses; le droit à l'erreur, car — ainsi que le proclamait Rabaut S^t Etienne, à la Constituante « l'erreur n'est pas un crime: celui qui la professe la prend pour la vérité, elle est la vérité pour lui, il est obligé de la professer et nul homme, nulle société n'a le droit de le lui défendre. »

D'ailleurs, que sont nos certitudes les mieux établies? Les formules scientifiques les plus précises serrent-elles de si près la Réalité qu'elles puissent être confondues avec elles? La vérité a-t-elle cessé d'être un rapport entre notre pensée et son objet, et s'identifie-t-elle désormais avec l'objet lui-même? Non, n'est-ce pas? En face de cette mystérieuse Réalité qui nous échappe, nos certitudes les plus chères ne sont que des erreurs relatives.

Et ici la Bonne Nouvelle de la religion de l'Esprit s'éclaire d'une lumière imprévue. Elle ne se borne pas à glaner dans les révélations du passé tout le Vrai connu, toutes les Beautés saisies, toutes les Harmonies dévoilées, tout le Divin éclos dans le monde, elle se fait annon-

ciatrice de la grande doctrine des temps modernes, de cette doctrine, tueuse d'autoritarisme et créatrice de liberté, qu'on appelle la **relativité de la connaissance**. Il n'y a d'absolu que la conviction.

Et c'est là, la grande, la bienfaisante, la divine Bonne Nouvelle de la religion de l'Esprit. Seule, elle peut enfin assurer le triomphe de la paix, de la fraternité et de l'amour, car l'union ne se fera plus sur des résultats douteux, sur des erreurs relatives érigées en dogmes tranchants, l'union se fera et dans une commune recherche, et dans le sentiment d'une même ignorance. On ne confrontera plus des certitudes qui, incomplètes, s'opposent nécessairement par quelque côté, on confrontera des aspirations. Les hommes, conscients de leur pauvreté spirituelle, se découvrant tous avides de cette Vérité insaisie, de cette Justice irréalisée, de ce Divin poursuivi, de cette Vie ardemment cherchée qui nous sollicitent, se tendront la main de collaboration et ils s'efforceront de gravir les âpres sommets de lumière en s'appuyant les uns sur les autres.

L'harmonie entre les multiples manifestations du sentiment religieux n'est possible que si cette Bonne Nouvelle est nettement et ardemment proclamée par tous les libres croyants qui se rattachent aux religions professées. On se préoccupe beaucoup, ces derniers temps, d'une « synthèse supérieure entre le besoin logique qui attire l'âme moderne vers la science et le besoin psychologique qui la porte vers la foi », cette synthèse n'est réalisable que dans l'humaine et laïque religion de l'Esprit, ouverte à toutes les fluctuations d'une Révélation progressive et indéfinie.

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Cela on l'a pressenti de tout temps. Le malheur est que la conscience religieuse de la foule suit de fort loin — quand elle la suit — l'évolution religieuse des initiateurs dont elle se réclame. On dirait qu'elle en est restée à la mentalité des contemporains de Moïse qui voulaient un Dieu qui marchât devant eux: elle divinise les surhommes qui l'émeuvent. Le prophète de la Galilée ne pouvait échapper à cette nécessité humaine. La première génération de témoins n'avait pas disparu qu'on proclamait déjà la divinité métaphysique de Jésus: Messie, Christ, Rédempteur, Fils unique du Père, écho définitif du Verbe Eternel, incarnation de l'Esprit, manifestation du Dieu vivant, l'humble Nazaréen passa par les diverses phases de ces déifications progressives dont toutes les mythologies nous donnent des exemples.

Malheureusement, il y a, dans l'Évangile, des notions du Christ trop nombreuses et trop contradictoires pour qu'on puisse songer à édifier sur elles des religions définitives.

On reproche aux livres croyants appartenant à la tendance libérale du Christianisme, de s'être trop arbitrairement dégagés de la notion traditionnelle d'Israël. Le Christ d'Esaié, en effet, ce Serviteur de l'Éternel des prophètes, pèse encore de tout son poids sur les christianismes professés. Son rôle désastreux ne s'est pas borné à faire éclore les fantaisies théologiques de l'Apôtre concernant le deuxième Adam ou la sanglante christologie de l'épître aux hébreux, il s'est si impérieusement imposé à l'esprit des rédacteurs des Synoptiques qu'il couvre d'un voile épais le Jésus de l'histoire.

Et l'on ne voudrait pas que les livres croyants déchirent ce voile? Mais, Jésus lui-même s'était volontairement dégagé des notions traditionnelles de son peuple. Le récit de la tentation jette sur sa pensée une lumière décisive. Par fidélité à une chronologie plus que suspecte on s'obstine à placer cette scène symbolique à une époque où elle ne peut se légitimer. Je suis de plus en plus convaincu personnellement que le récit de la tentation doit être reporté à la dernière période de la vie de Jésus, à une époque où la question de sa messianité pouvait se poser à son esprit. Là seulement, il prend toute sa valeur. Israël attend un Messie qui transformera la terre en jardin d'abondance? . . . Jésus veut n'apporter aux hommes que la nourriture spirituelle. Israël attend un Messie faiseur de grands prodiges? Jésus refuse nettement de mettre son Dieu à l'épreuve. Israël attend un Messie guerrier et conquérant? Jésus veut être pacifique et il se fait le serviteur de tous! Peut-on s'élever, avec plus de décision contre la tradition de son peuple? Peut-on modifier, avec plus de hardiesse et de maîtrise, une notion qu'on juge inacceptable? — Si le récit de la tentation nous apporte un écho fidèle de la pensée de Jésus, l'idée que Jésus se faisait du Christ ne répondait plus à l'idée que s'en faisait son peuple et elle ne répond pas davantage à l'idée que s'en font les diverses traditions chrétiennes. Si Jésus s'est cru le Messie, s'il s'est donné comme tel, il ne s'est cru le Messie que dans la mesure où il s'est fait l'écho du Verbe éternel et le messager actif de l'Esprit vivant.

Et il y a, dans la divine cohorte des libérateurs du monde, d'autres initiateurs religieux qui se sont faits — sinon au même degré, du moins au même titre — l'écho du Verbe éternel. Comme lui, ils ont apporté au monde la nourriture spirituelle qui convenait à l'âme de leurs contemporains. Comme lui, ils ont eu le respect de Dieu et leur autorité s'est édifiée — comme la sienne — non pas sur des miracles mais sur la valeur de leur témoignage. Comme lui, ils ont repoussé les armes meurtrières et, soldats de la paix, ils se sont faits les serviteurs de tous! Et si le prophète de la Galilée s'est proclamé Christ, ces grands semeurs de vie spirituelle, ces grands animateurs de volonté, ces grands libérateurs

de conscience, ces grands hérauts du divin qui ont creusé dans l'âme profonde de l'humanité les sillons où germent encore les fleurs divines dont le parfum enchante les hommes, tous ces grands éveilleurs d'âme, échos du Verbe éternel, messagers de l'Esprit vivant — si restreint que puisse être le domaine de leur action —, tous sont des Christs. Et de même que la religion de Jésus et de ceux qui s'en réclament ne peut être du christianisme que dans la mesure où elle se fait messagère de l'Esprit vivant et du Verbe éternel, de même la religion de ceux qui se réclament des « Christs » de l'antiquité païenne est du christianisme authentique dans la mesure où, elle se fait messagère de l'Esprit vivant et du Verbe éternel. Quels sont ceux d'entre nous qui, à la lecture des émouvantes inscriptions cinq fois millénaires de l'ancienne Egypte ou de la confession de foi négative du Livre des morts ou même — 10 siècles avant Moïse —, de l'extraordinaire code d'Hammurabi, quels sont ceux qui, sondant la pensée d'un Confucius, les écritures des Brahmanes, où l'âme profonde et sublime d'un Cakya-Mouni, d'un Socrate, d'un Platon, d'un Epictète n'ont senti naître en eux l'adorable frisson que la légende prête au vieux patriarche et qui, dans l'émerveillement de toute leur âme ne se sont écriés : « Dieu était là et je ne le savais pas ! » — Eh ! bien, ce Dieu qui parlait au cœur de ces chercheurs ardents, ce Dieu n'a pas cessé de parler le jour où le plus grand d'entre ses prophètes, où le plus pur d'entre ses fils, où le plus divin d'entre ses messagers expirait sur le bois du Calvaire. Si riche que soit la moisson spirituelle qui se lève du sein des siècles abolis, l'inlassable Semeur de divin, l'Esprit éternel n'a pas cessé d'ensemencer le monde. Et de même qu'avant l'ère chrétienne, des Christs s'étaient levés, échos mortels du Verbe qui demeure, au lendemain de la mort du Christ galiléen d'autres messagers de l'Esprit devaient se lever. Et cette idée d'une révélation continue, progressive, indéfinie se lie si étroitement avec la pensée de Jésus que c'est dans sa bouche que l'auteur du IV^e Evangile place la réconfortante promesse : « L'Esprit de vérité viendra, dit-il, et quand il sera venu, il vous dirigera dans toute la vérité. » Peut-on dire plus clairement que d'autres Christs naîtront qui, déchirant un coin des voiles du mystère, apporteront au monde une plus complète révélation ?

C'est ce Christianisme dont le tronc puissant s'identifie au Christ galiléen mais dont les racines profondes plongent dans l'âme multiple des Christs de l'antiquité païenne et dont les branches s'étendent à tous les horizons de la conscience moderne, c'est ce Christianisme progressif qui porte en lui le germe de toutes les libérations et de toutes les harmonies. Les Christs innombrables dont il se réclame sont, à des degrés divers, des incarnations plus ou moins authentiques de cet Esprit vivant en travail de divin, au sein de l'humanité consciente, Christ

éternel en qui palpitent tous les Christs du passé et qui porte en germe tous les Christs de demain. Son humaine et progressive révélation va des balbutiements de l'homme primitif adorant son fétiche jusqu'aux découvertes du savant penché sur son creuset. Riche de toutes les beautés qui sont écloses au cours des âges, elle s'enrichit tous les jours de certitudes nouvelles, et l'insondable moisson de l'avenir multipliera à l'infini son impérissable trésor.

C'est de ce Christ éternel et de son incessante révélation que se réclame le Christianisme progressif. Il puise ses inspirations à toutes les sources de vie que l'Esprit a fait jaillir dans l'âme antique et dans l'âme moderne et, identique, de par son origine et son développement, à la religion de l'Esprit, il domine toutes les religions, tous les Christianismes professés qui n'en sont que de partielles et transitoires réalisations! Il unit dans un même faisceau toutes les parcelles de divin qui font vivre les hommes.

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Il est la cathédrale spirituelle dont les assises plongent profondément dans le cœur humain et dont les voûtes se confondent avec l'azur du ciel. Il est le temple de l'Esprit, profond comme l'âme où il habite, infini comme l'espace qu'il emplit, où se fortifie la foi de tous les croyants, où voisinent les Christs du monde antique et les émancipateurs du monde moderne, où derrière les autels de toutes les confessions se devine la Grande Présence, où flotte l'encens de toutes les adorations, où se heurtent les hardiesses de tous les hérétiques, les négations de tous les incrédules, les certitudes de tous les spiritualistes. Il est le Temple de la vie où s'exaltent toutes les inquiétudes, où se confrontent incessamment tous les résultats, et où se résoudreont un jour toutes les antinomies.

C'est le Temple de la Libre Recherche, le Temple de la foi libre, le Temple de l'Esprit vivant où peuvent s'unir, dans une même recherche et dans une même foi toutes les bonnes volontés orientées vers la Vie.

C'est à l'édification de ce Temple que l'Esprit convie tous les libres croyants.

I. CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT.

DES RELATIONS SYMPATHIQUES ENTRE
PROTESTANTS ET CATHOLIQUES.

PAUL SABATIER.

IV

SYMPATHETIC RELATIONS BETWEEN DENOMINATIONS

1. CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT.

DES RELATIONS SYMPATHIQUES ENTRE PROTESTANTS ET CATHOLIQUES.

PAUL SABATIER.

Votre Comité m'a prié d'introduire ce soir la question des relations sympathiques qui doivent exister entre protestants et catholiques. Aucun sujet ne me tient plus à cœur : le souvenir qui domine toute ma jeunesse, n'est malheureusement pas, comme pour tant d'autres, celui de la conversion, de la crise intime qui nous transforme complètement ; c'est celui de la souffrance continue, physique, à force d'être cruelle, que m'inspirait la vue des haines qui dans nos montagnes des Cévennes séparaient les deux cultes. La lecture des traités de controverse convainquait mon intelligence ; mais elle m'exaspérait le cœur. J'engageais des discussions avec tous les catholiques que je pouvais rencontrer, je ferrailais avec ardeur ; puis, quand la victoire me restait, j'étais embarrassé de cette victoire, pour dire le vrai mot, j'en avais honte.

Était ce donc de la folie ? La question que vous avez mise à l'ordre du jour de ce soir, comme le quatrième thème principal du congrès est la preuve manifeste qu'un travail analogue s'est opéré partout à la fois.

Il y a quarante ans, on n'aurait pas pu songer à poser la question sous cette forme. On aurait par exemple proposé l'étude des erreurs catholiques et des moyens de les combattre, ou bien on aurait examiné un plan de mission dans les milieux catholiques. La façon même dont le Comité a rédigé son programme indique une tout autre orientation ; elle implique une thèse diamétralement opposée à la thèse qu'impliquait les tendances anciennes.

Celles-ci portaient du principe que nous avons pour nous la vérité révélée et que, par conséquent, nos adversaires sont dans l'erreur ; dans l'erreur, s'ils n'ont jamais eu la Bible entre les mains ; dans le mensonge, dans la révolte contre la vérité, si, par malheur pour eux, ils connaissent le livre sacré.

Aujourd'hui nous ne croyons pas faire injure à Dieu en renonçant à circonscrire son influence. Non, les rayons de son soleil spirituel n'ont pas lui sur nos champs et dans nos consciences seulement.

Les plus beaux efforts de controverse du XVI et du XVII^es. contre le protestantisme, la fameuse **Histoire des Variations**, nous paraît d'une extrême faiblesse, mais les réponses qui y furent faites nous paraissent plus faibles encore.

Il est très sûr que nous avons abandonné les positions occupées par nos pères. Mais il y a bien des manières d'abandonner des positions; on les abandonne parfois parce qu'on en est délogé par l'adversaire, ou bien parce qu'on est là-haut, comme dans les anciennes forteresses alpestres, perché sur une roche inaccessible, qui garde un défilé. La position est inexpugnable, éternelle, pensent ceux qui la gardent. Et voilà que le jour vient, où ils apprennent que là-bas, dans les flancs mêmes de la montagne, a été ouvert un passage. La science, l'industrie, l'effort commercial ont créé une voie nouvelle. Eux sont là-haut, protégeant une route abandonnée! Il faut quitter la vieille redoute, devenue sans utilité. On donnera un regard de regret, peut-être quelques larmes furtives à ces pierres qui virent passer plusieurs générations de vaillants soldats, mais l'idée d'y rester ne peut venir à personne.

Enfin, Messieurs, on peut abandonner certaines positions parce qu'on en a vu d'autres meilleures et qu'on se sent la force d'aller les occuper. Ce n'est pas l'abandon qui suit la déroute, c'est celui de l'effort en avant.

Il me semble bien, que c'est un mouvement de ce genre qu'opère l'avant-garde religieuse en ce moment. En abandonnant pour toujours, et j'ose dire avec enthousiasme, les points stratégiques occupés par nos pères, nous avons eu le sentiment très net de servir le même idéal qu'eux; et, à mesure que nous marchons, que nous nous élevons, nous sentons sourdre en nos cœurs des flots de reconnaissance, d'admiration, de piété filiale, pour ceux qui défendirent avec un véritable héroïsme des forteresses où nous nous sentirions mal à l'aise.

Mais que vais-je parler de points stratégiques et chercher des images guerrières, alors que la caractéristique de l'évolution religieuse actuelle consiste précisément — et notre programme même en est un témoignage éclatant — en ce que l'inspiration de notre activité s'est transformée. A force de monter nous sommes arrivés à une ligne de faite, d'où nous avons tout à coup découvert des horizons nouveaux, où nous avons rencontré des hommes arrivés de l'autre côté, et d'où mille détails, incohérents vus de plus bas, s'expliquent, s'éclairent, s'enchaînent, se complètent. Par delà cette ligne de faite où nous sommes, en voici une autre, puis une autre, puis bien d'autres, à perte

de vue; et quand notre œil les suit, il les voit s'élever peu à peu; se relier à d'autres, et celles-ci à d'autres encore, montant toujours, toujours, vers des hauteurs que nous ne voyons pas, que nous n'atteindrons jamais, mais que nous devinons.

Et tout ce spectacle nous dit des mots bien anciens déjà, et que pourtant il nous semble pour la première fois entendre avec cet accent là; il nous parle de travail, de progrès, d'ascension, de diversité et d'unité; il nous parle de cette harmonie mystérieuse qui descend des collines éternelles, comme une bénédiction plus bienfaisante encore que la bénédiction de Jacob sur le front de Joseph. Il nous murmure un mot que nous n'osons presque pas répéter tant nous l'avons vu profaner par les femmes de mauvaise vie, par les pharisiens et par nous-mêmes. Et pourtant, il faut bien avoir le courage de le dire, puisque nous le sentons, puisqu'il gonfle notre cœur; change l'axe de notre vie, transforme tout en nous d'abord, et nous fait voir tout, autour de nous, sous un nouvel aspect. C'est l'amour.

N'est-il pas vrai, Messieurs, que c'est lui qui a fait son œuvre, lui qui a opéré un vrai miracle? n'est-ce pas l'amour qui fait que la controverse nous paraît je ne sais quoi de superficiel, d'insipide; et la polémique criminelle et odieuse!

Dans certains de nos catéchismes français se trouve, vers la fin, un catalogue des erreurs de l'Eglise romaine et l'indication des passages bibliques qui les condamnent. Il y a un très orthodoxe pasteur qui a collé là-dessus de belles feuilles de papier blanc.

Lui aussi, sent le besoin de porter plus haut l'activité et les préoccupations de ses catéchumènes. Et lui aussi a fait cela, non par lâcheté, mais parce qu'il sent que sa foi, celle qu'il veut communiquer aux autres, est trop forte, trop profonde pour avoir besoin de pareilles armes. Il conforme, sans le savoir, sa conduite à la belle parole de Lacordaire: „Il m'importe peu de convaincre d'erreur mes adversaires. J'aspire à m'unir avec eux dans une vérité plus haute.“

Des faits de ce genre prouvent que nous allons franchir une étape décisive. Nous aimons nos adversaires, non pas sur l'ordre de la Bible ou de la morale, mais par un besoin profond, on pourrait presque, dire physique, tant il est naturel. Nous les aimons, non pas comme le cannibale aime le naufragé qu'il va faire rôtir, ou même comme tel missionnaire qui, sous le sauvage idolâtre, voit par avance le racheté du Seigneur avec lequel il se présentera devant le souverain Juge pour témoigner de ses victoires; non, nous les aimons par un entraînement irrésistible, non pas, parce que notre intelligence obscurcie serait incapable de voir désormais les vérités que nous vîmes jadis, mais parce que nous les voyons de plus près; nous les aimons, non pas, parce que notre cœur

fatigué, vulgarisé, serait devenu timide, lâche, incapable de fuir le mal; mais, au contraire, parce qu'en notre être intime, à côté de toutes les sources anciennes, en a jailli une nouvelle, qui nous apporte une paix, une joie, une lumière, une force que nous n'avions jamais connues.

Nous les aimons, et cet amour est un sentiment indéfinissable, une attraction mystérieuse qui nous enveloppe et nous domine, nous dit de la voix la plus impérieuse et la plus persuasive, que nous ne pouvons plus rester seuls; qu'il faut aller de l'avant, nous porter à la rencontre de nos adversaires d'hier; que nous avons besoin d'eux et qu'ils ont besoin de nous, et que de cette rencontre inattendue, invraisemblable, inouïe, naîtra, comme de la rencontre de Joachim et d'Elisabeth, un nouveau précurseur qui préparera les voies d'une nouvelle ère religieuse.

Veillez rester encore un instant, Messieurs, sur la ligne de faite où j'ai tâché de vous conduire tout à l'heure. Nous n'y sommes pas seuls. De tous côtés nous voyons des regards curieux, sympathiques, anxieux qui s'attachent à nous.

Notre étonnement n'est pas moins grand que le leur. Ils sont si différents de nous! C'est que, s'ils sont arrivés au faite, ils y sont parvenus par des chemins très différents de ceux que nous avons suivis; différents non seulement parce qu'ils sont de l'autre côté de la montagne, mais aussi parce que la nature a soudé là deux terrains; d'un côté c'est le granit, de l'autre, le calcaire; et de cette différence initiale provient une diversité de végétation et de culture contre laquelle rien ne pourrait prévaloir. Les cultivateurs des collines calcaires savent quelle folie ce serait de planter chez eux des châtaigners.

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Voulez-vous qu'avant de nous porter plus loin à leur rencontre nous nous arrêtions un instant pour jeter un coup d'œil sur le chemin que nous venons de parcourir et réfléchir à nos nouveaux devoirs.

Si loin que puissent remonter nos souvenirs, nous nous voyons portant un livre; nous l'avons porté jadis comme une sorte de code auquel nous allions demander la vérité théologique, une réponse absolue et définitive à toutes les questions que l'humanité peut se poser dans l'ordre religieux, moral ou métaphysique. D'autres fois nous n'y avons pas cherché des dogmes ou des oracles, mais l'histoire de la création, celle du peuple d'Israël et des origines chrétiennes avec une certitude indiscutable.

Or, voilà que les recherches scientifiques et le travail de notre propre esprit ont impitoyablement détruit en nos consciences cette manière de voir. La théopneustie n'a pas été tuée, elle est morte

lentement, et on peut bien dire qu'aucune puissance au monde ne saurait la ressusciter. Elle est si bien morte que personne ne songe plus à attaquer ou à défendre l'antique notion de révélation.

Et remarquez-le bien, nous ne disons pas que l'examen intérieur de la Bible nous prouve qu'elle n'est pas la révélation, c'est l'idée même de révélation, absolue, immuable, qui nous est devenue étrangère.

N'est-il pas vrai, Messieurs, que si l'ange du Seigneur apparaissait ici ce soir, comme dans les anciennes théophanies, et venait nous certifier que toute la Bible, depuis le premier mot de la Genèse jusqu'au dernier de l'Apocalypse, a été écrite par des hommes qui étaient les instruments de l'esprit divin, que la vérité religieuse est là, qu'elle y est toute, qu'elle n'est que là, que la consommation des temps, la mystérieuse palingénésie de la création attend pour s'accomplir, le jour où la Bible sera le livre sacré de tous les peuples, n'est-il pas vrai que si cela arrivait, un certain nombre d'entre nous se sentiraient fort mal à l'aise.

Ils se sentiraient mal à l'aise, non pour leurs idées, en voyant un miracle si éclatant venir les convaincre d'erreur. Ils se sentiraient mal à l'aise pour le messager céleste et pour celui dont il serait l'ambassadeur.

Que s'est-il donc passé? La Bible n'est-elle plus pour nous le livre sacré? L'avons-nous jetée dédaigneusement loin de nous, comme un recueil de superstitions dépassées?

En aucune façon. Si nous avons eu la douleur de voir quelques-uns de nos frères rester victimes d'une crise de conscience, mourir avant d'avoir vu l'idée d'hier enfanter l'idée d'aujourd'hui, nous nous garderons bien d'avoir pour eux des paroles de condamnation. Ce sont des martyrs morts pour un idéal qu'ils cherchaient sans l'avoir même entrevu. Nous n'oublierons pas qu'il y a des imprécations contre Dieu qui affirment Dieu plus saintement, plus virilement que toutes les définitions des théologiens.

Ce qui est vrai, c'est que la Bible est plus sainte et plus sacrée pour nous qu'elle ne l'était pour nos pères, mais elle l'est d'une façon différente. Le labour scientifique et l'effort de notre propre conscience nous ont amenés peu à peu à avoir d'elle une notion nouvelle. Elle n'est pas le livre tombant du ciel par miracle; elle n'est pas le livre de Dieu: elle est le livre de l'homme, de l'homme allant à Dieu, partant pour ce pèlerinage d'un état de barbarie, d'inconscience morale que nous ne savons même plus imaginer, montant à travers des étapes qui sont peut-être des milliers de siècles vers des formes d'idolâtrie qui malgré leur grossièreté étaient déjà les vagues préludes du culte de Jéhovah.

Et nous, en revivant ces étapes, nous sentons notre foi se transformer et s'approfondir, comprendre la vie, la continuité, la beauté d'une d'une vérité que conquiert pas à pas, goutte de sang après goutte de sang.

L'autorité de la Bible s'est intériorisée. Nous n'aurons pas besoin pour la défendre devant la science d'en appeler à des arguments extra-scientifiques, nous pourrions la recevoir des mains mêmes des savants; la seule différence entre eux et nous, c'est qu'eux l'étudieront dans le passé, tandis que nous, nous étudierons le passé dans la Bible surtout pour le revivre et le continuer.

* * *

Si tout ce que nous venons de voir correspond à quelque réalité il serait bien difficile de nous refuser à comprendre un travail tout à fait analogue qui est en train de s'accomplir dans le catholicisme sur la notion d'Eglise. Elle s'est intériorisée, spiritualisée; en devenant plus vivante, elle est devenue plus personnelle, plus efficace, plus réelle.

Par ce chemin nos frères sont arrivés à cette première ligne de faite où nous les avons rencontrés. Je sais bien que l'autorité qui parle au nom de l'Eglise, n'a rien abandonné de ses prétentions. Les rois déchus ne cessent pas de se croire rois, et l'humanité, dans sa courtoisie, ne cesse pas de les traiter de Majesté.

La chute des royautés spirituelles comporte plus de leçons que le renversement des trônes temporels.

L'attitude actuelle du S. Siècle qui, inconscient de l'immense travail qui s'est accompli dans son empire, poursuit sa route avec une inflexible logique, marque une grande date dans l'histoire. Soyons heureux de la vivre. Tâchons même de nous en rendre dignes.

Avant-garde du protestantisme, nous allons au devant de l'avant-garde du catholicisme, le cœur plein de joie et de confiance dans l'avenir. Aucune barrière ne nous sépare, aucun intérêt confessionnel ne gêne notre démarche.

Nous y allons sans aucune arrière-pensée, portés par un besoin intime. Nous n'y allons, ni pour les conquérir, ni pour leur apporter notre adhésion; et quand nous verrons certains de nos amis protestants s'inquiéter de nos fréquentations, comme d'un prélude possible d'abjuration, ces sentiments nous paraîtront de la part de ceux qui les auront, peut-être sans les formuler, comme un triste aveu de faiblesse.

Nous saurons fréquenter les catholiques, les admirer, sans même songer à transplanter chez nous ce que nous aurons compris et admiré chez eux. Nous sentirons que certains rites, par exemple, peuvent être utiles et vivants chez ceux qui les ont créés, qui ne seraient qu'un simulacre vide de sens et de vie, transportés dans des milieux où ils n'ont pas de racines.

Il y a une parabole provençale qu'on raconte là-bas au pays du soleil, l'hiver, en triant les olives. Je vous demande la permission de

vous la dire en terminant: les aïeules conseillent à leurs petits enfants de se lever de grand matin, sans bruit, pendant les plus calmes journées d'hiver; de précéder le réveil de la nature et de sortir tout doucement dans les champs, puis d'appliquer l'oreille contre le sol pour percevoir le travail de germination qui s'accomplit dans le sein de la terre. Le printemps vient; et alors c'est partout la lutte mystérieuse, acharnée, de tous ces germes voulant percer le sol, et plus tard, se disputant chaque molécule d'humus, chaque gouttelette de rosée. L'été arrive. Chaque plante émet sa fleur, et voilà que chacune de ces plantes qui hier combattaient âprement, se sent bercée par une brise d'amour et de fécondité. Elle regarde autour d'elle: partout elle aperçoit d'autres fleurs qu'elle admire et avec lesquelles elle entame un dialogue. La rose ne voit pas sa beauté, mais le lys voit la beauté de la rose et s'en réjouit, tout comme la rose se réjouit de la beauté du lys."

Les églises ne sont-elles pas, Messieurs, comme les fleurs très diverses de la civilisation, et l'été n'est-il pas venu pour quelques-unes d'entre elles, où, bien loin de se combattre et de se dévorer, elles pourront se comprendre et s'admirer.

CHURCH AND DEMOCRACY, OR POLITICAL MODERNISM

BY ROMOLO MURRI, MEMBER OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES, ROME.

If one cannot say that the question of the relation between the religious and the civil community is definitely settled even in lands where the existence of different churches side by side secures their freedom as far as the state is concerned and their mutual tolerance, in Latin lands its solution is faced by quite peculiar difficulties. For in these lands the Catholic Church even to this day has not yet surrendered its political privilege and its character as official church, and merely tolerates other forms of worship, while on the other side the fight against ecclesiastical privilege leads the democracy to overstep just limits and to take up a hostile attitude towards all positive religion, and to set up the claim, that it is based upon a view of the world and of life entirely humanistic and atheistic.

This condition of things, which has long existed, has in the last few years given place to an interesting double reaction, especially in Italy and France. In the bosom of Catholicism itself, in the ranks of the party, designated by what is in fact the quite general and inexact name of Modernism, a movement has arisen, that seeks for means by which Catholic society may be taken out of the domain of political privilege, in which by its very theory it has lived and worked, and be established upon the new ground of genuine religious freedom, as proclaimed by the democracy. On the other hand, in the bosom of this democracy itself, there has been the painful experience that materialistic teachings are not effective enough to train the conscience in that inward regard for the law of solidarity and brotherly love, without which after all egoism and desire only change their outward appearance, but inwardly remain unaltered or even increase in vehemence. This has led to an examination of the moral conditions of democratic progress, and then it is only a short step from morality to religion.

It appears to me necessary to investigate these two movements with some exactness, if we are to arrive at an inward synthesis that

shall overcome and abolish the division between the religious elements of human life on the one hand, and the utilitarian and economic on the other, between the religious and the civic community. It will therefore be useful, I think, to take a rapid survey of their origin and progress, and this I shall do with special reference to Italy. For various reasons, but above all, because the seat of the central authority of Catholicism is in this country, Italy may be regarded as the classical ground for this experiment, which yet is of importance for all mankind.

It will be well at the outset to note one thing. Political Modernism cannot be regarded as a thing that might be separated from that mighty movement, in which the doctrines and the historical conditions of Catholicism, in fact Christianity itself, has been critically re-examined, i. e., from Modernism as a whole. The historical situation, and the legal and political position of the Christian churches in mediaeval and modern society, is not a thing to be judged purely by itself, it is a result of the position of faith as included in civilization, and can only be understood from many points of view and in connection with the historical development of the mental life of Europe as a whole. Nor is it possible to arrive at a correct critical judgment of these things, except in relation to a complete criticism of Christianity; nay, it is of the greatest fundamental importance in this connection to keep in view the mind of Europe itself, its conception of reality, of life and of society, as is strictly speaking necessary in the investigation of any moment of history.

Political Modernism in France, as in Italy, undoubtedly received its first practical impulse from the fact that the conflict between ecclesiastical society and the strong modern democratic movement was causing serious trouble to many minds, and it began with the attempt to adapt democracy to the Church. This took place first of all in the field of politics, in the period of the struggles for political independence and constitutional liberty — whence arose by degrees what was called liberalism; then in the economic-social field, as that movement of the proletariat, aiming at economic emancipation — which came to be called Christian Socialism or Christian Democracy. But where these movements, as they arose and grew within the bosom of Catholicism, did not gain new strength through the inflowing of the other movements of religious criticism and reform, they came to a stand-still and lost their vital power, or if they still persisted, a thousand forms of doubt, uncertainty and hypocrisy arose in their midst, as might easily be shown from their most recent history in Belgium, France or Italy.

These movements had to stand the test of fire in their relations to ecclesiastical society and the hierarchy. At first the Roman Church gave them actual encouragement, or at any rate did not oppose, because

it might hope to derive from them an increase of influence and popularity, which might be used in its fight for the maintenance of political privilege in the changed circumstances of the time. But when these movements attacked the Church itself, and demanded substantial changes even in its legal constitution, the Church was dismayed, withdrew its support, and under Pius X went decidedly over to a position of antagonism or condemnation.

Now let us consider how that democratic principle was constituted, at which the hierarchy of the church was so dismayed, and which it sought to hit by its condemnation and disabling of political, with other forms of Modernism. The great movement of thought and range of facts, which culminated in the rise and progress of democratic institutions, has made clear to us the following points: The mind of man recognises with ever growing clearness that all the arrangements known to history, which make for the organisation, establishment and perfecting of human relations and common work for the ends of life, are creations of that mind itself, in which it is reflected and manifested. Hence these arrangements find their justification and the standard by which they must be judged, not in themselves, as they are in the form of their historical manifestation, but in the capacity they possess, greater or less, subject to constant change, of realising the aims of that mind, according to the place they hold in the course of its development. Thus we declare them all to be merely relative and capable of further completion, and are convinced that they are subject to ever new adaptations by that mind, which uses every advance and every conquest only as a step towards a new conquest. So also we must look for the laws, according to which they change and develop, in the inward immanent logic of that mind, which itself develops only in so far as it constantly purifies itself, gaining a richer ideal content, and rises to ever higher forms of freedom, justice and brotherly cooperation! Hence we may establish *a priori*, what we can also prove from history, that the domain of human activity dominated by these outward arrangements and subject to their compulsion, is constantly diminishing, while on the other hand individual freedom gains a wider scope. This marks the individual's attainment of maturity for independent action, the one standard for which is the moral law, to which a man freely subjects himself. And similarly it shows how the individual becomes more plastic, so to say, as culture and moral standards act as purifying forces upon his conduct of life. Hence, again, the capacity of these individuals for organisation increases and is manifested in ever new and more practical forms.

In this gain, setting aside the attitude of the hierarchical Church, religion above all has part, for it is most intimately related to the innermost

realm of the spirit, it is the most personal thing there is, and offers the strongest resistance to external compulsion. In ancient and mediaeval society religion was one of the things in which the state took a most lively interest, and in which it demanded unity of action on the part of all citizens. It granted to the Church, therefore, favours, privileges and exemptions of all kinds, and made it, in a sense, a part of the state, sometimes a state within the state, or even a state over the states, only by slow degrees, not without long and bloody revolutions and countless sacrifices, has the state identified itself with freedom of conscience; and this for the reason, not as the Church in its own interest would have us believe, that it holds it immaterial for life or for conscience whether a man has one or another, or indeed no belief at all, but because it was recognised that religious belief is such a sensitive part of human personality, that it cannot endure any kind of forcible intervention and can only live and bear fruit in the air of freedom and complete sincerity. Therefore we cannot today regard and treat the Church as a union in which entrance and membership are regulated by legal necessity, as though it could as a whole take from the individual freedom of choice, and make its decisions on its own account, but we look upon it as a community which one enters or leaves, without any idea of the State being interested in the matter. Everyone must have complete personal freedom to take up whatever attitude he will. Our view of church arrangements is directly opposed to the legal necessity, by which the State constrains the individual to belong to a particular church, and through the rendering of certain services to take part in its life, a necessity which has completely disappeared from our laws. But even any direct intervention of the State in the affairs of the Church, the showing of any official favour, the granting of definite privileges, in fact any direct relation between the State and a particular church organization is contrary to our present-day principles, in accordance with which religion has ceased to be one of the things with which to associate organizations and forms of work, in which citizens are bound by civic compulsion to take part.

Looked at from this point of view complete religious freedom is a thing aimed at rather than a thing possessed, and this aim is commonly described by the phrase "the separation of the Church from the State." But here we are threatened by a natural misunderstanding, into which many fall. For if one understands by 'Church' only a collective and outward organisation, with definite legal forms and definite claims and rights granted and guaranteed to it by the State, such a Church cannot really be separated from the State. It is an existence like the state, it is a state in itself, or a part of the state. For by the word 'state' we

understand today not merely this or that political arrangement, but human activity as a whole organised into a society, manifested in a very definite form, which form we speak of as the State in action: the making of laws, the administration of common interests, in which everyone must in some way take part, the maintenance of the laws, their application to doubtful cases, their enforcement against offenders. When therefore religious society has need of outward legal forms — we say 'outward', to distinguish them from inner standards of belief, which the believer willingly accepts, and to which by voluntary membership in the Church he submits — those legal arrangements must be made and sanctioned by the State, or, to speak more exactly, their creation and establishment is simply the State in action.

The modern State therefore may not concern itself with the content of belief, for it is not competent thereto. Nor has it any more right, by the means at its disposal, to cause its citizens to prefer one church before another. How then, under these circumstances, should it set about the creation of that right and those legal forms, in which the society of the Church lives and moves? The answer is easy. It must create forms in which religious Society with all its activities, so long as it does not contravene the spirit of the laws, can live and move with freedom. By such an attitude it proves at once both its lay character — its incompetence, that is, in matters of religion — and its regard for the freedom of believers and their free union.

The difficulty is to find such forms of legal union, which the State can create, without injury to religious society. But this difficulty is not insuperable, if only the State is careful first of all to confine itself to the care for such things as can interest religion from the legal and civic point of view — the administration of property and the unhindered exercise of common acts of worship. Beyond this it may not make any claim to interfere in the inner constitution of the Church; it must not subject to any suspicious or severe supervision regulations once established, on the ground that they are of a legal character, but must be content simply that they shall have such legal form, in which to carry on their life, administer their property and exercise their activity.

But these principles and their application, on which the democratic tendency of the time unswervingly insists, are a deadly insult to the oldest and strongest claims of the Catholic hierarchy. Shut in with its old mediaeval conceptions, it regards itself as an institution with divine right, founded on a supernatural, extraordinary and wonderful commission, which makes it an organ of the Divine will and the Divine dominion, and gives it the right to set itself above the conscience of men and to rule them, subjecting them to its guidance whether they

will or no. Such a State therefore, as it would be glad to have, is one that recognises it as the superior organ of the Divine dominion, following it dutifully in all spiritual things and through the laws protecting and giving effect to all that it holds necessary for the guidance of consciences; and while the Church, "because of the unfavourable condition of the times" endures that all citizens do not belong to it, it expects the State to place its majesty and power at its disposal, and above all to leave it the school.

Hence arises for political Modernism the necessity, in order to combat such a view and the practice based on| this relation of the Church to the State, to enter upon an extended critical examination of the Sources and the history of Catholicism. For the Roman Church bases this conception on a particular interpretation of the Gospels, on decrees of the Popes and the Councils, on the position it has taken in society from the Edict of Constantine to the French Revolution. It is necessary therefore to show that these traditions may not be put on a level with the essential principles and the genuine spirit of Christian teaching, but that they are a by-product of later growth on the tree of evolution, which did not grow out of that spirit, but out of the historical conditions, in which the Church had to live and act. And further it must be shown that the oldest and most fundamental Christian teaching, the genuinely Christian conception of life and its proper means for the formation of religious society, by no means demand that the Church should still maintain those traditions and those hierarchical privileges, which were applied in the childhood of the spirit, but that now in the time of the maturity of the spirit the most thorough-going and genuine encouragement of religious freedom was in most complete accord with the Christian spirit.

The democratic principle, as we have seen, is not merely a temporary and therefore possibly false standard, but an expression of the development of the spirit itself. That spirit gains ever stronger influence over outward historical institutions, and makes a reality of the mental standards and forms of the common life of today, far more effectively through freedom than formerly it could, incompletely and laboriously, by means of compulsion. The democratic principle is bound to extend also to the Church, in so far as it is an outward legal organisation: and it is this extension which is political Modernism.

Political Modernism, therefore, takes no account of the inner content and the sacramental and disciplinary means of the various churches, and confines itself to the proof, which however it emphasizes in the strongest possible manner, that the Church as outward and legal institution is no end in itself, but only a means for the life of the conscience,

that one can give to it only voluntary and personal adhesion, and that the standard by which the value of the Church must be judged is not that of its outward apparatus, but the usefulness it manifests for the life of the spirit, in the formation and development of its highest and most effective powers — prophetic intuition and creative enthusiasm.

On this account the conflict between the hierarchical Church and religiousness flames up anew today. On this account the hierarchical Church allies itself in the political domain with the partisans of conservatism and reaction, and makes common cause with them; on this account all those who fight for a renewed religiousness are driven into the camp of democracy and become heralds of its loftiest and most potent progressive forces.

I must deny myself the satisfaction of making a number of applications of this critical standard of judgment, for the time at my disposal is barely sufficient to furnish the proof for these general considerations in the changing fortunes of the relation between politics and religion in Italy.

In the period of the achievement of Italian national unity, from 1848 to 1870, church politics were boldly on the side of reform, impelled and sustained by the necessity of providing a constitution for the modern state and of fighting out the political conflict with the Vatican. When Rome was taken from the Pope and made the capital of the new kingdom, the situation in a moment was changed. The victorious bourgeoisie, as though terrified at what they had done, voluntarily surrendered in the notorious law of guarantees much of what was lawfully theirs, only carried out half of the new radical disposition of church property, relinquished all inspection of the clerical schools, and looked on indifferently while with the religious Congregations the holding of property in secret ways was again revived. Their only standard in church politics was to be left in peace themselves and to let everything go its own way. The political life of Italy at this time is marked by scepticism and unthinking utilitarianism, opportunism, and transactions in which the old political parties were broken up and local and particular interests prevailed over the ultimate and highest ends of national life.

On the other side, the Vatican maintains its protest against the occupation of Rome, demands of its supporters their open adhesion to this policy, their help in winning back the temporal power, and with the well known 'non expedit' forbids their participation in political elections.

But while for many years the old clerical organisations confine themselves to lament and protest against liberalism, in the year 1898 unexpectedly a movement springs up among the Young Catholics, and

spreads with the greatest rapidity. The aim of this movement of culture and organisation is to make entrance into modern life possible for them, that they might be able to take up the battle against their opponents with equal weapons. The Vatican at first looks with approval on the movement, since it professes the most sincere devotion to the Church. But then capable opponents from many sides present themselves, and notably from the ranks of the Jesuits and the defenders of the old order. Long and hot conflicts ensue. The Vatican remains long undecided, until in the year 1902 it orders the young men to enter the ranks of an official movement directed by the hand of authority. After some hesitation they determine to obey, with the result, unlooked for by the Vatican, that they bring over the majority to their side and secure the leadership. Pius X, who meanwhile has succeeded Leo XIII, manifests a surprising obstinacy, dissolves the official organisation and begins a pitiless persecution of the young men, with prohibitions, dissolutions and excommunications. He is determined to establish the principle — and the clergy must devote themselves above all to this task — that unquestioning obedience is due to the Pope, even in economic and political matters; and thus he penalizes Murri also with suspension and excommunication, because he is unwilling to accept the new doctrine.

Under the pressure of this difficulty the young men's movement, in defence of its political-social character, is obliged to come to a clear understanding of the causes which make its aims irreconcilable with the tendencies and claims of the hierarchy. It lays stress on its political autonomy, enters on a sharp criticism of the ecclesiastical system, works diligently at the task of reforming the religious conscience, and in order to arm its adherents with a true spiritual freedom for the solution of particular problems of exegesis and theology, preaches that new conception of religious society and its relation to the state, which I have already described.

These young men went over with decision to the side of democracy. They declared in their papers and their meetings, that the fundamental teaching of Christianity agrees in its ethical precepts with the essential demands of democracy, and both could be expressed in the same words: the absolute dignity of each man and of each human conscience, the law of brotherliness in place of the law of force or of mere right, the union of all men in the fight with evil and for the realisation of the good, in constant progress towards a complete unity of will. And if Christianity, they added, contains in itself living and indestructible germs of a special organisation of believers for works of faith and love, that organisation need not in any way take up a suspicious or threatening attitude towards

democracy, since it is simply the renewal of that which Christianity desires essentially to be: a free union of souls, striving after the highest righteousness, unsatisfied and desiring 'renewal', which towards its brothers uses only persuasion and kindness. If such a community is to be established, the present clericalism must be overcome and brought into subjection, and the State is bound to perfect its lay character or neutrality by withdrawing from the institution of the Church all forms of special favour and privilege, which it has hitherto granted, and by creating legal forms for religious union, through which it will be able to establish relations with individual citizens, who freely acknowledge their faith, whereas hitherto it has only had to do with the Church as a whole and the hierarchy.

On the other side all anti-democratic interests are now united. When the Roman Curia finally abandoned its dream of the reconquest of Rome, it changed its programme. To protect itself against the possibility of being overpowered by the state, it aims at bringing as many members of Parliament as possible under its own influence, and therefore tries to get the elections into its own hands. And there are naturally many who submit to this degradation. Elected by Catholics, who are dependent on the authority of the Church, they have to make up their mind not to support any legislation of which the Church does not approve and in public administration to consider the interests of the clergy.

The Italian democracy has not as yet concerned itself much with questions of church politics. Through the teaching of Positivism, accepted to the full, through its meagre utilitarian and naturalistic view of life, it was led to hostility towards all religious teaching and religious feeling; and thus the importance of the task set to the politician by the relation of State and Church was belittled in its eyes almost to vanishing point; there was nothing left for it but to witness the disappearance of religious feeling, or even to hasten the process. The anti-clericalism of the extreme parties was thus throughout the whole period superficial and conceited, prompted by a reversed dogmatism and nourished by the spirit of an intolerance similar at every point to the old theological passions.

But a dangerous crisis is today in process of revealing to the democracy that it cannot with impunity neglect the deepest and highest problems of the spirit. Notwithstanding all manner of outward progress, it sees at last that for a true advance there must be a definite fund of spiritual energy, reliable integrity, genuine devotion to the cause of brotherhood and courage, qualities which its old and threadbare doctrines cannot produce, since they lead only to unbridled individualism. To be in a position seriously and effectively to resist clericalism, a clear

distinction must be made between it and Christian religiousness, which has no worse enemy than that very clericalism. If the attempt is to be made to induce the Italian State once more to take up the threads which were broken by the clerical policy of severance, it must be in the character of liberator, not of persecutor, and the conscience of believing people must once more be quieted. Then only can there be any thought of taking up the fight again, which must now be directed exclusively against church privileges and claims, and against the hierarchy, which separates itself from all, that it may rule over all. The democracy must learn to understand the church question as being the question of whence those powers are derived, which are the source of the spiritual activity essential to its own life; as a question of culture, not merely a technical or intellectual problem, but as the entirely moral question of the education of the will, the socialising of the conscience, as it were, through the universal forms of beauty, justice and goodness, as history has formed and refined them, and through love, which sees to it that the highest gifts of the spirit become the rightful possession of each one.

Social democracy, especially in the Romance countries, is still in bondage to the revolutionary ideas of the past century. It holds it right, therefore, to gather together the social forces by means of the external work of destruction, and hopes that the interests of the victorious class will then of themselves create a new Society. And it has seen how everywhere the official Church opposes what is new. First it resisted the new democratic order, which the bourgeoisie had created, then it took up the conflict against the social work of liberation and to this end allied itself voluntarily and apparently indissolubly with that very bourgeoisie, which it had so recently as yesterday resisted, and strengthened its reactionary tendencies. Therefore social democracy directs its whole strength first of all against the official Church. And the reason is clear. For behind the Church it is fighting furthermore against the religious spirit and the religious conscience, which it erroneously identifies with the external organisation, by which, as a matter of fact those powers are today far more suppressed than nourished.

Social democracy appears likewise to misconceive the first condition of every historical creation. Sometimes, it is true, force works in history like the bursting of a dam or the breaking of a chain, it works as liberator, but the really creative activities, which make history, have their source in the deepest movement of the spirit towards life and the highest ideals, which fill it with a thirst after righteousness and goodness, and give it divine motive power, just as the great rivers have their source in the brilliant heights of the eternal glacier, which the sun kisses.

Social democracy does not understand that on the religious domain, on the field, of profound belief and high ideals there can be no question of destroying but only of quickening to new life. On this domain too much has already been destroyed by the Church as an institution, the official Church, against which Social democracy itself is fighting. In its thirst for power, in its assumption that it must endure for ever, it has for three centuries past done nothing towards training the religious conscience for an ever richer and freer life, its sole endeavour has been to make it poorer, weaker, more subservient and slavish, by narrowing it as much as possible through a crude and literal interpretation of the old religious language, and through a casuistry which sacrificed the religious claims of the spirit to the heathen claims of policy and the old order of society.

Thus the democracy, apparently without knowing it and against its own will, has inaugurated the greatest spiritual advance which the world has experienced since the time of Christ: the abolition of force and compulsion by the State in the domain of faith and the banishment of the hypocrisy with which governments subject themselves to the Church. And nevertheless, the leaders of the hosts of the new proletariat often enough show that they do not understand that religious freedom cannot be brought in and perfected so long as religion is hated, but only when the religious conscience first of all is made free.

But now the question arises: When this religious conscience, through the liberating action of the democracy, has been made alive again, and contributes the utmost energy to the later creations of the democracy, will it be Christian and Catholic?

A religion that is once more to conquer the modern conscience, must present itself as the greatest spiritual force for life and progress, like primitive Christianity it must not be the religion of the satiated, withered and egoistic, but of the unsatisfied souls, who thirst for righteousness and renewal; it must be able to win hosts of adherents in spite of the "constituted disorder", and instead of entering into conflict on the domain of science and politics, where it must be worsted, religion must enter those domains where science and politics cannot follow it, and there bring to light the hidden treasures of the spirit, after which in science and politics men long in vain.

But can Christianity, I shall be asked, be this religion? I am firmly convinced that it is possible, if the essential and original elements of Christianity are freed from mediaeval corruptions and with complete sincerity are made alive again. And I am likewise convinced that Catholicism, especially Italian Catholicism, which we have to some extent formed in our own image, if we think of its popular forms and not of

recent corruptions, still represents a living and rich national tradition, a power for union and moral self-restraint, which ought to be treated with the greatest tenderness even by unbelievers. We must endeavour to revive this Catholicism from within and renew it, to prevent its perishing in the storm of the time, for in that case nothing would remain but the ruins of morality.

But even if a great part of the people should sever themselves from Catholicism, because through a superficial and pretentious half-education they have become too enlightened to be able to accept it as it was formerly, while that enlightenment has left them still so ignorant, that they are not in a position to discover in this religion a deep and living ideal and ethical view of life and the world, I yet believe that Catholicism is still capable of further life as the religion of chosen consciences and heroic men, as a bond of outward union for little groups of souls, hungering after goodness and self sacrifice. On the other hand, the official Church will grow ever weaker in face of this movement, which saps its strength from within, and by degrees the masses will withdraw from it, and with them it will also lose the interest of those who have hitherto made use of it as a power and means of political defence.

A religion thus purified, which has once more become the high school of idealism and goodness, a pure union of souls, a mighty power that can move the world of will, can and will also be capable of living in the air of freedom, without using compulsion to make men enter or hold fast to it. It can cleanse itself from all superstition, from all meanness and hypocrisy, and commend itself to men by proving itself able, always and everywhere, to serve the cause of truth, goodness, and social progress.

And if such a hope is not merely a dream, it will become a reality through our Catholic Modernism, through the working together of all Christian souls, who in spiritual freedom have found the bond of a truth, deeper and firmer than all outward bonds, the common will of the good.

MODERNISM AS A BASIS OF RELIGIOUS UNITY

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In spite of appearances the desire of unity is a constant element of the religious life and a constant factor in its development. Religion requires for the fulness of its expression not only the experience of oneness of spirit between man and God, between the familiar human order which we feel is only the starting point of our life and that vaguely realised spiritual order towards which we are striving, but also the further experience of the communion of all who are straining towards that higher order in some present enjoyment of its promise. Belief in the Communion of Saints is a fundamental article of any religious creed which would be equal to the satisfaction of the human spirit. The creative religious spirit would find its Divine credentials in its efficacy as a spirit of unity. Its prayer is always: "That they may all be one; even as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us: that the world may believe that thou didst send me."

Yet it may seem at first sight as if the history of Christianity has been nothing so much as an endlessly repeated denial of that spirit. Christendom apparently has had as a very condition of its life, not the development and increase of the spirit of unity, but the development and increase of the spirit of separation. Only by repeated schism, or at the very least by repeated centrifugal movements which threatened schism, has Christianity maintained and intensified its vigour. The evidence of history on this point is hardly to be resisted. However serious the reservations we may have to make in appraising the effects of the sixteenth century reform, it can hardly be denied that its most outstanding and permanent effect was a deepening of the religious sense throughout Christendom — not only among the actual Churches of the Reform, but also in the traditional Church of the West from which they had broken away. There is here obviously one of those antinomies which are continually being created, or perhaps we ought to say,

merely disclosed, by the development of life, and on the resolution of which the still further development of life depends. However essential to the life of religion unity of spirit among the faithful may be, it would yet seem as if variety of apprehension and expression were necessary in order that unity might become real and effective.

Whatever truth there may be in this view of the method of development of the religious life must justify itself at the bar of history. If it is not the key to the concrete fact of history, it is not truth at all. Let us therefore question the history of the Christian Church with a view to eliciting its life-secret. At its very beginnings the secret has been caught by the clear vision of the soul of St. Paul. He sees that in fact the spirit has been given in a wide variety of power and function, but is all the more convinced that it is the same spirit which is working through this diversity of gifts. And he sees too that it is by the faithful cultivation of these various gifts that the real increase of the Church is to be procured and measured. But the gradual enfeeblement of original spiritual power which inevitably follows upon the wide and rapid extension of any great living movement together with the necessity of traditional order to the life of every permanent society, led in time to the triumph of the idea of unity over the fact of variety. Such triumphs are always self-defeating. Where an idea prevails only because the fact which would have given it its true character and value has been ignored or denied, it prevails either as a false abstraction or as a practical perversion. In both these ways the idea of religious unity suffered loss in the Christian Church. On the one hand the wealth and robustness of its expression as a fact of life or rather as an ideal at which life aimed, gradually thinned down to the barren conception of uniformity, a conception which rebukes life and in the end annuls it altogether. On the other hand this conception of uniformity lent itself readily to all the devices of arbitrary authority and so helped to transform the Church into a secular polity in which the religious ideal of unity was practically superseded. Yet it was impossible that the religious ideal should be altogether suppressed. The very policy which threatened to suppress it still bore witness to the fulness of its power. If the Catholic Church aimed at uniformity, it was only in one direction and only because it honestly believed that uniformity in that direction was itself conducive to variety of spiritual power and to the real unity of spirit which variety alone could constitute. The uniformity at which the Church aimed and which it was prepared to enforce as a precondition of spiritual unity was what we should now call uniformity of theological opinion. But we must remember that the distinction between the apprehension of truth and the truth apprehended which allows

for variety in the former while asserting a necessary unity of the latter is a quite modern acquisition. The Catholic Church made no such distinction. To its keeping the one essential truth had been delivered. Variety of apprehension of that truth at once raised the question which of the various apprehensions was faithful to the original deposit. That the Church claimed to decide through organs whose function it was, in virtue of a Divine guidance, to safeguard and transmit the authentic tradition. The ruling faith was the Scriptural revelation interpreted by the miraculously preserved and attested tradition of the Church.

Nor did the Reform any more than Catholicism make the distinction of which I have spoken. For it too the truth and its apprehension were co-extensive. The Reform differed from Catholicism only in its view of what the revealed truth was. For both that truth was given in the original deposit of faith, in the witness to Christ of the Sacred Scriptures. But while Catholicism conceived of the actual Church tradition as the necessary guardian of the deposit and the key to its meaning, Protestantism conceived of the revealed deposit as its own sufficient witness and therefore also the criterion of value for all the subsequent tradition of Christendom. The Catholic starting from tradition was bound to demonstrate that each point of the tradition was already given in Scripture or was at least in accordance with it. The Protestant starting from Scripture was free to reject every point of tradition which could not prove its immediate derivation therefrom or correspondence therewith. The Catholic, holding by the full measure of tradition, had convinced himself that in doing so he was but affirming the more surely the common revelation. The Protestant demonstrated his loyalty to the same revelation by abandoning such elements of the tradition as seemed to him incommensurate with either the letter or the spirit of revelation. But both were agreed in holding that there was one revealed truth and that that truth had a Divine right to impose itself upon the acceptance of Christendom. Effective variety in its apprehension was in theory rejected by both.

None the less it was evident even to the early Reformers that in abandoning the integral witness of tradition they had in practice authorised a critical estimate of the original witness of revelation and even imposed it as a duty. But they were by no means ready to accept the consequences of their practical revolution. They saw indeed all the more clearly that, if the Reform was to be saved from disintegration into an unlimited series of private interpretations of Scripture, it was necessary to establish authoritatively the essential sum of truth which the Scriptures contained. The growth of the Protestant sects while it was the inevitable result of the practical revolution, involved

no relaxation of the theory which was common to them all and to Catholicism. In virtue of that theory each not only condemned all the others as false to the essential revelation of Christianity, but also resisted in the full measure of its power the tendency to variety in the apprehension of revealed truth within its own borders. Protestantism was theoretically no less opposed to theological variety than Catholicism. Where Protestantism differed from Catholicism, and so far did more than Catholicism to prepare the necessary transformation and renewal, was in its practical attitude which in spite of theory encouraged religious interest and imposed increasingly on the individual conscience the duty of apprehending the value of the revelation for itself. Thus Protestantism in practice not only extended the individual apprehension of religious truth, but also fostered the type of character which would be equal to such apprehension and to which it would become increasingly necessary for the effective maintenance of the religious life. The effect of the cleavage of Western Christendom into two great camps became accentuated with the passing of the centuries. The Roman Church enforced its ideal of unity by increasing external pressure and at the cost of that independence of judgment and immediacy of conviction which are necessary to religion above all other interests. With the same ideal of the unity of truth, but compelled by its own genius to commit the ascertainment of the one truth to the individual judgment, Protestantism has seen itself dissolved into a nebula of independent and conflicting sects. In the one case the sacrifice of variety to unity has been so absolute that the kind of unity which remains is no longer of value to religion. In the other unity has been sacrificed to variety, even while the former was being sought and the latter shunned. The individual apprehension, which had been trusted to prove the unity of essential truth, has itself proved to be of a quite irreducible variety.

II.

Religion finds itself in an impasse. It is at such moments that the great solutions come. Life must find them or cease to be life. If the Gordian knot cannot be unloosed, it must be cut. So it is that the lesson which Christendom needed to learn in its dire extremity, that extremity itself has forced upon us. We are being driven back to a fresh recognition of the fact which St. Paul had already recognised, that unity demonstrates itself through variety and is established by it. But in order to recognise this fact, we have had to alter our theory of it. The whole modern way of thinking, our general conception of truth, has contributed to that change of theory. We can no longer conceive

of truth as an adequate and finally achieved apprehension of the fact in its completeness. The fact as apprehended is always less than the fact in its native livingness. And the real truth is the truth as it is lived. Between the truth so conceived and the truth as apprehended, there is a great gulf fixed. Between the two sides of that gulf there is no logical bridge. The only communication between them is achieved by a kind of spiritual flight. It is to the wings of the spirit we must trust ourselves if we would leave the intellectual symbol to reach the living fact that it symbolises. Or, changing the metaphor, it is only through some native experience of our own that we can pass from the common symbol of experience to the fact which makes the experience general. And the native individual experience is always something more than the common symbol which represents the generality of experience, just as it is always something infinitely less than the permanent external order which produced it and all other similar experiences. It is this perception of the nature of truth as apprehended and its relation to truth as lived, and the still further relation of both to that source of truth, the fact which provokes and liberates experience, that we are now being forced to apply to the things of religion. There it needs in a supreme degree to be applied. For there the ultimate fact, which is the source of truth, cannot be subjected to those rigorous tests of mechanical measurement or living experiment which apply in the physical or biological sciences and which give to the conclusions of those sciences a greater show, perhaps a closer reality, of correspondence with the facts wherewith they deal. It is not that the tests applied in religious experience are less real. They are more real because more intimate to the reality of the human spirit. The difficulty lies, not in the application of the tests, but in the lack of an adequate medium of registering and communicating its results. Here as elsewhere the intellectual symbol falls short of the reality it would indicate. But here, as nowhere else in the field of knowledge, it falls so far short of it that nothing but an abundant goodwill and sympathy of the spirit can make it an effective symbol at all. The unity of spirit is absolutely essential in matters of religion to such unity as religious truth can achieve. And that unity of spirit depends on the depth and reality of the religious life, which is but another way of saying that it depends on its variety, on its individual thoroughness. It is only the profoundest experiences of the spirit that are also likely to find the most general and intelligible echo in the experience of others.

Now it is just because Catholic Modernism has so fully recognised this condition of religious unity that I am inclined to regard it as the most effective instrument of religious renewal in Christendom. The

very difficulties with which a reforming movement has to contend in the Roman Church may make it more generally effectual in the end than a similar movement in the Churches of the Reform, and that quite independently of its immediate success or failure in reversing or transforming the traditional policy and attitude of Rome itself. The Modernist feels more acutely than the Liberal Protestant the measure of the disaster to religion attendant upon the identification of the intellectual abstractions of theology with the spiritual postulates of religious experience. For that identification has been carried by Rome to its logical conclusion. Revealed truth has become one with its authoritative exposition. The verdict of history upon such a view is decisive. Its condemnation is complete. It is the fact that the intelligent believer of the Roman Communion has been forced by that verdict of condemnation to dig down to the very foundations of the orthodox view of authority that makes him the surest guide in the process of disentangling and re-adjusting religious values. The Liberal Protestant is heir to a tradition of theological modification and abridgment. The Reformers thought to conciliate the scholastic theology of their day with the original revelation by a pruning process. Almost unconsciously and under the constraint of a traditional religious habit, we still follow their lead. We still hope to reach down to a stratum of Biblical theology which will prove to be one with revealed truth itself, the sure and eternal foundation of the whole Christian structure. We appeal indeed to immediate religious experience, but we appeal to it with the confidence that any such individual experience will find in our reduced theology its satisfying expression and abundant confirmation. And if perchance our confidence is not honoured we have nothing more to say. The experience which has failed to meet the test has thereby proved itself to be not religious at all. Now the Modernist, unhampered by this habit of gradual dogmatic recession, the Modernist who had in the Twentieth Century to face the integral mass of dogmatic tradition claiming to be identical with revelation, was really in a better position than the Liberal Protestant for determining the real relations between revelation and dogma. The very absurdities in which the purely logical development of the identification of dogma and revelation had issued, forced him to a more rigorous analysis of the religious fact. And the result of that analysis was that he found the revelation, the immediate disclosure of God's renewing power to man, in man himself, in the inner spiritual experience which was vaguely diffused throughout the race and took cognisance of itself through exceptional forms and degrees of it in highly gifted individuals of the race. It was this power of human life at its best to kindle the life around it to the desire and pursuit of

the best that witnessed to the immediate action of God, that was in itself a Divine revelation. Revelation was possible only through the total human personality to the total human personality. It needed a personality that had felt the touch of God throughout the whole range of its possible spiritual activity to communicate it to others or rather to kindle it in others. The Spirit was the Divine fire that caught the fuel laid on the hearth of human life, and where it caught at all it must set the whole mass ablaze. It was this power of the Spirit passing from life to life in virtue of its own inherent quality and apart from any, even the most rudimentary, intellectual expression given to it that constituted the original and immediate Divine Revelation.

But it was necessary, of course, that this revelation should further mediate itself through intellectual symbols. Men are not satisfied with the kindling power of example, with the magnetism which communicates the secret of life from each to each. They seek to communicate their most incommunicable secrets through the vehicle of speech. The earliest and most primitive attempt to do this through symbols drawn from the world of sense and from their own effective relations with one another will be most successful in suggesting to others the fulness of their spiritual secret. To this primitive expression of spiritual experience the name "revelation" may be legitimately extended, but always with the reservation of its inadequacy as a translation of the unmediated revelation given to and in the individual soul. And this mediated revelation which alone can pass current among men serves as a norm which determines the further development of religion. Men realise the Divine action upon and in them in terms of the symbol already dedicated to past religious experience. There is thus action and re-action, traditional symbols serving to concretise and extend the realisation of Divine action within the soul, and that extended and deepened realisation demanding richer and more adequate symbolism. Thus we have a real growth of revelation, corresponding to the growth of man in all other fields of experience and largely affected by it. The Bible is the supreme and normative example of this growth, since it marks out the line of the most fruitful religious development hitherto known among men. It is the revelation of God *par excellence* in virtue of its witness to this most fruitful direction of man's growth in the knowledge of God. It witnesses both to men's inner religious growth and to the power of tradition in fostering such growth. It is thus the actual normative revelation of humanity, but it is so primarily in virtue of the spirit which its symbols enshrine and only secondarily in virtue of the power of the symbols themselves to evoke the immediately God-given spirit. And the revelation of the Bible is necessarily continued

in the Church, in the life of the whole body of the faithful, of all who voluntarily yield themselves to the action of the Spirit mediated through the ever growing vital tradition. This is indeed the Church, this life of the faithful at once deriving from God in each individual centre and interacting through and among all the individual centres.

As a result of this analysis of the religious fact the Modernist is forced to look for the complete revelation of God in the widest reach of religious humanity, in the vital religious tradition of the race of which nothing that is of permanent value can be lost. Whatever disappears in that tradition disappears because it has been outgrown and is no longer ministerial to the religious life. We need not and indeed we cannot abolish any element of the tradition in obedience to a mere intellectual judgment of its falsehood or insufficiency. The chemistry of life is alone competent to such decisions. It alone decides what it can absorb and what it must reject, what may be helpful to life's further growth and what has become definitely injurious to it. Christianity lives just because man has found in the Spirit of Christ the satisfaction of his religious need at its highest. If we believe that Christianity will endure, it is because we believe that man cannot grow beyond the Spirit of Christ, that it is the ultimate expression of the Divine Spirit as it can work in man. And to the full development of Christianity, to the completed efficacy of the Spirit of Christ, the enlistment of the whole life of humanity in its service is necessary. God may work immediately through an elect. He cannot be satisfied ultimately with an elect. Religion, to come to its best, needs the whole range of human power and variety for its field of action. The conquering note of Christianity is democracy. Within that democracy there is room for, nay, there is absolute need of, all the hierarchies of spiritual power which God Himself in the working-out of His ends through the human process has decreed and established. But we must be sure that the hierarchies which are permitted within the spiritual democracy are only those which have been established by God, by the natural decrees of spirit, or at least those only which may be ministerial to the future effectuation of those decrees. We must be sure that the orders of the Church are indeed holy orders. The life of the Church must find its freedom in God. It must yield itself freely to the leading of the Spirit of God as revealed in Christ, in all that Christ has become or can become to the growing religious apprehension of man. And for the lesson which that spirit can teach it, it must trust to the whole range of human action seeking its satisfying fulfilment in voluntary consecration and obedience to the Divine Will of righteousness. So alone will the Church attain its unity. So alone will it find the unity that is worth attaining.

III.

Now this is the religious ideal which has been the central and controlling inspiration of Modernism. Arising in the midst of the traditional Church, it has boldly dreamed of the only genuine and satisfying Catholicism. That the dream may be fulfilled it has seen quite clearly that no least section of Christian experience can be excluded save at the cost of an incalculable loss to the whole. It has seen that often the smallest section of religious experience may be also the most intense, and therefore all the more necessary to the whole. It has seen also that the exclusions which history has actually enforced have been artificial exclusions, that they had their origin not in the real needs of religious growth, but in a false reading of the conditions of that growth. It has seen that minute sectionalism tended in the long run to dehumanise the intenser forms of faith which it may for the moment have produced, while on the other hand the faith of those larger fragments of a divided Christendom which aimed at preserving their own mutilated unity by merely external and governmental means tended to become a sterile acceptance of prescribed beliefs. On the one hand faith suffered from the narrow range of human interest to which it was confined, on the other from the fact that it ceased altogether to be faith and became identified with correct belief. Protestant pietism and Catholic orthodoxy alike forbade that contact of religion with the wholeness of life, that penetration of life by faith, on which any genuine Catholicism depended. It was only by recognising religion as the highest expression of life, by recognising in the human process a redemptive direction and potency, that unity could become a religious ideal. It was only by becoming one in the unceasing quest of God, of the Eternal Power that makes for righteousness, that the life of humanity could increasingly reach towards its predestined end of perfection.

And if the Modernist recognised the necessity of this reference of religion to life and the wholeness of life, he did not forget what that actually implied in our own time. He was well aware that we are living in the midst of a revolutionary epoch, that old static habits of thought were being replaced by the attempt to make thought itself dynamic, to bring it into closer contact and correspondence with the ever varying movements of life itself; that history had ceased to be a collection of nursery tales and had become the scientific attempt to seize the life of the past in all the living connection of its concrete movement; and again that humanity was entering upon a new era of almost apocalyptic hopes. It was to the life disclosed in these forms of change that Modernism looked for the further proof and growth of religion. And

here again perhaps the very hopelessness of the religious conditions in which it had to conquer its vision may have helped it to a juster measure of the real conditions of the religious problem. Protestant pietism had not altogether broken with life. It had annexed as much of life as it could and had so gained the right to occupy the restricted field of living interests which it had made its own. But Catholic orthodoxy, by openly declaring war upon modern life as a whole, had alienated all the vital interests of the vast populations which it nominally controlled. The Liberal Protestant might still bargain with the modern world because he had provided himself with some of its own currency. The Catholic Modernist, once persuaded of the spiritual bankruptcy of official ecclesiasticism, was compelled to dig in the sweat of his soul into the rich mine of the common life for the spiritual riches that lay buried there in all its unworked veins. But whatever the cause, the fact, I think, remains that the frankest acceptance of the modern world, with all its new hopes and movements, as the theatre and instrument of a further revelation of God's claims and purposes has been the peculiar glory of Modernism.

In conclusion let me say that Modernism neither has nor is a programme for reunion as ordinarily understood. One of its greatest leaders has characterised "the reunion of Christendom, as conceived and desired by a large class of its advocates as perhaps the greatest calamity that could befall religion in general and Christianity in particular. It would mean the formation of a gigantic sect leagued against the rest of the world, excluding and condemning five-sevenths of its religious life." That judgment I heartily endorse. The reunion of sects, even if it could be effected, would mean only the formation of a greater and more dangerous sect. It would be the aggravation, not the destruction, of the sectarian spirit. But fortunately there is no least prospect of success for reunion so conceived. It would involve a hypocritical compromise, the terms of which each particular sect would be seeking to dictate. The disillusionment which would inevitably attend the momentary establishment of such a compromise would speedily bring it to an end. Modernism is the inveterate enemy of all such compromises because it is the inveterate enemy of the sectarian spirit which would find in them an opportunity of its own aggrandisement. It does not desire to create an artificial ecclesiastical unity, but to discover the natural religious unity which the universal working of the Divine Spirit has already created. It sees within the various ecclesiastical framework of different religious societies the activity of a common religious spirit. It feels through the infinite variety of theological speculation and statement the common religious life seeking self-expression.

It recognises that a body is necessary to the spirit, but it recognises also that no body can be healthy in itself or serviceable to the spirit which is not growing out of the spirit's own free activities. The ecclesiastical order or the theological system which insists upon its identity with the religious life of Christendom, which proclaims its exclusive necessity to that life, is but paralysing the life it professes to preserve. But more than that, the polity or the theology which makes such a claim is also paralysing itself. They exist, the one to interpret the religious life to itself, the other to distribute the vital power of religion more effectively throughout the human mass. To do that they must both keep in vital touch with religion at its source and be sensitive to all the varying circumstances of the human order to which they must mediate the things of the spirit. They will be as various in their ministry of the spirit as they are already one in the spirit which they minister. And they must themselves recognise in the variety of their ministry the persistent and necessary claim of the one life which inspires them. Modernism is above everything else the assertion of that principle as the secret of the healthy development of the religious life. It does not seek laboriously to create religious unity. It recognises that religion is already one, one with the unity of human life of which it is the highest expression and the supreme demand. It recognises that just in proportion as the one life of religion is more active and vigorous, the conflict of theological opinion will be more intense and at the same time will hold the greater promise of attaining a generally fruitful view of religious truth, that Church order will also be the more various but will also through its variety seek only to extend and deepen the more the quality of the religious life. Modernism is not so much a programme as a vision, or at least it aims at being a programme only in so far as it is a vision. It sees that life itself is the contradiction of sectarianism, that if sectarianism has had its value for life in the past it was because it procured the variety which could not be procured on other terms in presence of an enforced and artificial unity, but that henceforward sectarianism is nothing more than the paralysing illusion that religious truth and reality exist somewhere in a completed and ultimate form, that they are the exclusive possession of some one religious society. For the pricking of this bubble of illusion it appeals to the religious life itself, the indestructible and continuous unity which determines of itself what measure of variety it needs for its own healthy growth. It is the freedom of the spirit recognised and honoured that will bind itself by its own necessary laws, that will limit itself to the various degrees and in the various ways which will enable it to remain freedom.

THE AIMS AND PRESENT CONDITIONS OF GERMAN MODERNISM

BY DR. PHILIPP FUNK, STETTIN (NOW MUNICH).

The knell of Modernism in France has just been sounded (compare Gaston Riou's report in "La Revue", 15th July last, "Le bilan du Modernisme"), and a mocking echo is heard in the Ultramontane press of Germany. And yet the Modernist movement among the German Catholics has the honour of being presented to the members of the International Congress as altogether alive and full of the joy of life. I do not know if the report be correct with regard to France; it is, however, certain that Gaston Riou's funeral oration has nothing to do with us, for we are, at this moment, in the midst of a promising stage of development.

It is true that the press of the reactionary camp tries to suppress us; even the Church authorities make the same attempt: however Schnitzer is not yet excommunicated; nor Hugo Koch either. The Papal Nuncio in Bavaria follows in his policy the example of the ostrich. Last spring he assured the Prince Regent of Bavaria that Modernism in Germany was dead: Schnitzer and Engert had sacrificed themselves in vain. A few days later, Schnitzer's critical study upon the establishment of the Papacy appeared in the columns of the weekly paper which I edit. This study is now published as a book; it has run through two editions, the third will shortly come out. Further manifestations followed in quick succession: Hugo Koch's courageous work upon the position of Cyprian to the Roman Primate; and now, only ten days ago, Otto Sickenberger's fiery protest to the Archbishop of Munich-Freising with regard to celibacy. But, apart from these striking facts, it is apparent to all that our movement is flourishing. The number of subscribers to our paper has increased astonishingly in the last few months; subscriptions towards a fund for propagating our tenets which we opened only three weeks ago — are coming in rapidly, and upon my editorial table are piles of letters from every part where the German language is spoken.

But to prevent your thinking that we are optimists, who look upon a fire of straws as a conflagration of the universe, I will show you that we are sober enough to judge of our actual position correctly, and will tell you that we have as yet done extremely little in the way of extensive propaganda or systematic agitation. We had not a farthing to call our own. Neither the editor nor the staff of our paper could be paid. In addition to my other work I still carry on the management without payment*. Dr. Engert did the same thing for a whole year. Our staff never got a farthing. But do not these facts prove that our movement has taken root? Can you show me a German weekly paper without capital, without a paid staff, whose columns are so well filled every Sunday as ours are? I may venture to say: our heart's blood is in this journal and our whole soul is in the movement. We are ready to sacrifice all that we possess in nerve-power, in money and in intellect, to prepare a way for liberty.

How should we act differently! The whole possibility of life for our souls lies in the blessings for which we strive. It is a desperate struggle. We are driven to it by two desires. We want **scientific research** and **religious reform**.

It is perhaps no mere chance that the majority of our leaders are South Germans, Swabians and Franks. Scientific and philosophical criticism, as well as the mystical bent, and depth, and intensity of our religious lives, are a South German inheritance. With regard to criticism for instance, we Tübingers suffer for the sins of our fathers, from the Catholic as well as from the Protestant side. For our hard Swabian heads scientific thought has become the principle of our spiritual lives: we are seekers after truth and know no compromise, we are obstinate enough not to shrink from martyrdom. And here in Berlin, at this Congress, which has discussed in such detail the blessed results of Protestant science, we gratefully acknowledge that we too have studied in the school of Protestant theology. The lamps which have guided our steps in many a long night of search for truth we have lighted at the torch of her research.

Our second ideal — **religious reform** — we share with Reform-Catholicism, and we have said thus much about Modernist criticism, which is the most characteristic part of the movement, as it has helped us over the half measures of Reform-Catholicism.

* Since the 1st. October the head office of the paper has been organised and moved to Munich.

Franz Xavier Kraus's watchword was: religious Catholicism instead of political. Our journal, under its former names of "Liberal German Papers", and "The Twentieth Century", never wearied of sounding this war-cry in Catholic Germany. Unhappily, without the hoped-for result. German Catholicism remains Ultramontanism and continues to complicate our politics and our intellectual life. However, if men like Kraus, Klasen, Joseph Müller had succeeded in eliminating the political element, their gain would not have been great. German Catholicism would have been confined to its field of religion without any dogma being infringed and without material prejudice to the central power of Rome. As they did not succeed and as, on the other hand, the desire for release from political Catholicism remained active, the logic of the natural course of events — at first without our will and our knowledge — had to lead to the present position of our movement: to the rejection of Roman absolutism which had wrecked all former attempts at reform. The failure of Reform Catholicism brought the movement to the down-grade of secession. But that is no misfortune. Consistency of conduct and honesty are once more esteemed: Kraus had conformed outwardly, with mental reservations; Schell had only made a formal submission, he was not sincere about it; Joseph Müller fluctuated perpetually between obedience and revolt. German Reform-Catholicism had also something of the Janus head, which Roman Modernism was justly blamed for before its final condemnation. That is over now: we inscribe our ideal upon our banner and present it to the world and to the Church; if the Church condemn us, well and good! We know why we have raised our banner. The judgment of the Church will make no difference. Our conscience is more to us than the judgment of the Church, whereas Kraus and Schell place the Church's verdict above the witness of their own conscience. There is no doubt that it is of value to belong to the community of the Church; it inspires religious life with fervour: isolated religion is in danger of extinction, at least it is in danger of no longer being that which it should be — a reviving fire. But should it happen that community with the Church, instead of fanning the religious flame, threatens to smother and to extinguish it, then religion must be saved at the cost of the Church.

In our tactics we follow the principle: we will not leave the church, we will begin no schism. Perhaps I may use the metaphor of a Limited Company. It is often important for such a Company that the shareholders who make opposition do not die out. Though they are in the minority they are still heard and feared to a certain degree. Opposition is catching and we continue to arouse opposition within the Church as long as we legally belong to its communion. But in no case will we

remain with Rome at the cost of our moral character and our religious ideals. We do not say this because we have lost all feeling for Rome, or that we have even gone so far as to hate her, but because we have learnt from the history of Reform-Catholicism and of Roman Modernism that we may not set up or acknowledge obedience as the principle of moral or religious endeavour. If we wish to obey at any cost, to remain with Rome, cost what it may, then, with Rome and her ancient and stereotyped forms, we must walk over the bodies of all our reform ideals, and finally over the bodies of our own manliness, honesty and moral consistency of conduct.

This is the place to speak of a movement in Catholic Germany of the present day which is akin to our own, but persistently dis avows us as Radical and un-Catholic: I should like to call this movement — “Kultur” Catholicism. You will understand it better when I introduce its two typical embodiments to you, as represented by the “Cologne People’s Paper” and the magazine “Hochland”. The former is a people’s daily paper, and the ideals it advocates have to do with politics, social politics, and intellectual and moral work done in the cause of culture. Connected with the above-mentioned paper is the social-political school of the Catholic People’s Association which has its head-quarters at Munich-Gladbach. Its principal representatives are Brauns, Giesberts, Sonnenschein. Then we have the ably-managed magazine “Hochland” edited by Karl Muths.

These two schools of thought hoped to smuggle their teachings — that is to say, their Modernism — through the barrier of Roman censorship, by not presenting them as purely theological and religious, but by concealing them under the forms of social politics, art and literature. They solemnly declare they are no Modernists, as they do not dream of infringing upon dogma. It does not strike them that this is no longer of importance: it is the spirit which is dangerous. “The Cologne Paper” and the magazine “Hochland” attack the spirit of dogmatic religion: The standard to judge by shall be the religious power of the **individual** and not the creed. Religious experience is to be the source of all intellectual and creative work (compare Muth’s publication: “The Regeneration of Poetry through Religious Experience” Kempton 1909). At the same time — for instance, in the excellent “Hochland” novels — religious forms, the different articles of worship and of dogma, are treated throughout humanly and psychologically, relatively and according to the conditions of the times. The Church censures the “Hochland” novels by Fogazzaro, Handel-Mazzetti, Nanny Lamprecht and others, and declares that in them the feelings and convictions of Lutherans,

of members of the Reformed Church, and of Atheists are represented with as much truth, psychology and sympathy as those of the Catholics. The realistic and humorous treatment of priests in these novels also gives rise to protest (compare Muth's complaints upon the subject Page 117).

We see that the gulf cannot be bridged over. Muth rightly gauged the spiritual and religious culture of the German Catholics by their artistic power of assimilation and production. This ought to have opened his eyes to the fact that, with such material, it would be love's labour lost to attempt to awaken artistic individuality, and at the same time to raise the average mental and religious standard of the community. Since the counter-reformation the Church has, little by little, lost all understanding for personality.

The better part of the magazine "Hochland" is belief in personality and in this we agree. We seek — as our end and aim — personal religion or, what is the same thing, the spirit of the great mystics, the spirit of the old, Catholic, fervid faith, depth and intensity of prayer, ardent devotion to the ideal, which is the precious heritage of Catholic tradition and which is embodied in an endless train of saintly figures. We will revive the **Catholicism of the saints**. We recognise this to be the essence of Catholicism; which lies in the traditional school of religious thought, in the individual training which shall result in more personal and intense religious feeling.

Now I must conclude and bring you down abruptly from the heights of our ideal aims to the solid and sober ground of concrete work.

What do we intend to do to realise these aims? I will only give a few hints: we remain at present in the church and continue our work — which is also slow and requires much patience — of rousing and awakening souls. We do this in two ways: by means of criticism, and by positive and religious work. With the help of criticism we will destroy false authorities and wrong ideals; with our positive work we will get to the core of personal religion. We carry out this work, in the first instance, by means of our journal. But we need capital to do this systematically; we require a head editorial office and also headquarters for the entire movement (Secretary's Office). This capital we hope to get together through an Association we are going to start in October, and through a collection, begun some weeks ago (Subscriptions can be paid in to the German Bank in Augsburg). When we have funds in hand we shall publish pamphlets for the people, and scientific treatises, popularly treated, for the educated classes; we shall also hold lectures and speak in different places. A service of correspondents, giving in-

formation to the press, in political Church questions, is also necessary. And then, if we could only have an Endowment Fund for priests, and also a house in Munich, the natural seat of the movement! This house would be a centre for all our work, first for our business work. Then it would become an asylum for those priests, who have fallen a sacrifice to their convictions. It would be a meeting-place for kindred spirits, a Mount Salvator, upon which the Holy Grail of personal religion would be guarded and honoured by the "knights of the Spirit" of whom Fogazzaro once dreamed.

2. CHRISTIANS AND JEWS.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE LIBERAL CHRISTIAN TOWARD THE JEW

BY THE REV. F. W. PERKINS, D. D. LYNN, MASS.

The question of the attitude of the liberal Christian toward the Jew is, as the general theme of this session implies, but one aspect of the larger question of the Christian's attitude towards all forms of religion other than its own. The answer is simplicity itself. The business of the Christian is to act like one, and that means to act in a spirit of sympathetic appreciation of the contribution which any vitalizing expression of religious faith and spiritual purpose has made to the world's redemption and progress. Nothing short of that reflects the mind of Christ. The peculiarity of Jesus is that he is universal. He is, as Theodore Parker used to say, "the prophet of natural religion." It was Goethe who sweepingly declared: "Let intellectual and spiritual culture progress, and the human mind expand as it will; beyond the grandeur and the moral elevation of Christianity as it shines in the gospels the human mind will not advance." The name of Jesus, said Emerson, "is not so much written as ploughed into the history of the world." These are not arrogant boasts of racial or religious partisans. They are interpretations, shot through with the ardor of spiritual reverence and loyalty, of the essentially world-embracing genius of the religious leader who found his spiritual brethren not exclusively in those of his race or even of his nearest of kin, but who declared in a moment of poignant feeling, "Whosoever will do the will of my Father, the same is my mother and my sister and my brother."

Nothing, perhaps, indicates the loftiness, and therefore the truth, of that ideal so forcibly as the difficulty of men to take it seriously. The clash between the racial ideal and the universal ideal was one of the earliest experiences of Christian history, and it has never ceased through two thousand years. It was Peter the Jew whose Christ-

instructed heart caught the wondrous lesson "that God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness is acceptable to Him." It was the transformed Saul of Tarsus who epitomized the genius of his new-found faith in the radical pronouncement, "Neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature." A new creation the Christian ideal unmistakably is,— so new that even to-day, after centuries of experience, the effort to practice it creaks and halts. Behind us, interwoven with the subtlest textures of our being, coloring our thoughts and shaping our habits in ways of which we are scarcely aware, is the instinct to regard racial divisions as separating chasms which spiritual loyalties cannot bridge. Before us, rising in majestic appeal from spiritual heights which too often seem beyond achievement, shines the imperative ideal which regards racial divisions as but diversified channels for the One Spirit, calling us all to a common service. Nothing short of that ideal will make Christianity a complete fact. It alone commands the future. Those who claim to represent the religion of Christ to the world are fostering a delusion and a shameful mockery if they set any narrower limits to his vision and their own endeavor. The speech of Christ is the native speech of the universal heart. Any Christian who cannot be spiritually intelligible to his neighbor of any race, be he Jew or Gentile, speaks but a provincial dialect. That underlying unity men have often discovered on the lower levels of life. Kipling, the glorifier of physical prowess, is not always the seer of spiritual visions, but he makes us see clearly that humanity is one in his "Ballad of East and West":—

"O East is East and West is West,
And never the twain shall meet
Till earth and sky stand presently
At God's great judgment-seat;
But there is neither East nor West,
Border nor breed nor birth,
When two strong men stand face to face,
Though they come from the ends of the earth."

One, then, might simply insist that the attitude of the Christian toward the Jew must be that of the Christian toward any racial religion. But one is in all justice bound to go beyond that. There are certain special reasons why the Christian should hold the Jew and his religion in gratitude and honor. I pass by the signal service which so many high-minded and public-spirited Jews, of whom we have so fine a representative on the platform here this morning, are rendering to religion and human welfare to-day. In philanthropy, in civic reform, in enlightened statesmanship, in religious purification, in moral idealism, they

bring us all deeply in their debt. But strong as these immediate claims on our respect and gratitude are. I wish to speak of others which go deeper because bound up with the very origin and genius of our Christian religion.

Jesus himself was a Jew. He was a patriotic Jew, who was proud of his racial ancestry and who craved for his people a primacy in the kingdom of God which should gloriously fulfil the prophet's vision and the martyr's sacrifice. His boundless humanity carried with it no diminished loyalty to his own people. He was aroused to a consciousness of his personal mission by the soul-stirring call of a Jewish preacher of national righteousness, who dared to challenge the spiritual self-complacency of Israel's religious teachers by telling them that only through an ethical revival could the expected kingdom come. Jesus' own initial proclamation, "The kingdom of God is at hand," was in terms but the deliberate taking up of the cry of John the Baptist when that bold preacher's scorching tongue was silenced. He had fed his soul on the immortal literature of his people, and in the struggle in the wilderness and the agony on the Cross it was Deuteronomy and the Psalm that brought vision and fortification. In the hour of transfiguration it was Moses and Elijah with whom he felt himself to be linked—two others of that fellowship of successful failures through whom God's work is done. And when the drama was all but played through to its tragic end, the moan that broke in a mighty sob from his burdened spirit, "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how often would I have gathered thy children together even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, but ye would not," was not simply the cry of personal disappointment and grief; it was even more the bitter cry of a wounded patriot, who saw that his own countrymen were, as a nation, about to abdicate that precedence in the kingdom of God which was their spiritual birthright and which he had expected them to take. Sadder words never fell from human lips, and they are the words of Jesus the Jew quite as much as of Jesus the Christ.

I speak as one, let it be said, to whom the spiritual primacy of Jesus is an indisputable fact. Jesus was far more than the child of his race or his time. His habitation is in that timeless world of eternal values where God dwells, and where those also dwell who have won enduring life from the shifting experiences of the seen and the temporal. Nevertheless the Jewish inheritance of Jesus was, in its place, as truly a factor in producing him as was the incalculable endowment of personality which made him himself. Prof. Wernle states the psychological condition of Jesus' appearing when he says: "Christianity could only arise in Jewish soil. Nowhere else did such faith in God, so high a moral

standard, and so lofty a hope for the future lie full of promise side by side, waiting to be unified and exalted into a world-religion." We to whom Christ and Christianity are rich treasures are indebted to the Jew for our most precious inheritance.

For one thing Jesus' Jewish ancestry furnished him with an ethical idea of God. That was the noble distinction of Israel's religion as soon as it emerged into historical self-consciousness—that its God was a being who commanded as a general commands his soldiers, and was to be obeyed as a soldier obeys his general. Yahweh was not merely the personification of natural forces, to be placated and utilized, although of course the naturalizing tendency was not entirely absent. He was the Power who, for the achievement of his own purposes, chose Israel as his servant, and conferred upon it the proud distinction of helper of his will. So Israel from the beginning, in spite of many a crudity of moral standard and many a lapse into a self-indulgent worship of the Baalim, thought of its God. That idea was essentially ethical, in that an Israelite was called to render to Yahweh the free obedience due to a masterful leader, not merely the slavish submission extorted by a capricious natural force.

The essentially ethical character of Israel's religion is often imperfectly perceived, because we fasten our attention on the practical ethical standards of a given time. Yahweh commanded his people to slay the Canaanites; therefore he is not an ethical deity and his religion is not pre-eminently an ethical religion. So runs the argument. But the ethical character of a religion is to be looked for in its ruling idea more than in the shifting moral standards in which that idea seeks practical expression. Eventually, it is true, Israel's faith flowered into standards of practical morality loftier than any produced by any other racial religion. But the ethical distinctiveness of that faith is not to be found merely in the moral sublimity of the Ten Commandments or in the best of Amos or Isaiah or Deuteronomy. It is to be found in the basal conviction that the relation between God and man is the relation of free, self-respecting personalities, in which the right of the superior is to command and the duty of the subordinate is to obey. Yahweh was better served by loyal action than by ceremony and sacrifice.

This ethical idea of God appears in the practical character of Israel's monotheism. Israelites were not monotheists, until late in their career, in the sense of believing that only one God existed; they were monotheists in the sense of believing that only one God existed for them—one God who had a right to their heart's allegiance and loyal service. Other gods might exist for other people, but for Israel to worship and serve them was to desert their colors and betray their cause. A boy

knows that many fathers exist, but there is only one father who has the right to command him and whom it is his duty to obey. In such practical fashion, not through philosophical acuteness, did Israel arrive at its majestic belief in one God. And for the purposes of religion that was better. It were far better to believe that many gods exist and serve one than to believe that one God exists and serve none. Israel's pragmatic faith in God, rooted in a personal ethical relationship, never lost its "native hue and resolution" in the mists of speculation concerning the mode of the Divine existence. It is that splendid fact which justifies Matthew Arnold's noble descriptive, that the God of Israel is "the Eternal who loveth righteousness."

That was the faith which was Jesus' Jewish inheritance. It was the soil in which his faith in the Divine fatherhood and deathless love had root. Too often have liberals emasculated Jesus' faith by draining it of its ethical virility, making God a gelatinous mass of purposeless benignity. No such impotent faith stirred the soul of Jesus. Behind his vision of Divine Love was his inherited belief in the Divine Power, whose pleadings are none the less commands for being veiled. His own appeal rings continually with that heroic note. "Take up your cross and follow me," is his austere command to the rich young ruler, whom he loved, but with whose love of ease he would not temporize. "He that heareth these sayings of mine and doeth them," is his blunt reminder that the assent of the mind cannot do duty for the allegiance of the will. "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven," is his rebuke of those, in our day no less than in his, who substitute adoration of his person for fidelity to his teachings and loyalty to his cause. And the intellectualist, who estimates religious worth by theological acuteness, he corrects with, "He that willeth to do his will shall know of the teaching, whether it be of God or whether I speak from myself." That heroic note, that challenge to high-hearted action that underlying conviction that God is a Righteous Will who must be served by righteous living, belong to Jesus by virtue of his Jewish inheritance.

The most influential element of Jesus' inheritance, however, was Israel's quenchless hope of the coming of the kingdom of God. The religion of the Jew centered in that. With a persistency and splendor that ever redeem crudity, Israel dreamed of the day when the enduring reign of God should be fully established in the earth. Varied were the forms which the expectation assumed. Now it was the reign of a greater David upon David's throne; now it was the reign of a heaven-sent Messiah; now it was the direct rule of God himself with no human vice-

gerent. At one time it meant the enlargement of the political Israel; at another it meant the coming down of a New Jerusalem to supersede the conquered kingdoms of the world. But through all changes of form, through all vicissitudes of outward fortune, sanctifying the days of glory and cheering the nights of disaster, there ever persisted the dominant conviction that God at last must conquer all his enemies and cause his righteous rule to cover the earth as the waters cover the sea. Israel's ideal was a social order in which God should actually reign.

Now that same ideal possessed the soul of Jesus and passed over into the religion he founded. As Prof. Wernle has again said, "the origin of the new religion cannot be conceived without the Jewish hope in the coming kingdom of God." That was at the very heart of Jesus' conception of his mission. Jesus was more than a teacher of permanently indispensable truth. He was more than an exemplifier of the ideal life. He was a man with a social task—to set up the kingdom of God, as definite a task in his own mind as is a painter's to paint a picture or an engineer's to build a bridge. We need not involve ourselves in any discussion of whether or not Jesus regarded himself as the Jewish "Messiah." What is of far more importance is that he regarded himself as sent to do a work which included all that was vital in the supposed work of the Jewish Messiah. The confident expectation that the kingdom was about to come shaped his thought and speech and act. Our modern habit of viewing history as a process of gradual development has too largely caused us to ignore a sense of historical crisis which filled Jesus' mind. It has led us to read into the gospels a theory of the coming of the kingdom which is not there. Jesus thought of himself as "living at the latter end of a decaying world," at the close of one age and in the foreleaming of another. That is what he meant by his confident proclamation, "The kingdom of God is at hand." We must, to be sure, allow for the tendency of Jesus' followers to color his strongly prophetic announcements with their own apocalyptic expectations. And we must, of course, understand that Jesus had no part in the hopes of earthly glory and political dominion which ravished the hearts of Israel. His kingdom was a spiritual kingdom. In it righteousness would rule, love be the scepter, and he who would be chief must serve. But though Jesus did not regard the kingdom as coming by some cosmic upheaval, he did think of it as a new social order to be established so definitely and so obviously as to mark an era distinct from the old.

And does that mean that Jesus was mistaken and disappointed? In a lower sense, yes; in a higher sense, no. Jesus was correct in regarding his coming as precipitating a social crisis. Every new epoch involves a crisis. The Protestant Reformation did. The French Revolution did.

The American Civil War did. Ardent idealists, workers for the kingdom of God, always expect that such storms will clear the air and that society will start anew in a purer atmosphere and on more durable foundations.

"Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord,"—that is always the vision of the prophetic soul when a new spiritual world opens in splendor. In that mood of ecstasy the new beginning seems rather the glorious end of things, "the consummation of the age," and one hardly sees beyond it. If Jesus could not wholly free himself from the idealist's expectation of immediate results, it only shows that he too was human, and also that his Jewish inheritance shaped somewhat the forms of his thought. That does not at all affect the fact that he was set to bring in the kingdom of God. For it he was glad to live; rather than desert it he was willing to die; and the realization of his ideal, the fulfilment of his task, he left as a precious legacy to the generations to follow.

It is the crowning glory of Israel to have given that ideal of the unconquerable kingdom of God to the world, as it is the crowning glory of Jesus to have set it on its way to world-fulfilment. I am profoundly persuaded that the Christianity, particularly the liberal Christianity, of to-day needs an infusion of the militant and objectified social purpose for which that ancient ideal of Israel stands. Too much of our Christianity is purposeless. It is rational, tender, humane, consolatory, but it gets nowhere because it aims nowhere. It has no specific, all-embracing object. It has no trumpet-call, no battle-cry. It has learned many true and interesting things about Jesus, but it has too largely forgotten the basally important truth, that Jesus came into the world to rule—rule by love, to be sure, but yet to rule. Christianity is the product of the most daringly ambitious soul of whom history knows. Any conception of Jesus which omits or obscures that masterful ambition distorts and emasculates his character. By virtue of that element of his nature Jesus is in the mighty company of Mohammed, Caesar, Alexander, Napoleon, men of imperial imagination, who dreamed of world-empire and dared to follow their dreams.

The meaning of the story of the temptation in the wilderness is to be found just here. It dramatizes the temptation of conscious power which came to Jesus, as it comes to all strong men. In Jesus' heart had awakened the tremendous conviction that he was called to found the kingdom of God. To a Jew that meant rule, whatever else it meant. But rule how? There came the temptation. Because Jesus felt within himself the power to rule, he could not fail to be stirred by the spectacle of wordly rule before his eyes. When he confronted the imperial symbols of the Caesars, his heart condemned their secret, but his imagination

thrilled at their challenge. From the heights of conscious power he beheld the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them. Religious patriotism put the insidious question, "Why not master them by force?"—for God, to be sure, but still by force. And when he put that temptation by, it was not because he had abdicated his purpose to rule, but because he had so enlarged and spiritualized it that he refused to exchange the reality for the sham.

That is the Christ, a leader who has transformed without devitalizing Israel's world-ambition, who alone can hope to master the masterful materialism of our modern world. He is the man who has the right to speak to the modern spirit and whom that spirit most needs to hear. He knows how it feels to have power lie in one's hands. He knows the passion for mastery that surges in the heart of the modern captain of industry. He knows the dream of glory that may come to strong rulers of strong nations as their borders enlarge and their silver and gold increase. From his height of spiritual conquest he calls to such masterful men: "You dream of power. I have it to give! Put by the tinsel and glitter of wordly dominion and achieve dominion that shall endure. So shall you know the joy of the strong man."

In that moral idealism, in that spiritual authoritativeness, Jesus shows himself the soul of Judaism. In his sense of filial oneness with his Heavenly Father, in his clear perception of the primacy of love, in his reversal of the standards of the world, regarding him as only great who serves, in his ability to take the kernel and leave the husk of Israel's social ideal, in his loyalty even unto death, Jesus was what he was by that uniqueness of personality which separates any life, great or small, from its fellows. But in his proclamation of the kingdom of God, in his indomitable purpose to bring in a new social order in which God should undividedly rule, in his absolute confidence that the gates of hell should not prevail against it, Jesus is the masterful son of Israel. We of to-day are emphasizing the social aspects of the gospel. We are rightly insisting that Christ's ideal is a social organism, not a menagerie of saints. In it all we are but asserting afresh that ideal of the actual rule of God on earth which was Israel's heritage to its greatest son and, chiefly through him, to the world.

Can any fact indicate more impressively the Christian's debt to the Jew? Does not ordinary gratitude, to say nothing of Christ's own ideals, require that the Christian hold the religion of the Jew in peculiar respect and honor? Is not any other attitude a hideous mockery and an unspeakable disgrace?

THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF JUDAISM TO FREE RELIGION

BY DR. EMIL G. HIRSCH, PROFESSOR OF RABBINIC LITERATURE
AND PHILOSOPHY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

The late hour warns me to be brief. Nevertheless, I trust that I shall be successful in bringing some points concerning my theme into prominence. The theme itself necessitates fuller particulars. For what has Judaism contributed towards the erection of that beautiful temple, that spiritual cathedral, of which the eloquent lecturer before me, has drawn such a majestic picture! Are not the terms Judaism and constraint, Judaism and bondage, synonymous terms for most people? Does not that old prejudice exist among the masses that the fetters that deprived the Jews of their liberty, that chained them down to unlovableness and untruth, were only rent asunder by the appearance of the great Master of Nazareth?

Now, my dear friends, despite this prejudice, Judaism and Freedom are perhaps one and the same thing. At least during modern times, during the last century and during the first part of this century, a free Judaism has developed of its own accord on the other side of the ocean, a Judaism which takes part, and has taken part, in the highest tasks which result from a liberal conception of religion and of the being of religion. Whenever the question is put as to whether Judaism can free itself, whether it can follow Freedom to those lofty heights which the sun first touches and to the highest pinnacles where it leaves its last caress when all around is dark, then one should point to American Judaism. American Judaism is free Judaism, a child of the German spirit.

You have heard much here about the influences which German knowledge and German learning have exercised on the spiritual development of other nations. Judaism across the other side of the water, in America, has also been planted and trained by men of German science, who sharpened their weapons in Germany, and who learnt in German

theological colleges how to use and cultivate a critical spirit. Consequently, also from a narrow national standpoint, the time has come to glance at the growth and course of development of German-American Free Judaism.

Free German-American Judaism has earnestly endeavoured to reconcile doctrine and science. We have learnt in Germany the critical mode of viewing the Bible and the investigations in the domain of comparative theology. We have applied this knowledge. It is just in consequence of the great results of Biblical criticism and of comparative theology that we have perceived, and have become convinced, that we are justified in still calling our free faith Judaism, and that we want to and shall be known as Jews until all differentiating names, that are perfectly justified, disappear and until the temple of all humanity reconciled in God is consecrated. Until then we call ourselves proudly and justly, Jews. For if anything is certain it is this, that what is generally ascribed as a characteristic of Judaism is not characteristically Jewish. Sacrificial worship is not characteristically Jewish, neither is the formal, the ritual. Comparative theology has proved that to us. Similar features are to be found in the religious cults of other nations. Consequently, this did not form the difference between Judaism and Paganism. But, within Israel there arose men who were inspired with the spirit, which we have just heard beautifully described in French, who recognised that religion was not identical with sacrificial worship and that all ritual as the expression of the inner feelings could not serve as the means to elevate men to those lofty heights where they seek God and find God.

What did these Prophets teach us? Not our theology, for in our thoughts of God (we gladly acknowledge this) we have by far exceeded the conception of God in the ancient Bible. Even among the Prophets the change can be detected in which the image of God becomes more and more effulgent, and how it becomes loftier and loftier to each succeeding prophet. The Prophets that arose later on had quite a different conception of God, quite a different perception of the Divine being than their predecessors had.

Later on Judaism did not stop at the conception of God as held by the prophets, they expanded the idea and extended it. And today we do not appeal to the Biblical word when we express formulas concerning the All Holy, the All Comprehending, the All Governing, the holiest problems of life.

Nevertheless, although these prophets were no theologians they were the proclaimers of men as men, of the fact that man is a moral personage and that no man can be denied that quality; that man as

a moral personage bears something Divine within himself and should cultivate and preserve what is Divine within him. This was the glad tidings that the prophets brought to the people of Israel. The people perhaps did not understand it. But, again and again can be read in the prophetic messages the glad consciousness of the value and dignity of the human soul as a human soul. By this conception Judaism stands and falls.

Judaism did not ascribe this abundance of Divine nature and of ethical value only to individual high personages. It finds Divine nature and worth in all men. It is true that we gladly recognise that some have a fuller share than others, some people are called on by God to perform higher work than others. To many persons through religious genius, through talents, through the mystery of revelation, the word that liberates is easier and the spirit that liberates soars higher. We revere these great personages, whether they are of our blood, or whether they are descendants of other races. We listen eagerly to them and follow them joyfully. But none of them, as men, can show anything loftier as far as Divine nature is concerned than what inhabits us and which by the example and the inspiration of these great ones can be developed into a higher state.

On the other hand, we dispute that there is a man in the world who by reason of his colour, of his appearance, or of his descent has lost the power of valuing himself morally and of remaining true to his moral dignity. Consequently, we oppose racial hatred with all our might. We do not assume that as Jews we possess a greater perception of the dignity and value of human beings than others. But, as the great prophets from the very first to the great Nazarene have arisen from our midst, we ascribe to ourselves, rightly or wrongly, the historical calling to take the lead and, in the spirit of the prophets, to act up to our consciousness that the Divine nature lies within every man and that man is appointed to be godlike. Therefore, in addition to the ideas of the moral dignity and ethical value of the human being, we attach importance to justice. This word has been much abused by theologians and a feeling is ascribed to us as if we wished to vindicate ourselves before God and to abide by a bargain; that after we have done some things and neglected others we can claim exculpation by God. We do not understand sin in this sense. We understand the idea of imperfection and we know that religion comes as a saving messenger to lift us out of our imperfection. But we desire to be just towards others.

For this reason Judaism and Free Christianity are thoroughly permeated with the view that the religious tasks of the present day

mostly lie in the social domain; that what we proclaim as precept, what we as individuals consider highest, must be carried out in truth and deed. Therefore, what applied to the prophets applies to us: that we offer our fellowmen the opportunity of leading an existence worthy of a human being; and that we oppose everything that tends to debase human beings, whether it be their own sinfulness and passion, or the greed and selfishness of other people.

Just as you oppose in the name of Free Christianity all those who assert that the single man is only on earth to serve other super-men, that the super-men have no duties but only privileges, so do we in the name of Judaism. We proclaim the doctrine of duties, just as we do the doctrine of rights, and wherever we recognise a right we emphasise duty. It is only through duty that we attain rights and privileges. This is the doctrine that we have gained from the prophets and which, yonder in America, our free Judaism preaches from our pulpits and emphasises and carries into effect in our social work.

And the last brick which we believe we ought to contribute to the temple of the free religions, my dear friends, is the idea that God's kingdom is not only yonder, but above all here on earth. God's kingdom is not above the clouds, it is among us, as one of our own nation has announced. It must be in us and among us. This is what we want to realise. The motto on our banner is: we are called on to join others in love and not in hatred; this is the reason why we pray (and we want to turn prayer into deed) that our loving God may protect us from racial hatred, caste hatred and general hatred and other machinations of the devil.

We believe that the temple of humanity will arise and we join others in building it diligently, so that the roof of its noble and splendid hall may protect and cover all children of God in the recognition of their moral dignity.

And there is another task that remains for modern Judaism and that is one of a literary nature. I have already spoken about the manner in which without any reservations we accept the results of Biblical criticism, of comparative theology. We also require the same method to be used in investigating and examining the documents, the original history of Christianity. We believe that the gap that is supposed to exist between ancient Judaism and the new Christendom does not exist. It is true that when that fiery spirit St. Paul stood in the middle of the strife against his fellow-countrymen and fellow-believers the idea may have occurred to him that in his old camp the Law was paramount and not the new Love. But, whoever reads history with open eyes, and

those who know how conditions at that time shaped themselves, will be dubious as to whether the split really existed. Whoever asserts that since the days of exile Judaism has congealed to a dead letter of law, forgets that the same Bible critics who allow such creations to be begotten in the time of Ezra, also teach us that many psalms were of later date. Do these psalms resound with the dead letter of the law? or does the human soul exult in them in joy, in freedom and in the knowledge of its origin from God and in its unity with God?

Thus, two measures should not be used; Bible criticism should not be called into play when it suits the purpose in hand, and its results suppressed whenever they may perhaps upset our convictions.

Likewise, this is the case in regard to the first Christian communion. The general *modus operandi* has been to operate with Rabbinical writings in order to make the contrast more marked; hereby, however, the fact has been forgotten that these writings originated in the second century, or even still later, and that, so to say, nothing has been handed down to us by the contemporaries of the great prophet of Nazareth. Again, it is not taken into consideration that at that time the Jews were fighting for State and nationality and that their front was directed against Rome; that their excluding everything foreign from their camp can only be understood if we imagine what Rome meant for the Jews at that time, and what Judaism was under Rome. On the other hand, it must be acknowledged: the stubbornness which surrounded Judaism with wall and ramparts, with protective wall and enclosures, with the religion of the law, was partly inspired by the endeavour to check breaches being made in Judaism by the new Christian communion.

But even if we acknowledge all this (and we do acknowledge it), in order to understand the original writings and documents of Christianity, when we investigate them, contemporary Jewish disposition must be taken into account. This ought not to be neglected. And then it will be seen that the great Master, in all his being and existence, desired to be nothing else, and was nothing else, than a child in his own way of the great doctrines that had been proclaimed with tongues of fire by the lips of the prophets of Israel.

In this sense we appropriate the Gospels as our property; not as if they contained anything new for us; but for the world these writings were really epistles for a new conception of life, a conception which in its fundamental tone is still the same as is to be found among the great prophets of Israel.

We do not come over to you, but we join you. We modern Jews do not want to lower the old flag from the mast of our ship. When

ships cross the ocean they fly two flags, one showing from where they come, the other showing the port for which they are bound. Thus our modern Jewish ship displays two flags. The one is the flag of Israel steeped in blood and soaked in tears, but despite this radiant with the sunshine of beautiful hopes and expectations. The other flag is that of unified humanity. If we run into port and find other craft with the same signals then our special flag shall be hauled down and the flag of humanity hauled up on the other mast. The colours of this flag too denote the same as what is signalled, although perhaps a little more obscure, by the true colours of the flag of prophetic, modern, and free Judaism.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF JUDAISM FOR THE PROGRESS OF RELIGION.

By Professor HERMANN COHEN, Marburg.

The World-Congress for Religious Progress has for its mainspring the important fundamental thought that religious progress can in no wise be confined to any single religion but must devote itself to the furtherance of religion in general.

This fundamental idea immediately involves a tactical postulate, namely, the demand of a mental readiness for sympathy with foreign religions.

Beginning with this second demand, we may say that without sympathy, without the silent understanding that is in all mature religions, genuine humanity, which is identical with genuine divinity, is continually struggling for expression, it is impossible to comprehend and pass judgment upon any positive religion. With respect to the work of art which we term religion, idealisation is as necessary as elsewhere the primary condition for each of its adherents, but no less so for the outside student. Without idealisation even the historical ascertainment of facts would be impossible, at least in so far as such an attempt aimed at presenting one collective spiritual view of the matter. To be sure, the counter-condition of an exact study of the available sources should never be lost out of sight. For without this latter it would not be possible for the process of idealisation itself to come into operation: a mere subjective phantom would ensue, distorting our view of general culture.

Genuine idealisation represents in each religion the sum of the general religious progress in it. But wherein, by means of what criterion is this progress in religion to be discerned and determined? Obviously our means of ascertaining such a progress must be an element which all higher religions (Kulturreligionen) have in common. Now it would perhaps be natural to suppose that this common element were Monotheism. But this concept is avowedly so complicated that it can hardly be made to serve as an unequivocal criterion.

If we merely regard the simple literal meaning of the term progress (Fortschritt), we are referred to a goal. Now does this goal lie within the domain of religious progress, or does it lie beyond it, and thus beyond all religion whatever? This is the great difficulty involved in the question of a criterion for religious progress.

It would perhaps be possible, for the sake of not allowing purely philosophical differences to come up for discussion on this occasion, to avoid putting this question in its whole severity, namely with respect to the relation of religion to philosophical ethics. It may perhaps suffice merely to point to the relation subsisting between religion and morality in order already to attain to a certain degree of clearness with regard to the nature of religious progress. Religion and morality are regarded as not identical. Morality may then consequently be designated as the goal towards which religion is advancing; and the various degrees of such a progress will constitute the criterion of this progress.

Unquestionably all monotheistic religions, in so far as they have undergone development, have had a part in this moral progress. It is my task to bring the proof of this in the case of Judaism. This my thesis as such is bound to encounter many prejudices, many difficulties. But I shall depend on your general religious sympathy and leave them all unconsidered. I am likewise not afraid of being charged with overcolouring my subject; for I am addressing a congress which recognises in idealisation the only means of comprehending and interpreting any religion.

I must however at the outset draw attention to a particular circumstance. General Christian culture knows Judaism through the Old Testament. To be able, however, to appreciate the religious progress to which Judaism may justly lay claim involves a knowledge of the post-Biblical period, of its literature and of its actual religious usage; furthermore a knowledge of living Judaism in its religious present. For with all its development and differentiation, with all its struggles from within and influences from without, Judaism has preserved itself as a living historical unity.

In spite of all ill-will, it has always been conceded, whether willingly or unwillingly, that Judaism has maintained in its believers the capacity for culture; and that consequently spiritual and moral forces must lie at its base. But the significance and the value of this insight, with which modern humanity arris itself, becomes confused and unreliable as soon as this capacity for moral culture (kulturelle Sittlichkeit) is not discerned and acknowledged to be inherent in the religion itself.

1. It is therefore of importance at the very outset to grasp Jewish monotheism in its peculiarity. God's oneness is here meant to signify absolute singleness. And this denotes absolute difference from all manner of Being, not merely from all material Being, but likewise and no less from all other mental and spiritual Being. Only through this means is the unique being of the one God capable of being raised to genuine spirituality (*Geistigkeit*). This may perhaps appear as one-sided from the point of view of universal culture. But this one-sidedness appertains to the very essence of the Jewish conception of God. And since God partakes of Being different from all other manner of Being, He represents the most real and genuine Being, in comparison with which all other Being, as that of nature and of the world of man, is mere semblance and shadow, — at any rate until the creation and the image of God undertakes to transfigure and confirm it.

There is thus contained in the absolute spirituality of Jewish monotheism a general element of culture tending and leading towards moral idealism. All the powers of nature and all the forces of culture lose their puissance in the face of the idea of this only and spiritual God. And all mundane existence becomes incommensurate with this spiritual God. There thus arises of necessity the conclusion that the significance of this single God can in no wise consist in a relation to nature, involving thereby a basis of comparison between the two, nor likewise in a relation to nature in man. And there thus ensues the further positive inference that the significance of this spiritual God can lie only in that spiritual force, which, in contradistinction to all nature, constitutes the concept of morality and the problem of the moral world.

Here the objection may arise that if God is to mean merely the law and the prototype of morality, then religion will thereby be straightways reduced to morality, whereas it should be understood that both are not one and the same thing. But what can religion presume to vouchsafe over and above morality? It would not only be curtailing the right of morality but also obscuring the light of religion to regard God as having any significance beyond and above the domain of morality. In the nature of God Judaism regards only that as religion which this nature contributes towards morality. His essence consists in His attributes. And the so-called thirteen attributes have reference singly and purely to the love and the righteousness of God, in which He serves as emblem and pattern for human morality. All mysticism with regard to His other qualities is warded off because of the dangers it is fraught with for the fundamental idea of oneness and singleness.

The enthusiasm of Jewish religiosity is founded on the consciousness of the decisive importance of this fundamental idea. And this consciousness,

in all the varying stages and grades of human insight, is alive in every Jew, as in truth it constituted at all times the centre of gravity of the Jewish consciousness. One needs but have experienced and have witnessed the fervour with which the Jew prays his "Hear O Israel" at the conclusion of his Day of Atonement, the fervour of these words as he breathes out his soul, to feel the truth of this. It is the same excess of enthusiasm which finds such wonderful expression in the words of the Psalmist: "Whom have I in heaven but thee? And there is none upon earth that I desire beside thee. . . . But it is good for me to draw near unto God" (73, 25, 28). Those who would confound the peculiar quality of this Jewish enthusiasm with the mysticism of Pantheism or with the love of Christ, misapprehend its character. For in both the latter man partakes of the very quality of God, whereas the singleness of the Jewish God wards off all comparison with heaven and earth, all connection with man.

Pantheism has not been exclusively a detriment to religion. And far be it from us to deny that the love of Christ, as of the ideal of mankind, has had its manifold share in the progress of religion. But the dangers which Pantheism bears in its train for the moral potency of the idea of God are too well known to be overlooked; no less, however, likewise those with which Christianity itself has at various times been threatened through an exaggerated and one-sided love of Christ.

The one God of Judaism preserves His spirituality in His incomparability with everything of heaven and earth which may likewise be contained in man. Therefore all manner of intercession, which a superior human being might undertake as between God and man, is altogether incompatible with His essence. This leads us to a second factor in the religious progress of Judaism.

2. The aim of religion as such is atonement.* To be sure, atonement with God is for the moral conception of religion only a means; the latter must in reality consist in the atonement of man with himself. But religion would neutralise its own virtue if it were ever to surrender the atonement with God as the indispensable means for this latter end.

It is well known that old Biblical Judaism still had the institution of sacrifice, to be sure only that of animal sacrifice. The zeal of the prophets against it lends colour to the historical surmise that perhaps even without the destruction of the temple the internal development of Ju-

* There is some difficulty in translating the German *Versöhnung* in this connection; we have decided to render it throughout with **atonement** rather than with **reconciliation**, for although now generally used in the sense of expiation, it had originally the quite literal meaning of **at-one-ment**, and is thus much more expressive.

The Translator.

daism would have led to the abolition of sacrifice. **Rabbi Jochanan ben Sakkai**, as is well known, implored Vespasian not for the preservation of the temple but for permission to erect a seat of learning in Jamnia. And among all the holy-days of post-Biblical Judaism, there is none so instructive and so full of significance for the principle of its internal religious development as the Day of Atonement, which came to be and has ever continued the distinctive mark and the sign of life of modern Judaism.

On this one day many Jews of the present day endeavour to manifest and maintain their connection with their religion. The chief feature of the services is a confession of sins, which, in Oriental fashion, are presented in rigorous and exact enumeration; but ritual commands are not even so much as mentioned. It is solely and exclusively moral transgressions which in solemn array are brought home in an overwhelming appeal to the soul.

There is no need of any divine intervention, trespassing in any way on the nature of God, in order to bring about the Jews' peace of soul by means of a peace with God. No priest, in the function of a vicar of God, and no God-Man is permitted to say on such occasion: I am the way to God. Without any one to intercede, the soul fights its own battle, and in private penitence, in prayer, and in the resolve to moral action it attains its salvation.

Theoretic morality itself makes a great gain through the means of this independent, eminently human work of salvation, directed as it is towards the God of morality, — namely, through the concept of innocent sin (Shegaga). This Socratic insight is the crowning triumph of Jewish salvation. Frailty is in the very nature of all human action; frailty and imperfect knowledge; a doing as without consciousness. This insight finds expression in the words proclaimed as the very motto of the Day of Atonement: "And all the congregation of the children of Israel shall be forgiven, and the stranger that sojourneth among them; for the whole people shall have the benefit of Shegaga" (Numb. 15, 26). Will there anyone be ready to doubt that the purified Jewish consciousness will likewise instinctively have extended this atonement to those nations in the midst of which the Jew now dwells, just as the Talmud had already done to the heathen stranger? Atonement is in his eyes something emanating from the one and only God, who is the "Lord of the whole earth", the father of all mankind; for whom alone it is fitting to say, "I forgive."

3. Among the various prejudices which make a just appreciation of Judaism impossible, the false translation of Thora with Law (Gesetz) instead of with Doctrine (Lehre) is foremost. In the Pentateuch the

love to God is by no means the only commandment. This love can at all events manifest itself in the fulfilment of the law. But it is the knowledge of God (Gotteserkenntnis) which is in no less a degree required. "And thou shalt learn it this day, and fasten it in thy heart." The love to God is the love to morality. For God cannot be loved with the love we bear to a human being. Spiritual life consists singly and exclusively in the cultivation of morality. But morality presupposes Knowledge (Erkenntnis), even if such knowledge be not amplified into a science of morality. And thus the Thora must likewise be the doctrine, the knowledge of morality.

Among all the symptoms afforded by Jewish history, perhaps the most remarkable is the fact that in the Jewish people, even in the days of greatest affliction and persecution, the distinction between poor and rich was never tantamount to a distinction between ignorance on the one hand and education or even scholarship on the other.

If it is true that a real proletariat never existed in Israel, the ultimate reason for this lay in the fact that its religion (Thora) was never merely Law, but always a living body of doctrine. The poor who were compelled to engage in fatiguing labour were not thereby excluded from the scholar's life. Every hour of leisure and particularly the hours of the night were devoted to the study of the Talmud. This fact, little as it is known, and still less appreciated in its great culturo-historical significance for the comprehension of the riddle of the preservation of Judaism, constitutes also one of the most important factors in general religious progress.

For this reason the Reformation, and just as little, in view of our previous remarks, the concept of Justification by Faith, — important as these two factors in their historical influence have been and are for the deepest progress of culture, — can in no wise be said to constitute an advance in matters of principle over Judaism. Not merely the knowledge of the Bible alone, but likewise the study of the so-called oral doctrine, of the Talmud and of its continuations, constituted the spiritual life-content of rich and poor alike. The Talmudic precept that the study of the doctrine outweighs all commandments has been included in our very prayers. And thus it was impossible for ignorance ever to be suffered within the nation.

This is likewise the reason why, after the old priestly order had disappeared, it was impossible for a new clerical body to arise having a monopoly of learning. And for the same reason it was impossible for the thought ever to arise, particularly with any semblance of religious sanction, that religion contained as its most precious treasure truths which it was forbidden to endeavour to know, and which were to be

taken only as matters of faith. This obnoxious distinction between faith and knowledge has no place in the Jewish consciousness. Faith (the word is built from a root denoting firmness, durability) was always conceived in consonance with knowledge, — nay, more, this consonance is ordained and required. The nature of God is the sole exception to the claims of positive knowledge. But God's Being is a matter of fervent belief, because of clear knowledge, namely of the knowledge of morality.

This mode of interpreting and of realising the concept of the Doctrine has verified and substantiated the longing of Moses: "Ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests and an holy nation" (Exod. 19, 6). But it was not merely the suppression of every form of clergy which was achieved thereby; no, this fundamental thought extended its influence through the whole of the social fabric of this religious community, and thus had an immediate and living influence on morality.

4. Among the Ten Commandments only that relating to the **Sabbath** underwent any considerable change in the repetition of the Decalogue. In Exodus, creation is the reason assigned for the institution of the Sabbath, which obtained therewith most assuredly no mere apparently religious motivation; for the Sabbath appears thereby in the light of the final goal of the whole of creation. In spite of this, the Deuteronomic version drops this reason altogether, and in its place the great sentence makes its appearance: "That thy manservant and thy maid-servant may rest as well as thou . . . therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the sabbath day" (Deut. 5, 14, 15). If the Jewish religion had no other merits at all, the ordainment of the Sabbath alone, its institution and its preservation, would entitle it to the claim of being a pioneer in matters of religious progress. For although the economic conditions of the present day impede and render well-nigh impossible the keeping holy of the Sabbath for almost the whole of the Jewish nation, it is nevertheless still held on high as the social symbol of Judaism. For although this religious institution is perhaps the only one, which, invented and introduced by one religion, has succeeded in capturing the whole civilized world, Jews can with the best of will not overlook the fact that the Christian churches, in accordance with their dogmatic basis, have changed this Jewish Sabbath into the Sunday, on which, in express distinction to the Biblical motivation in both its forms, it is the resurrection of Christ which is celebrated. Here there is a conflict for the whole of the nation's economic and cultural life which remains to be adjusted at the hands of general religious progress.

If then on the one hand the Sabbath is the very symbol of genuine religious progress in general, which can alone clearly and fundamentally

manifest itself in the alleviation and final settlement of social antagonisms, in so far as they endanger the unity of culture, then on the other this social Sabbath, which in the past endowed the Jew of the mediaeval ghetto with the comfort and the consciousness of being a civilized being (*Kultur Mensch*), has enabled the Jew himself, now and always, to fulfil the primal elements of his religion. For only by virtue of the fact that this day in each week was reserved and consecrated not merely to rest from workday labour, and not merely to so-called religious services, but also and quite as much to the study of the body of doctrine, — only by virtue of this was it possible for the whole spiritual fabric of Judaism ever to have been preserved alive. For this reason ignorant superstition was never wholly able to supersede the great religious insight that on the sabbath there was to be no occupation other than study. And the religious services themselves were not confined to prayer alone; learned discourses were likewise introduced for purposes of edification, in order that the less learned might likewise find some spiritual nutriment. Without teaching, no edification and no devotion: — this is the fundamental thought of Jewish religious services, as well as of the whole of Jewish religious life.

It is, of course, a one-sidedness in the Jewish religion to attempt to dominate the whole of man's life. This propensity is an inward continuation of the old theocracy, which belongs in part to the legendary age; and we must not endeavour to palliate the fact that herein are contained the dark sides of a rigid and indiscreet Jewish ritualism. On the other hand it must be acknowledged that this domination aimed at the thorough permeation of life, so that, just as there subsisted no difference between priest and Israelite, so also it was intended for the whole of man's life and conduce to do away with all distinction between the sacred and the secular: "Be all thy deeds for the sake of God."

Thus the conception of religion was to be freed from the idea which represents it as serving only the interests of a world beyond and not primarily and above all things those of the world we live in. Not that the thought of the world beyond was in any way to be curtailed, — on the contrary, the concept of the resurrection was soon after the Persian period allowed to assume a place within the Jew's religious consciousness. Nevertheless the whole of Jewish literature shows the marked tendency to fix the centre of gravity of religion not in the thought of a world beyond but rather to fasten and establish it in the actual life of man on earth.

In this respect also ancient Judaism felt itself already in antagonism to its heathen surroundings. The polytheistic religions have their centre of gravity in the belief of a world beyond, a belief originally derived

from their ancestral cults, from which the concept of immortality took its rise. And Christianity likewise, although it endowed its concept of eternal life with ever so much of deep meaning, was in spite of this forced to maintain as the foundation of its religion the notions of a world beyond and of a new birth, because it was only thereby that salvation could be achieved and therewith the Christian concept of God realised. For this reason Christian morality is compelled to direct itself to this as its final goal; and attains thereby in point of general culture the great advantage of being removed from the affairs of this world in sublime piety and in world-disdain. To be sure, this withdrawal from the world is fraught with very grave ambiguities. Thus the Middle Age appears under the dominion of two powers. And only in the most recent days has the attempt been made of reviving the historical spirit of the Reformation by adopting the watchword of "practical Christianity."

Even apart from the contents of the social laws and thoughts, with which this new view of Christianity returns to the social legislation of the Pentateuch, the new watchword itself is deeply and originally Jewish: the penetration of the whole of man's life with the thoughts, the demands and the emotions of religion. And as a matter of fact, it has been expressly acknowledged on the part of leaders of this social movement of practical Christianity that a return must be made to the social legislation of the Pentateuch.

And it was the return to life of this political conviction, and the historical insight which this had it in its power to awaken, which was not least among the causes conducing to a thorough revision of the whole of the customary historical judgment concerning the nature of the prophets, as this indeed has turned out to be the signal service rendered by modern Biblical criticism, in other words by Protestant academic theology. In the general consciousness of educated humanity the old Israelitic prophets are no longer mere soothsayers, — in which case they would have been no more than merely a kind of priests, whereas as a matter of fact they engaged themselves, with all the passion the religious heart of man is capable of, in the bitterest opposition no less to these than to the kings and the nobility: — they are in truth the pioneers of a new religion because of a new morality. But this new morality and consequently this new religion is dominated by the idea of the Sabbath. On the Sabbath the toiler is to be relieved from his labour; this is Jeremiah's view of the Sabbath (17, 21 sq.). And Isaiah has the words, "He that keepeth the sabbath from profaning it, and keepeth his hand from doing any evil" (56, 2), thus comprehending in his sense for social morality the sum of all evil in the profanation of the Sabbath. And thus the Sabbath will ever remain a symbol of the whole of genuine religious

life, as of a life which is permeated with the most genuine thoughts of religion, and which by virtue of this interpenetration becomes consecrated to the moral life.

5. There still remains to be mentioned a particular advantage accruing from the law concerning the Sabbath. Social interest, in this case as everywhere else, has a direct and immediate political influence. Thus the institution of the Sabbath helped first of all to abolish slavery in principle, and other laws were later enacted to complete the task. But apart from the ancient system of slavery, it is the vital principle of political freedom in general which this institution of the sabbath secures and establishes, and converts into the very anchoring-ground of the whole of religious thought. The words, "Ye are the children of the Lord your God" (Deut. 14, 1), attain to the validity of a serious truth only in the light of those other words, "Thou shalt choose life" (Deut. 30, 19). Only through the means of the demand of freedom of choice, which tradition has based on this verse, is the real consummation of the religious concept of man effected.

On the other hand this religious concept of freedom must not be confounded with the corresponding ethical concept. The religious significance of freedom is determined by the somewhat naive claims and considerations resulting from the two-sided relation between God and man. It is intended that man should on no account be regarded as simply an animal, or as a natural creature in general, but rather as a creation of God, as a child of God. Therein consists his likeness with God. And consequently he can likewise not be said to be the tool of an evil instinct, just as little as God himself is an evil demon, from whom evil could emanate.

The freedom with which Judaism endows man consequently means purity of heart. This constitutes the contradiction, the denial of original sin. It is therefore instructive to see that the Psalmist conceives a pure heart as the creation of God and that it is this for which he supplicates. "Create in me a pure heart, O God; and renew a stedfast spirit within me" (Ps. 51, 10). The receipt of a pure heart at birth is not to be the subject of our longing, but its creation is the work, is the task of one's whole life. This is likewise the ultimate meaning of ethical freedom: that it be not originally present as fact, as datum, but that it always be conceived as task, and always remain so.

If freedom is thus equivalent to purity, it will be impossible to regard the latter as innate possession or as gift of God; on the contrary it will constitute the ideal of man. Purity with man signifies the same as holiness with God. But this purity is precept and pattern for the

struggle of life, which must be carried on under the guidance of a rational, a moral will, namely, the will of freedom.

This is the freedom of the children of God which Judaism teaches, whereas the freedom mentioned in the Epistle to the Romans (8, 21), and which Luther has translated in this sense (the English version has *liberty*), has in reality reference to the world beyond and signifies participation in the Godhead, in the glory ($\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$) of God. In the first case it is human life which is presented to choice. Therefore: "Thou shalt choose life" cf. supra). And this sense of freedom with respect to life has conferred on the religious consciousness of Judaism on the one hand its imperishable optimism, on the other its unflinching capacity for martyrdom, which in endless variety of form constitutes as a whole its historical existence, or at the very least accompanies it.

But above all, this freedom has been instrumental in inculcating the Jew with a sense of his personal responsibility for his actions. And this personal conscientiousness is and continues to be the centre of gravity of all religious sentiment. Sins are confessed openly before the whole congregation. This was ordained by the Talmud and therewith the confessional was ever after an impossibility. And only through such means is the distinction between congregation and church to be kept alive. The freedom of the Jewish consciousness knows no other form of community (*Gemeinschaft*) than that of the congregation (*Gemeinde*), the Rabbis of which are only teachers and judges and by no means ministrants of a church acting as indirect representatives of God.

The fundamental concept of a doctrine has likewise here superseded the character and role of a law for the constitution of the community. For as everybody has to participate in the doctrine, so also will the doctrine endow the man with adequate strength to attend independently to his freedom and his purity. As for general human frailties, the Day of Atonement will lend him the requisite aid. And thus, in this new transformation of the path, the old device still retains its virtue: "Ye shall be pure before the Lord" (Lev. 16, 30).

There is thus seen to be a natural connecting link subsisting between freedom in its moral significance and in its social and political purpose. But this connection between the two received later on a still deeper foundation by means of the very highest consummation to which the Jewish concept of God ever attained. I refer to the idea of the Messiah.

6. As in the case of all ideas of all kinds, the occasion for the rise of the Messianic idea is to be sought for in the particular circumstances of the historical development of the time. But it is the manner of employing historical factors which determines the genuine originality

of an historical idea. The prophets would most probably not have conceived the Messianic idea, if their attention had not been directed to it, so to speak, by the political history of their people. But is there record of any other nations, whose political decline led to the hope of the restoration of their might in some distant future? And it was not after the fall of their state that the prophets proclaimed its future re-establishment; but long before its fall they predicted it as a demand of divine justice. Thus the political element is merely the occasion which awakened the otherwise altogether independent thought into life.

Furthermore, — and herein lies the real significance of the matter, — the prophets regarded the restoration to life of their own state as by no means the exclusive or even the chief burden of their proclamations; on the contrary, the restoration likewise of those states and nations which had even fought against their own people, was included amongst their promises. In the face of every past they conceive and invent the concept of a future. This concept, as an historical time-concept, is the real meaning of their Messianic thought, and the real discovery achieved by it.

It is true that here again it is an empirical concept which is the occasion and the material starting-point of their thought. In Israel the kings were anointed. And David was the glorious king, who had not only founded the kingdom but who was also the real inaugurator of the temple, and who, to crown all, had in his Psalms bequeathed it an imposing body of prayer. Just as that distant future naturally centred about the fancy of the restoration of their own people, the decline and fall of which their religious sense of justice had demanded, so also does their hope for the future find concrete embodiment in the ideal shape of this royal figure. And thus the Messiah becomes a scion of the house of David; he becomes the anointed, as it were a king. But soon the view changes. The anointed does not merely remain king; he becomes the symbolic figure of human suffering, from whom alone genuine hope can issue and who alone can bear within himself the genuine warranty for the restoration and regeneration of the human race.

It is only now that the complete, the enormous content of the Messianic idea comes into full play. It is not their own people which is in question here. "It is too light a thing that thou shouldest be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel: I will also give thee for a light to the nations, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth" (Is. 49, 6). Thus does Deutero-Isaiah, in spite of all the depth of his patriotic sorrow, characterise his universal task; and the same universal spirit pervades throughout the prophetic conception of the Messiah long before the exile. He is to them the symbol of the peace of mankind, in which all men will have assembled

upon one hearth in order to do adoration to the one and only God, and as indispensable proof thereof to cultivate morality upon earth, in sign of which, and as primary fulfilment, to abolish warfare from the face of the earth, and to develop in concord and in righteousness the life of the future Man.

It was in this connection that the concept of mankind which is humanity was born; in no other connection could it have arisen with historical significance. Of a truth, if the Jewish religion had brought forth nothing else saving this one Messianic idea of the prophets, it would thereby alone have proved itself the deepest fountain and wellspring of culture for moral mankind. But the prophets would never have been able to conceive and invent this idea of a single humanity, united "at the latter days," if their one and only God had not served them in the light of a creative and guiding thought, — if the concept of the only God had not made a united humanity its necessary corollary. And thus is the Messiah absolutely and irrefragably the innermost attribute of God.

It is difficult at such a point to distinguish between religious progress and the general progress of human culture. For it is nothing less than the concept of universal history which constitutes the content of the Messianic idea. Nevertheless we propose to confine ourselves to a brief discussion of the religious progress involved here.

The chief difficulty for the concept of religion lies in its complication with the myth. Now every approximation of a religion towards a person exposes it to the danger embodied in the myth. For the final meaning of the myth is the personification of the impersonal. Here is manifested the value of the distinction which Judaism everywhere attempted to draw between itself and the myth; for it refuses absolutely to appear from a person the highest deed which can ever be hoped for from God, — namely, the union of His children in concord and faithfulness. The temptation towards such a personification lay near enough at hand; the longing for a scion from the house of David dominated for very long their patriotic sentiment. But the logic of the fundamental idea of their religion obtained the upper hand in the end, and thus they eliminated the figure of King David, and in his stead they raised upon the throne "the servant of Jahveh", who, through the mediation of Israel, of "the remnant of Israel", can signify nothing else but the people of the future, the humanity of the future. And whereas the Messiah was originally meant to designate a dynastic personage, the internal development of this thought brought it to pass that at this highest stage of Monotheism, the cult of persons, hero-cult in general, not to mention the cult of a divine person, was entirely suppressed.

The whole of civilized humanity has come now to believe in this significance of the Messianic idea, although it has not yet acknowledged this its highest thought to be the Messianic thought. It remains for it to elevate itself to this insight. The ethical humanity of future history — this alone is "the anointed of the Lord", this alone is the Messiah. We must therefore not hesitate in giving expression to the fact that, if we are to accept this genuine prophetic meaning of Messiah, the translation embodied in the name of Christ is no longer tenable. For it was not to save individual man from sin that the Messiah was conceived; this individual-religious aim was not comprised within the original intention at the basis of the Messianic thought. Man's salvation, according to the teaching of the prophets, must, with the support of religion, be achieved by man himself. But the salvation of the world, the purification and elevation of the human race from its historical sins, the peace of mankind in the fear of God, in faithfulness and in righteousness, — this is a task for which the human resources of the individual must ever remain inadequate.

Now this task signifies nothing less than the ultimate question as to the reality of morality: that it remain no mere fond thought but attain and maintain the currency and the validity of a truth. Ethical morality unites at this point with religion, for in the end morality itself cannot but proclaim the idea of God: not for the personal salvation of the moral individual, but as the pledge and warrant for the future realisation of morality upon earth.

This and nothing else is the plain meaning of the Messianic idea of the prophets, and therefore it can be said to embody the final perfection of the idea of the one God. Can morality become a reality on earth? is the great question which morality must ask. And the prophets answered this question with affirmatively their idea of the Messiah. This Messianic idea has been accepted by civilized humanity. But it must likewise be accepted by philosophical ethics. And therewith the prophet's concept of God will have found a place in the body of doctrine formulated by philosophical ethics. For this concept constitutes the pledge for the assmance of historical reality which is made by the Messianic idea. And the question as to reality is one which philosophical ethics cannot presume to neglect.

7. These considerations have led us somewhat beyond the limits of our subject. But from the very beginning we have had to draw general progress into consideration, and we may now say that herein is manifested the greatest triumph of religion in that it is seen to coincide with the consciousness of culture and with philosophical ethics. As regarding the internal religious progress within Judaism itself, we may in

conclusion draw attention to one more circumstance: through the agency of the Messianic thought an emotion was ennobled which elsewhere in antiquity signified only an idle striving. The Messianic idea however deepened the roots of hope and broadened its bed. Hope has come to be the historical confidence, yes, the absolute moral confidence; for he who cannot believe in this future is in truth lost to all Idealism. It is known to what an extent the Jewish religion has had need of the anchor of hope, and how much even at the present day it has need of this emotion; it will therefore not permit it self to be deprived of its honour. Under all manner of persecution and oppression, from without and (what is more rarely thought of) internally within the soul, the Jew maintains his religiousness by force of the Messianic emotion of hope. His Messianic hope is his comfort and his assurance. And as for sufferings, terrible as they are and not merely for him who undergoes them, they have never yet been able to bring about the fall either of an individual or of a nation, if only the requisite spiritual and moral forces were present to resist the influence of suffering.

In the history of nations it is likewise by no means the summit of outward power which saves them from ruin. For this reason the path of suffering which the Jews have had to traverse in the course of the world's history is a sign and symptom of religious progress, because it is proof of a religious power capable of withstanding all persecutions and all unscrupulous enticements. The hope and the confidence on the one hand, and on the other the strength to bear and to suffer, are at once traces and forces of religious progress, of development, inherent within religion for the whole of historical life.

I must not be afraid of touching upon one point more. It is well known how often at the present day the question has been put within the educated and the learned Protestant world: are we still Christians? The discussion which has arisen on this point leaves no doubt as to the fact that it is not the concept of God which is controverted here, but the person of Christ. On the other hand, hazy, indistinct and confused tendencies in politics and likewise in science are making themselves felt, all directed towards undermining the concept of God. Now Psychology can certainly be treated without the need of soul. But surely religion will be impossible if the concept of God is to be excluded. Thus the thought of God is in the forefront of debate in general culture. And within Protestantism it is really not this question which is meant when dissatisfaction is expressed with the difficulties which are always involved even in an idealised conception of the person of Christ.

In the face of all this, Judaism, harassed, insulted, calumniated and politically cheated, as unfortunately is the case not merely with

Russia, daring all the dangers, the injuries, the allurements on the part of the state, still stands upright as a rock of religious progress. Within its community it is impossible for the question to arise: are we still Jews? The saying of the Talmud still retains living currency: "He who utters 'Hear, O Israel' is a Jew." We modern Jews cherish our Judaism only as the faith in the one God, and we acknowledge only those duties which stand in a necessary connection with this fundamental faith. The warranty offered by such religious faithfulness in times in which the faith in God is exposed to such serious attacks, and in which, within the religion which in point of culture stands highest, dogmatic difficulties are beginning to envelope the basis of the belief in God, — this, I say, should be taken into consideration as a deep and significant problem.

8. It is neither my task nor my purpose to assume the role of a prophet and to map out the probable course of historical development. Nevertheless the nature of my theme compels me to draw your attention briefly to that element of religious progress which is contained for religion in the concentration of modern Judaism upon the prophets' idea of God. Only through interest in, and understanding for, this concentration can the genuinely scientific, the genuinely historical insight in the points involved be disclosed. Just as little as Christ is the prophetic Messiah, just so little can the God who is bound up with Christ be said to be identical with the one God of the prophets. To comprehend fully the old and still living religion, the mind must free itself from what later times have added. The fundamental thought of the old religion is not sequence but the future, — in their own language, "the latter days." We must unlearn and relearn, we must begin anew.

And what science demands is doubly called for by the need of the age. Faith must be regained in the moral renascence, in the moral future of mankind. This faith must be regained in antagonism to the selfishness of the nations and to the materialism of the classes. The genuine living God, whom the prophets of Israel made to be God of Israel and to be God of mankind, breathes only in social morality and in cosmopolitic humanity.

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN LIBERAL CHRISTIANS AND JEWS

BY CLAUDE MONTEFIORE M. A., LONDON

The subject concerning which I have been asked — and greatly I appreciate the honour — to say a few words is the relations between Liberal Christians and Jews. I conceive that what is meant by this is not merely the **actual** relations in various countries between these two bodies of men but rather the **ideal** relations, the relations, not so much as they are, but as they might be or ought to be. The wording is “The relations between Liberal Christians and Jews”: an adjective is assigned to the former, none to the latter. But I imagine that such relations will necessarily be more interesting and more intimate when the adjective is taken to cover Jews as well as Christians, so that the full title would then be, the relations between Liberal Christians and Liberal Jews. My paper will, to a considerable extent, assume that this extension of the adjective was intended. Still clinging to the title, I notice further that I am to speak about the relations between Liberal **Christians** and **Jews**; not of the relations between Liberal Christianity and Judaism. The two subjects are cognate, but not wholly identical. And in the very unlearned and untechnical remarks which I propose to address to you this morning I shall remember and make use of the distinction. I shall speak of actual life and of men rather than of theory and doctrine. I shall speak of Jew and Christian more than of Judaism and Christianity. Now whatever may be said as to the choice of the particular Englishman who is now speaking (as to the excellence of the choice of the particular American there can, I think, now be no manner of doubt), it was, I have no hesitation in saying, eminently right and reasonable that two chief speakers upon this particular subject should be an American and an Englishman. And for this reason. America, (by which term I mean the United States), and England have a peculiar place in this matter. The relations between Liberal Christians and Liberal Jews, or even dropping the adjective, the relations between Christians and Jews, are, upon the whole, in these two countries, closest, —

best and most interesting. What actually exists and goes on in America and England best enables us to think and dream of what the good future may have in store for us. There the real is the best starting point for a picture of the ideal. And certainly if we keep to the adjective for both Christian and Jew, we may say that in America and England the relations are most intimate and cordial between those who are keen about religion, being Christians, and those who are keen about religion and are Jews.

On the other hand, there are interesting and marked differences between the relations of Christian and Jew in America, and the relations of Christian and Jew in England, and for the purposes of this conference the **peculiar** features of excellence, — or without prejudging that, let me say, of intimacy — in the relations between Jew and Christian in those two countries have each their special interest and value. To put the matter briefly, it may be said that the **public** relations of Liberal Jew and Liberal Christian are most developed and intimate in America, while the **private** relations of Jew and Christian are most cordial and intimate in England.

For, speaking generally, it may be said that my country, England, is a paradise for the Jew. In England that bad and odious thing known as Anti-Semitism, whether it be political, or professional or social, whether it depend on religious hatred or race hatred, or on pride, or on prejudice, is practically non-existent. What there is of it stalks in darkness, and does not venture to lift its ugly and unhallowed head. It is for our purposes, and certainly, for all cultivated persons, whether Christian or Jew, a negligible quantity.

The consequence is that in England we find actually existing, what is the indispensable basis for any wholesome or ideal relations between Liberal Christian and Jew, namely a free and unfettered, equal and harmonious, social intercourse between men and women of the one faith and men and women of the other. There can be no perfect relations without that. Men of different denomination must learn to know and care for each other before they can properly understand and appreciate the religions which have had so large a part in the creation of their respective personalities. If I greatly care for another man, I shall begin to think less lightly of all that belongs to him, of all that caused, and helped to produce, the man I care for. Loving him, I shall respect his religion. Intimate friendships between Jews and Christians are the wholly necessary basis for any right relation between them. I do not say that it is necessary for **every** Jew, or even **every** liberal Jew, to have intimate Christian friends, or for every Christian, or even every liberal Christian, to have intimate Jewish friends. There would not, for one

thing, be enough Jews to go round. But it is necessary that many Jews and many Christians should have such friends.

And this is the state of things which you get and find in England. I hope the audience will not think me egoistic or conceited if I cite my own case which is by no means exceptional, unless it, perhaps, be that I may regard myself as specially favoured in the number and excellence of my friends — both men and women. But who are these friends? Some obviously are men and women of my own community and faith, but very many, on the contrary, are not. They are Christians, and Christians of every shade of opinion. Orthodox and Liberal Roman Catholics, orthodox and Liberal Anglicans and Protestants, Unitarians and what not! In different ways and degrees I greatly care for them all, and I think I may add that in different ways and degrees they all have some regard for me. They are friends with whom the subject of religion is not avoided or fought shy of. There is no closed door, but, on the other hand, there is not the slightest attempt to convert. We learn from, we do not seek to win over or change the opinions of, the other.

I dwell upon this indispensable basis of intercourse and friendship because in Central and Eastern Europe it seems so little known. One of my dearest friends is a Clergyman of the Church of England, and with him it so happens that I travel about in Switzerland and elsewhere. Not very far from this hall lives a dear Jewish friend, to visit whom I often come to this great city. Her husband, alas dead, was one of the finest Rabbis, one of the finest Jews and one of the noblest men, whom I have ever seen or shall ever see. When my Christian clergyman friend first accompanied me to Berlin, it was to us half comical and half pathetic to see, among the Jews collected one evening round my other friend's hospitable board, the astonishment and envy which the fact that a Christian clergyman and an undoubted Jew were travelling about together, on terms of closest personal friendship and of absolute equality, excited in their minds. "Was he a real *bona fide* clergyman?" they whispered to me. And I told my friend that next time he must put on his longest black coat and his most professional attire the more to impress them with the wonder. I fancy that it seemed to them too good to be true.

Much personal intercourse and friendship between Christian and Jew, is, I repeat, essential for the most perfect "relations". And this is so in spite of certain dangers, which may, and occasionally do, arise — dangers especially to the Jew, just because his numbers are few, and his continued distinctiveness is therefore more difficult to maintain. I will just allude to these dangers with a single word. The first danger

is intermarriage, for if the Jew desires (and every professing Jew, be he orthodox or liberal, does desire) to maintain his religion, he can only do so by a rigorous rejection of mixed marriages. The second danger is that, through unlimited social intercourse, combined with the subtle effects of environment, education and literature, the distinctive peculiarities of Jewish Theism, — seeing that those who hold to it are a tiny minority living amid a huge majority of Christians — may be watered down and whittled away. I do not deny these dangers, but I think we must be prepared to face them for the sake of a higher good.

For this is the rather difficult, or as some may say, fantastical, thought which I now want to express. Let me illustrate it by an analogy. We all strive towards, and agree that we ought to strive towards, a golden age, a Kingdom of God upon earth, when there will be no sin and suffering, no error and woe. Yet we realize that these imperfections are conditions of progress, and to have attained seems to spell stagnation and perhaps decay. Nevertheless, unrealizable as, in many ways, the moral ideal may be, we strive towards it. Similarly, may it not be said that though each religion dreams of, or even works for, a time when all men shall be of the same faith, and though many of us welcome premonitions and approachments of that unanimity with unfeigned gladness, yet the complete arrival and fulfilment of it seem, on the one hand, impossible and, on the other hand, — without immense changes in human nature and power — undesirable and impoverishing? To my unphilosophic mind the right or ideal relations between Jew and Christian to some extent depend upon both sides of this antithesis or antinomy, that is, upon the fact that, in one way or in some respects, we do, and that, in another way or in other respects, we do not, want and desire everybody to think religiously alike.

Why we want and desire everybody to think religiously alike — to have the same religious faith — is obvious. If we believe that we own and hold the best and truest faith, we inevitably would wish that all the world should own and hold it too. But may we not, while believing and wishing this, yet also believe that, for a long reach of time at any rate, various kinds and types and phases of Theism are good and desirable, because the conception of God and of his relation to the world is so big and so manifold that men cannot embrace and understand and realize and cherish every aspect of it with equal emphasis and intensity? May we not hold that for long reaches of time different aspects or formulations of the truth, different approachments to it, even different metaphors and symbols of it, may appeal most to different minds and to different groups of men? Had not different groups best work their way upwards on their own lines and in accordance with

their own historic past? And if, for long reaches of time, we cannot all possess every valuable nuance, aspect and shade of Truth, might it not, for a long while, tend to the spiritual impoverishment of humanity as a whole, if any group, who held some particular phase of Theistic truth, were wholly to disappear or to be merged into another group, seeing that the bit of truth which the one group held or emphasized, the other group might not be able to hold, in addition to their own bit, or to emphasize as clearly?

It is, then, upon the conclusions which are implied in these questions — upon the view, that is, that different religions or sub-religions may each contain some special nuance and aspect of Truth, or may **emphasize** one aspect and nuance with especial clearness and cogency, and that therefore the separate existence and development (upon its own lines) of each religion is, for a long while yet, of advantage, for humanity as a whole, that my conception of the ideal relations between liberal Christian and liberal Jew, at least partially, depends.

But for the natural man and for the eager believer such a conclusion is somewhat difficult to accept. Even the Liberal Christian and even the Liberal Jew are both inclined to think that the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, resides with their own particular creed. The Christian, for instance, even if he be a liberal Christian, and in some cases all the more when he is a liberal Christian, tends to believe that **Judaism**, at all events, is a religion which belongs, or should belong, exclusively to the past. He tends to believe that **Judaism**, at all events, has no part or lot in the modern world and no rôle to play in the religious history of the world. Judaism, at all events, belongs to the museum and not to life. Its efficiency ceased 1900 years ago when it gave birth to Jesus and to Paul. Judaism, at all events, represents in religion **ein überwundener Standpunkt**. And as to **liberal Judaism** its case, so the Christian, and even the liberal Christian, is inclined to think, is even worse. **Orthodox** Judaism is, at all events, an anachronistic survival of something which was once real. But **liberal Judaism** is nothing at all. It has no right to existence: it really has no leg to stand upon, whether the leg of history or of logic. Not unlike, or at least a worthy parallel to, this estimate of Judaism by many Christians is the frequent estimate of Christianity by many Jews. If many Christians think that Judaism is incomparably poorer and feebler than Christianity, many Jews hold that Judaism is incomparably truer, better and more ethical than Christianity.

What is good and true in Christianity has been taken over from Judaism and is thus not new; what is new is not true. And if many Christians are often disposed to think that liberal Judaism has not the

smallest right to the name Judaism any longer, or hold, as I have just remarked, that liberal Judaism has no logical leg to stand upon, precisely the same compliments are paid by many Jews to liberal Christianity. For liberal Christianity, we are often told by them, is not really Christianity at all. Unitarians have no right to call themselves Christians, and there are many who refuse the Unitarian name, who yet, if they were consistent, ought nevertheless to call themselves by it. Some Christians seem to regard our liberal Jews as Semi-Christians with a Jewish veneer, while some Jews seem to regard my liberal Christian friends as semi-Jews with a Christian label. Each party too often denies the worth and justification of the other.

I think that if we want the best religious relations between Christian and Jew, this depreciation of one by the other must gradually cease. We want not only toleration, but something more than toleration. "Toleranz", said Goethe — and his weighty words apply here with peculiar force — "Toleranz sollte nur eine vorübergehende Gesinnung sein: sie muß zur Anerkennung führen. Dulden heißt beleidigen." We want not merely toleration, but respect, and not merely respect, but recognition.

And what is it that we have to recognize? Among other things surely this: that each religion, and even each liberal variety of each religion, will not only continue to live a long while, but will have something special and valuable to live for, something of worth and good to place upon the world's big spiritual altar, something distinctive and precious to offer towards the total religious store.

Is it not possible that while Jews and Christians both continue to think that their own religion has, upon the whole, more truth and more excellence than the other, yet each should allow that the other contains some aspect of religious truth, some shade or particle of spiritual value, which the superior creed has not? May not each hold that the other has a true justification for its continued existence, for its separateness, for its old historic name? Is not what we feel about our mothers and wives, or husbands and fathers, some sort of right analogy? I think my wife a grander creature than your wife and I love her more, but I not only recognize that you are no fool in thinking about your wife as I think about my wife, but I even recognize certain distinctive and special excellences in your wife, though I hold that upon the whole she is inferior to mine.

I cannot help feeling fairly sure that Christianity and Judaism must each possess certain peculiar and distinctive adumbrations of that perfect truth which, in its completeness, is beyond the ken and the expression of man. If it were not so, I cannot believe that they

would have endured so long in their separateness, satisfied so many souls in so many generations, have passed through and emerged from so many trials, and have produced such fine and peculiar spiritual creations.

So it seems to me that a second need in the ideal religious relation of Jews and Christians, and especially of liberal Jews and liberal Christians, to each other is that they should, where possible, learn a little about the specific excellences of the other. What happens so often now is that each seems to study the other, so far as it can be called study, in order to find contrasts and to pick holes. I find that many Jews use Christianity as a foil to Judaism: the demerits of the younger faith set off the virtues of the older religion more brightly. Precisely the same method is pursued by many Christians with Judaism. The law is found to be a lovely foil to the Gospel, and with a fine imaginary description of its burdens the liberty of the Christian is exhibited on a grander and more delightful scale. This sort of thing must cease. It is old-fashioned, unhistorical, illiberal. Every religion has its defects and excesses and weaknesses as well as its qualities, strengths and virtues. But what we should be first and mainly concerned with is the qualities, not the defects. What is the **strength** of the Law, — that is what the Christian has got to learn. What is the strength of the Gospel — that is what the Jew has to discover. To the Christian, Law and legalism must no longer mean aridity and outwardness and **Werkheiligkeit** and self-righteousness and despair, and all those silly old familiar catch words. And to the Jew, the Cross of Christ must no longer mean mere foolishness, and the teaching of Jews must no longer be found to be either old or bad, and Paul (most difficult need of all) must no longer be regarded as a mere corrupter of ethical monotheism. These one-sided views must disappear, and hard though the effort is, we must seek to open our eyes and learn the excellences of a faith which is not, and never will be, our own. We must abandon the old simple antitheses, the old shibboleths; we must give up that delightful simplicity by which we used to think that all the truth was with us and all the error with our neighbours, and yet we must remain no less ardent Christians and no less ardent and convinced Jews than we were before or than our fathers were in the days of old. If the Jew has intimate Christian friends, and the Christian has intimate Jewish friends, it will be all the easier to do this, because the Jew and the Christian will perceive that Judaism and Christianity are not mere dry and dead collections of doctrines, but that they are primarily vital states of the soul, the religions of actual men and women, who live by them, and live by them lives of varied excellence, — lives of devotion and self-sacrifice, of loyalty and patience, of faithfulness and love.

Both Christians and Jews will naturally have their own special conceptions of the future; they will have, and continue to have, their own distinctive views of the divine mission entrusted to their own religion. But is it impossible for each to believe that God is also somewhat with the other? Long ago the Jewish philosopher Maimonides conceived the fine idea that Islam and Christianity were divinely ordained in order to lead up the pagan races of the world by gradual steps — such as the hardness of their hearts might bear — to the steep purity of Jewish monotheism. Such an idea did him the utmost credit. We have only to apply and develop it, each in our own way, for good and useful purpose to-day. Liberal Jews and Liberal Christians, at any rate, should be able to appreciate the doctrine of **truth combined with, or embedded in, error**. The Jew will still continue to disbelieve in the Incarnation, but what he will seek to understand is the truth, or the fragments of truth, which that erroneous doctrine represents or contains. The Christian will still continue to think Jewish monotheism too abstract or Jewish legalism ethically inadequate, but what he will seek to discover and realize is the bits of special truth and excellence which this defective monotheism and this ethically inadequate legalism must nevertheless contain. It is easy enough for us to see the faults of the other man's religion: what, however, we have to try to see is its virtues.

The Liberal Christian and the Liberal Jew have clearly, or should have clearly, special ties to unite them in a sympathetic alliance together. For if their substantive is different, their adjective is the same. There are certain ways of looking at religion which, I suppose, are more or less common to liberals all the world over, and these common ways should help to make the relations between liberal Christian and liberal Jew more sympathetic and intimate. The asperities and crudities of either religion are toned down and avoided in the Liberal presentation of it. The very doctrines which sundered widest Jew from Christian and Christian from Jew are no longer the same in this liberal garb or liberal modification. The Incarnation is not quite the old Incarnation; the divinity of Christ is by no means the old divinity, the Law is not by any means the old Law; Legalism is not quite the old Legalism. On each side there are changes, modifications, softenings down; on each side there are (though this is often hidden from the eyes of both) **rapprochements** and bridgings over. The right of the Liberal Jew to call himself a Jew is questioned by the orthodox Jew; the right of the liberal Christian to call himself Christian is questioned by the orthodox Christian. Hence it is that, in his eagerness to vindicate his Christianity; the liberal Christian sometimes outdoes his orthodox brother in

misappreciation of Judaism, while *mutatis mutandis* the same may be said sometimes of the liberal Jew in his misappreciation of Christianity. Such excesses are human, and must be gently dealt with and gently condemned. To gain a true appreciation of religious quarrels and misunderstandings we must, as Jowett would say, place ourselves above them. The ferment of Liberalism must, I take it, in the long run bring men together, and tend to open their eyes and remove their prejudices. It is unnecessary, and any way it would take too long, to explain why it is so much easier for a Liberal Christian to appreciate, let us say, Buddhism than Judaism, or for a Liberal Jew to appreciate, let us say, Hindu Theism than Christianity. The reasons are of various kinds and considerable in number: they are also in their totality of considerable power. Yet, even so, we may hope that Liberalism and enlightenment will be strong enough to tackle them gradually, and gradually to overcome them.

In those admirable articles of his in the *Revue Critique*, and in the *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses* —, articles from which some of us have had sometimes to smart a little, though the smart was healing and bore no sting — M. Loisy has again and again hinted that no historical religion is, or can be, the absolute religion. I think that the progress of liberalism will prove the truth of the great critic's words. Not all truth is contained in any one, even great, religion. And perhaps no less important is the complementary doctrine that in all the distinctive teachings of the great religions there is truth as well as error, a divine as well as a human element. Perhaps too the progress of Liberalism may teach us better to probe beneath the surface, to be less deceived by words, and to look in any religion for living inconsistencies (whether they serve our polemical turn or no) rather than for lifeless deductions from dogmas themselves only half understood, and too often grievously distorted and artificially exaggerated and swollen out. To enter into specific examples and illustrations would here be out of place. It might, perhaps, however, be added that a modified view of Inspiration and Revelation, and a more critical and philosophical estimate of sacred scriptures, may also tend to improve the religious relations of liberal Christian and liberal Jew. If the one may no longer find absolute and unalloyed perfection in the Pentateuch and the Prophets, the other may come at last to make similar concessions about the Gospels, whether Synoptic or Johannine. On the one hand, the Jew may be able to reach forward to an estimate of the teaching of Jesus and Paul which will seem to his Christian brother more adequate or less provincial; on the other hand, the Christian may be more willing to let himself be guided by Jewish authorities, who after all know some-

thing of their own literature and its meaning, into the inner shrines and sanctuaries of post-Biblical Judaism. His estimates may become less churlish and more accurate. The Jew, however, must seek to make his brother's path more smooth, and here Jewish scholars and Jewish men of letters should take to heart more fully than they hitherto have done those wise and famous words: "How shall men meditate in that which they cannot understand? How shall they understand that which is kept close in an unknown tongue? . . . Translation it is that openeth the window to let in the light; that breaketh the shell that we may eat the kernel; that putteth aside the curtain that we may look into the most holy place." Let the Jewish scholar give heed and make the application.

Sympathetic and even cordial can be the relations between Liberal Christian and Liberal Jew, seeing also how much there is common between the two creeds. But of such common elements there is no need to speak. Yet we are dealing with **relations**, relations of the present and relations of the future; and relations imply two separate entities or existences between whom the relation is made up. Thus the very terms of my subject suggest the conclusion: relations and good relations, but relations still, not amalgamation. The members of neither Judaism nor Christianity will abandon the deep conviction of the special divine mission entrusted to their own faith. The sheet anchor of the Jewish religion — whether in its orthodox or its liberal form — is a profound belief in what is called the mission of Israel. Doubtless every Christian — whether orthodox or liberal — has for his own faith and its future a precisely similar belief. These convictions are fundamental and determining. But what deserves emphasizing once more is that the strength and vitalizing power of a given religion — certainly of Christianity and Judaism — lie partly in its history, and its traditions, in its memories of, and its links with, the past, as well as in its hopes and visions of the future. It is a good thing and not an evil that neither Judaism nor Christianity, even in their most liberal forms, should desire to sap and undermine this peculiar strength and energy by merging themselves together and forming out of the common residuum another brand new religious denomination. Such a merging together may belong to a distant and dimly descried future. But, for a long while yet, each must develop along its own lines, in accordance with its own particular genius. Through such separateness both religions will best ensure that no distinctive excellence of either should be lost to themselves or to the world. Yet this separateness does not, I think, preclude that each should learn from the other. And so, in the far distant future one may conceive that a time may possibly come when through vital growth

and unforced absorption of harmonizing truth, the two liberal religions may perceive to their respective astonishment that not much more than names and memories still separate the one from the other. But such remote anticipations can have, and should have, no effect upon present action or upon the relations of to-day and to-morrow.

I have spoken so far of relations which are not necessarily meant to manifest themselves in any outward and public form. Yet there is no reason why this outward and public form should not gradually be brought about, and in America, as we have just heard, such is already the case. We have to remember that there are matters in which a liberal Jew and a liberal Christian have common sympathies, agreements and interests over against both orthodox Christianity and orthodox Judaism. They can express these sympathies and agreements without in any way being false to the more momentous agreements (as each conceives them to be) which unite them to the more orthodox forms of their own faith. It is not their fault if these religious sympathies with each other may appear more prominent to the public eye than their really deeper sympathies with their own orthodox brethren. Such an impression, if it is hastily formed, will only be due to the aloofness of the orthodox, and not to any waning of devotion in either liberal Jew or liberal Christian to his own particular faith.

A public manifestation of good relations and warm religious sympathy between liberal Jew and liberal Christian can be most easily exemplified in the interchange of pulpits, a movement which, though the time is hardly ripe for it in England, has been for a long while prevalent in America. Hence the great propriety that an American should have spoken on the right relations between liberal Christian and Jew as well as an Englishman. For in the United States, as we have heard, Unitarians, and I believe other liberal Christians too, often occupy Jewish pulpits, while Jewish Rabbis occupy theirs. Neither Jew nor Christian gives up anything of his own distinctive tenets, and yet neither feels the smallest discomfort and gêne. The interchange is an exercise in good will and in that higher recognition or appreciation which Goethe has told us is to be the final goal of toleration. Its effect upon the congregations before whom it takes place must surely be considerable, and has been lately witnessed to by no less a personage than the President of the United States himself. For at a Jewish banquet, where President Taft was recently entertained, he told the story how he, a Unitarian, was wont to worship at Cincinnati in a Church which then stood opposite to a Jewish Synagogue. Its Rabbi, Dr. Wise, a notable and distinguished man, who played a great part in the development of American Judaism, sometimes occupied the adjoining Unitarian

pulpit, and the future President heard him and got to know him, and without losing a particle of his belief in Unitarian Christianity, conceived a higher respect for, and obtained a better understanding of, the religion, and perhaps even of the personalities, of his Jewish fellow-citizens.

And now to bring this tentative and scrappy paper to a speedy conclusion, let me sum up by saying that I picture the right religious relations between liberal Christian and liberal Jew to consist, on the one hand, in long continued independence and separateness, on the other hand, in sympathetic understanding and mutual good will, leading ultimately to a very gradual approach of the one to the other. Naturally the Christian will conceive that approach to consist mainly in the Jew becoming more Christian, and the Jew will conceive that approach to consist mainly in the Christian becoming more Jewish. The truth perhaps is rather that there will at last be a meeting and a joining of hands somewhere about the centre, but seeing that it is a Jew who is the speaker he may be pardoned for believing that, whenever and wherever the union takes place, and with whatever modifications on either side, it will at least fulfil and realize the words of the prophets,

“And the Lord shall be king over all the earth: in that day shall the Lord be one and his name one.” For “Israel shall blossom and bud, and fill the face of the world with fruit.”

3. CHRISTIAN AND FREE RELIGIOUS.

ECCLESIASTICAL LIBERALISM AND THE FREE RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES.

BY DR. CASPAR SCHIELER, OF DANZIG.

I have gladly undertaken the task of bringing before the "Universal Congress for Free Christianity and Religious Freedom" the importance of the Free Religious Communities as compared with ecclesiastical Liberalism, and their *raison d'être* amidst the freer tendencies in the Evangelical Church. Many bonds unite us with the Church Liberals, for we Free Communities work on the foundation of independence in all religious affairs, that is, of the preservation, development and nature of religion. We energetically support a free Christianity and religious progress, we wish and work for the final liberation of religion from the fetters which hamper her, from the oppression of creed and dogma, from red-tape, and every other obstacle, so that she may enter into the progress of human reason and of science; we wish and work for the bridging of the great gulf between religious truths and contemporary science, and for the establishment of unity between religious faith and the entire intellectual culture of mankind. Religion should attain to her full rights in human thought, feeling and life, should and must be a necessary and indispensable factor in our life; she should not hover over our lives, nor flit around them now and then like a medicine or tonic, taken only in the hour of need; no, she must be our life; all our deeds should be religion. And if I have rightly understood the views of the Church Liberals, or, at least, of their most important leaders in their words and writings, this is what they also wish for; in this we more or less plainly meet their views. We are, perhaps, considered as more radical elements in this great intellectual conflict of to-day, in the sense that we establish the claims necessary for the growth of religion more emphatically, more clearly, and with more determination than does the orthodox-conservative reaction of to-day. But is not

such conduct logical, is it not useful and good? Many dislike it and think it out of place, others, again, claim it to be a practical necessity. Thus I may consider us Free Christians and Liberal Churchmen to be representatives of different tactics in the great religious struggle of today, and admit both parties to be right. In questions of action the Liberal Churchmen are ready. The laity are often more persistent in their claims than are the clergy, and there are good reasons for this; we are one in having nothing to do with certain considerations, thinking it better to let all considerations go **when the highest good of man is at stake, that good, which, when the worst comes to the worst, is indestructible.** Truth demands a free, unadorned language, and we ought, and wish to be servants of truth. We ought, and we wish to promote, cultivate, and propagate the truth. We ought, and we wish to emphasise truth at all times, in season and out of season, as St. Paul says. And when we are told, that in this way nothing is achieved, that only by a certain amount of diplomacy we can reach anything, I must reply with a decided "No". How would Christian truths have been preserved, or have made their way against an antagonistic world, if their first propagators had not borne decisive witness before high and low at every opportunity? Here, there was no idea of consideration nor diplomacy. Much had to be endured, many lives were thus sacrificed, but only thus was the truth promoted and saved. And, during the Christian centuries, so many have dared to openly enter for the truth they recognised, to withstand ancient dogmas and intellectual forces; Hus, Giordano Bruno, Luther, Calvin and Zwingly, and so many, many more down to our own days, have had to suffer much for the truth's sake. Thus it seems to be a law of human intellectual life that truth and progress are only furthered by the sufferings and death of those who devote themselves to these most high aims.

We here are in a position incomparably more favourable. We, who have separated from the Church and, outside her pale, are working for religious life and progress are quite free, bound neither by rules nor fetters; no legal sword is waved over our heads, nor seek we praise from either Church or State authorities. We can say quite distinctly that a supernatural revelation is neither real nor necessary, that mankind needs no divinely supernatural aid in order to reach the goal, that the Bible is a purely human book, containing the mistakes and emptinesses of the men of its times, and not a concealed Divine revelation; we can say openly that Jesus was only human, without covering with the expression "peculiarity" the Divine nature imputed to him, we can assert that man's redemption through himself is the only redemption possible, we can combat the belief in a "hereafter" as a discarded faith of former

ages and peoples, pointing men to a "now", as their only real field of action. We are in no dilemma over our sermons at Christmas, Easter, Whitsun and Ascension-tide, but all the biblical stories connected with these feasts may, with the whole belief in miracles, be rejected as well intended myths. Our parishes demand indeed a careful, constant and thorough study of the truth, and a free and unadorned confession of the convictions thus won. I have only one decree in my researches after truth, and this decree consists of the laws of reason and the claims of my conscience. This decree, if I may so name it, lies in the very nature of the case itself, is so bound up in it, that I may speak of a freedom from all decrees.

I have so ordered my life, that I know how to value the advantages of such a position. For many years, perhaps just the best, of my life, I served a system of intellectual authority and inward control, and, blinded enough, endeavoured as professor of theology to defend this system before the growing youth, representing it as necessary and divinely ordained. I was living as though hemmed in by an intellectual darkness, and when liberty appeared to my mind thirsting for truth, I had to avoid this small oasis as a great sin. Too much so; this oasis of spiritual freedom beckoned to me so alluringly, and, when I recognised that the Gospel is the magna charta libertatis, when I became freer and braver to no longer fear this sin, I trod this oasis of freedom, and felt inwardly more united than ever before with those who preach the gospel of religious freedom to men, and who have shown us the way to liberty. Ah, a new life sprang up within me, it was then that I really began to seek and to study, finding richer and richer spiritual treasures, which before were forbidden and denied me by the dogmas and creeds of the Papal Church, by the decisions of the infallible (?) head of that Church, by the Syllabus and by the Index. Was I, having hardly gained this great treasure of inward liberty, to diminish it by certain concessions to conscience? "Having now become free, be no more slaves to man." This Gospel word was a sacred exhortation to me. And what this liberty means to spiritual work, I was able to experience as a preacher in the United States of America, where I was assured by leading men that I ought neither to be hampered by the compulsion of creed and dogma nor by bureaucratic regulations. That is the country of religious liberty, where the State does not trouble about the religious convictions of its subjects nor measure their diligence and capability for an office by the standard of Church membership, but allows to everyone the right of religious liberty unlimited, only enquiring about one's proved diligence and giftedness. In Germany we are, unfortunately, still under the influence of the unnatural

wedlock of State and Church, and, not till these two are separated will religion be freed from her oppressors, nor will there be free Christianity, real progress in religion or a free Church.

In America I was able to wield my spiritual office free and unfettered in my beloved parish, and, to my high satisfaction, taste the difference between then and now in my life. Very reluctantly I returned home, impelled by a certain sense of duty to those whose teacher and leader I had been. I left the bearing witness to my change of convictions and its reason, left the service of free truth, and, only in the free religious parishes did I find scope for my mind's direction; only here, the completely unhampered liberty of research and of the proclamation of religious conviction; here, there was no restraint in the exercise of religious life, here no bureaucratic government of consistories and other authorities, which think one way to-day and another to-morrow, which may and will be liberal to-day and reactionary to-morrow, according as the wind blows from above. Here, in these parishes, individual faith can live, the religious life of the individual can unfold itself, here the highest good of the children of earth can be formed, religious personality, as our great poet has said, who, in respect to his belief, stood on the same plane on which I and so many, many more in the free communities stand — Schiller, the favourite poet of the German people, who says, so free and unadorned in the significant words: "Which religion do I profess? Not one of those you name to me — And why none? Because of religion itself." This religion in all the religions, this eternal substance, kernel and star of all the religions is what we want honestly and faithfully to seek, led by a free, suppositionless science, and want to hold fast and develop, according to the spiritual claims of modern life and activity. The endeavour of myself and of those who feel as I do, is to give to this eternity an expression, a form and a shape which shall satisfy modern men. And should we err whilst doing so, it is but human, and mankind knows but one search for truth. But herein we know we are at one with nearly all our great poets and thinkers, whose convictions were not founded on their Church, but whose salvation was sought apart therefrom.

I may say it quite openly that I am not an enemy of the Church as such, but only of that Church tied on to the State, the State Church; an enemy of the Church which exercises compulsion in dogma and creed; an enemy of the Church which only allows one line of thought in religion to be true, and which can hardly tolerate any other; an enemy of the Church which retains old and decayed forms in the face of the assured results of science and the needs and claims of the times; an enemy of the Church which prefers religion to decay, and thousands

to keep aloof, rather than make any alteration in existing things; an enemy of the Church which, in spite of the warning and admonitory voices of the best and noblest of our times, seeks to ban and overrule all modern culture, calling on the State to help her attain her end, willingly becoming the slave of the State for her purposes. Such a Church is not the kingdom proclaimed and established by Jesus of Nazareth, not the kingdom of truth and liberty and love, not the Kingdom of Heaven.

I have said that I am no foe of the Church as such, but I repeat what I said at the conclusion of my speech at the first Universal Congress for Free Christianity and Religious Progress, held in London in 1901: "If there are some who want to have a Church, I accept a word I have heard here: 'The only Church of the future is the Church of religious liberty and of humanity.'" And, as far as I remember, it was the President of this first International Council of liberal religious thinkers and workers, Professor Carpenter, who so splendidly described the only possible Church of the future. A liberal Churchman, who may perhaps be present, and who has had to endure much on account of his decided views, sees, animated by the same thought, Germany's future in Protestantism, not confessional nor ecclesiastical, however, but religious-human, giving light and air and space to every intellectual movement and endeavour. With these words, too, I entirely agree, and am in the happy position of adding: Such a Protestantism, not ecclesiastical and confessional, but religious-human, I find already realised in our Free Communities. So I consider them, so I represent them, and so I hope to find them developed in the future.

Human institutions need order, otherwise they do not attain their goal, and collapse. Thus the religious communities arising outside the Church have their organisation, and an organised connection between the communities is found necessary. Whether this connection be called a church, an association, or a society, is immaterial; but the organisation of each separate parish and of the parishes among themselves must be so carried out, that the real aim of the communities be not missed; and the idea of uniting individuals into bodies is to intensify and promote religious feeling and religious life in all inward liberty, and we come thus to free associations of similar communities, free from all bureaucracy and dogmatic restraint. Every man may believe as many dogmas as he pleases, for they remain individual concerns; any one would be prepared to confess his religious convictions for the good of another; communities and associations can have their common religious ideas in order to demonstrate their character to others, but the individual on the one hand ought to be forced to no religious doctrine

as a necessary article of faith, and no one should, under any pretext, be forced to profess the general religious doctrine. Religion is man's most inward and most exclusive thing; every man carries his God in his heart and mind; every man has his own Judge and his own heaven as well as his own hell, every man has his own need for redemption and his own redemption. But we all have one common aim and object, the goal of all humanity, the unfolding and completion of our being, as far as possible, as complete an enjoyment as possible of all that is true and good and beautiful in what life, science, Nature, and art offer us. Thus we need no supernatural illusions. We are natural beings with a purely natural goal, we have our individuality, and the inward happiness of man can only consist in as free as possible an unfolding of his personality, whether he dwell in palace or cottage, whether he wander under palm or beech, whether he work in the field or in a factory, or whether his inward inclinations drive him to study.

I hear so often, and read it in your writings, that we must have a Church because there must be order in human affairs. But we can also have it without a Church, and you yourselves do not believe that the Church in which you want to remain is the best arrangement. We can produce something better in her stead; and, for a proof that the Church needs no State, but better reaches her goal, and much worthier stands when not hobbling on the crutches of State, turn to America, where the mightily flourishing State is bound to no Church, where unlimited religious liberty prevails, where public schooling does good without religious education, and yet where religion is better preserved and practised, and more intensively, I think, than it is with us under the ban of restraint and government, where many more churches are built than with us, where the preachers do not die of hunger if they are worth something, because popular willingness in free enthusiasm develops more beautifully than with us, under the sceptre of the ever-increasing Church tax.

Does, then, Christianity require no Church? Did not Christ, the Founder of Christianity, establish a Church to save men? I believe that the results of Biblical criticism, and of unbiassed study of writings have shattered the former general idea. Christ is not the Founder of modern, official or ecclesiastical Christianity, but is indeed the Founder of the Christianity of the Gospels, and that is the free Christianity of free communities; neither is Christ the patron of the Papacy nor of any other Church. What is now called Church is a product of the times, and has arisen not without great struggles and knavery and falsehood, and it can vanish again for the good of religion, or suffer a thorough reform in capite et membris. Luther, too, our most

honoured hero, did not at first intend to reconstruct a Church, under whose pressure he had to suffer so much; it was the conditions of his time which forced him to it, as to a way out.

This, then, is our conduct, if the teaching of Jesus is our foundation, and if we want to hold fast to Him, not contrary to His intentions and will. But what would He say on this point if He were now to appear in our midst and look on the conditions now prevailing in the Church? I believe He would say; "That is not my work; I have not wished for it. Make yourselves free in the liberty which I have brought you by my doctrine and death!"

My friends, you blame us for acting wrongly in separating from the Church; we ought to have remained in it, in order (though as more radical elements) to have united with you and the more moderate persons in making an end of the present unsound system now prevailing. The opposition of Liberalism to reaction would have been strengthened. "I indeed hear the message, but lack the faith." We, united with you, and all the liberal elements remaining in the Church, could not cause the present tide to turn. You achieve nothing; you are attacked, harassed and buffeted, and finally defeated by the famous College of Texts. It would have been otherwise if you had acted resolutely together as did Jesus of Nazareth and, later on, Luther and his friends against the prevailing system in a modern and energetic way. "We are not allowed to act against our consciences" would have been the right watchword!

But one thing I should like to see realised — a fairer opinion of our free religious movement. I know that, on the whole, you have not much love for us. Do not condemn us! We are just a necessary factor in the preservation of religion in our Fatherland. We are not a political party, and I want to distinctly emphasise this right here in Berlin; we have as little to do with politics as you have, my ecclesiastical friends. We are associations of free origin, specially to tend religious thought and life. I know many of our German free religious communities, and can assert publicly that, in them, a religious spirit, religious enthusiasm, and religious endeavour reign. It is not the exit movement which brings men to us; no, dissatisfaction with the prevailing conditions in the Church, a certain impulse to receive answers in open and undorned speech to the highest questions of religion, and to lead a religious life free and uninfluenced, according to their personal peculiarity and personal need, lead them to us. Of those who leave the Church because of the heavy tax, the fewest come to us. According to my many years' experience, we get people, educated and longing for religious life, who come for a shorter or longer time to our various meetings, and

then join us, because we (at least in Eastern Germany) do not impose a separation from the Church as a *conditio sine qua non* on our Communities, but they leave their churches later on for practical reasons. Thus Catholics, Protestants, even Jews come to us, impelled by religious interest.

In this way, our Free religious Communities are "assemblies" of all those who, in their own Churches, for some reason or other, found no satisfaction for their religious needs, or who, for some reason, feel repelled by their Church, but who think they will find satisfaction in a free religious community. For this reason, I believe, all those who know the meaning of religion, and are convinced that religion must be preserved to our people, welcome the free communities, not that religion is to be preserved in the interest of the State and its Church, but in consideration of the weal of the individual, of the family, and of humanity at large.

If we, in preserving religion, emphasise inward liberty, and claim the free self-determination of the individual as a *conditio sine qua non* for the preservation of a religious feeling and life, if we work for an agreement between religious doctrines and the assured results of science, as well as between religion and the whole modern intellectual culture, — we thus meet one of the urgent claims of our day, and are only moved by the desire to give to religion that importance which belongs unconditionally to her in the intellectual life of humanity.

May my words contribute at least something to a right recognition and fair estimate of our free religious movement and the communities connected therewith. And if you should then decide to consider us *sine ira et studio* as your fellow-workers in the great cause of religious culture for modern human beings, of preparing a universal religion to unite all creeds and nations into a great human society, and of forming a Church built on the foundations of religious liberty, most complete toleration, and genuine humanity, then I should welcome this Congress with a double joy. We should then have exercised free Christianity and religious progress in a practical way.

Let us work together, united in spirit, every man in his place, for the attainment of humanity's great object; if we will, the different roads all lead to one goal.

ADDRESS

BY FRAU DR. HARTWICH, KÖNIGSBERG IN PRUSSIA.

I am commissioned to bring to the meeting hearty greeting from one of the oldest free communities — the Free Protestant Community in Königsberg. We greet you as fellow-workers; there has always been a bond of union between our community and our Unitarian friends. We greet you joyfully. Since the days of the first meeting in London our interest in the aims and endeavours of the Congress has been manifest in word and in deed.

The heads of the International Congress have invited our community — and also those who are akin to us in spirit — to impart the principles and rules which we have laid down for the conduct of our lives. We have been assigned a place between the Liberal party in the Church and the Free-thinkers. We are therefore considered a kind of link between these two points of view.

The Protestant Church was once ours; our community is founded on the teaching of Jesus. Rupp, the founder of our community, whose hundredth birthday we celebrated a year ago, had found in Jesus his High Priest, and it was not without pain and grief that he left the State Church. Our love for the life and teaching of Jesus still connects us with the Church. The feeling we have against the Church also connects us with her. Our hearts burn when we see how little there is of the free and dauntless spirit of Jesus in the Church that bears his name.

We are akin to the Protestant Church in our desire to deepen our religious life, in our awe of that which is inscrutable, in our respect for the individual soul of man. And yet we do not belong to the Church; with full consciousness of what we are doing we will not belong to her; with full consciousness of what we are doing we guard our independence from State interference.

We strive for full knowledge, and the absolute basis on which we stand is the Protestant principle of free inquiry, of unconditional freedom of instruction uninfluenced by any power save that of personal sincerity. The spirit of man may err, we know, but we have confidence that it will not stray from the path leading to truth.

The 65 years of our existence have been a fierce, uninterrupted struggle. Our encounters with the police and the government, at the time of the reactionary movements, were the least part of it. We have gone through nearly all the difficulties and dangers which the left wing of the Protestant Church is now experiencing or expecting. We have had before our eyes the fear of a split in the camp, of barrenness of spirit coming upon us, of losing ourselves in negation. We know full well the dangers accompanying absolute liberty of faith, but we are living to-day as did our fathers, happy in the belief that an honest and sincere search for truth will lead to light; will lead to the elevating and inspiring knowledge that truth must be born again from error and that the conviction will one day dawn upon our souls: where the spirit is, there is truth.

This striving after truth — in which we are all one — is for us a religious feeling, a feeling of dependence, guiding us onwards. This need of religion we look upon as a possession of the human soul. It can never be lost though it may be choked for a time. To cultivate it we need fellowship, we must come in contact with others. And so we are a **religious community, independent of Church and State**. Our organisation is not uniform and often peculiar; it has arisen out of the needs of our little circle and quickens and promotes the religious life of our community. Movements, related to our own, both far and near, have adopted some of our ways with favourable results.

We consider the life of the Conscience the foundation and source of all religious cognition. Our community is a moral and religious community, founded upon moral and religious liberty.

We believe that implanted in every human being and indestructible is the longing to be good, to will that which is right. Within the narrow limits of our community we strive to bring together a body of men and women, each of whom respects the dignity of moral individuality and offers a helping hand to his brother when soul or body need help.

Our strength is small but still we trust we co-operate in the work of promoting the progress and salvation of mankind. No victorious battles, no brilliant technical discoveries are of use here. The moral actions of victory over self, of deliverance from the tyranny of self will alone avail.

Our number is not great but we do not call ourselves a sect. We consider we are fellow-workers in the great invisible Church which includes all those who dedicate themselves to the service of the eternal powers of truth and of love. It matters little, if we are successful in spreading our ideas, or if the history of the religious movement — to-day or tomorrow — sweeps away our little Free Protestant community in Königsberg. We look forward to and build upon a future full of light and liberty, of truth, sincerity and — love!

BREMEN RADICALISM

BY LIC. DR. FRIEDRICH LIPSIUS, BREMEN.

"Of its own poverty and uncertainty it will perish." That was the crushing judgment passed a few years ago on the so-called "Bremen Radicalism", by a distinguished representative of modern theology, Professor **Arthur Titius***. Though based upon a thorough examination of the writings of **Albert Kalthoff** and his friends, it seems premature. Such a man as Kalthoff, at any rate, cannot justly be reproached either with inward poverty or with uncertainty of religious conviction. Our critic himself speaks of the "truly masterly power of sympathetic insight", which enabled him to enter into the most delicate movements of the spirit in modern life, and the whole sum of its manifold relations, drawing out the religious element everywhere from the works of our poets and thinkers, and in his addresses laying it before his people.** It was not the alleged meagreness of his thought and feeling that was the danger for this prophet of modern piety, but rather the superabundance of points of view, which prevented him from working out in rigorous abstract outline the foundations of the new religious conception of the world. Kalthoff's thought as a whole was not altogether a unity, systematically complete in itself. But the reproach of inward uncertainty cannot assuredly be cast upon the man, who, as few others, was penetrated by a firm, prophetic confidence in the truth and victorious power of his thought! Anything but a brooding sceptic, one who had become "a prey to uncertainty, penetrating to the very core of religious experiences,"*** he is rather like the "artist of religion," the "skilled master of piety", pictured to us by Schleiermacher. If anyone in our day has had "faith" — taking the word in its highest significance — that man was the late preacher of St. Martin's, and the "energy with which he pursued his ends", nay, even the "tremendous force with

*A. Titius. *Der Bremer Radikalismus*, Address at the meeting of the *Freunde der Chr. Welt*, 1908. p. 132.

** *ibid.* p. 6.

*** *ibid.* p. 81.

which he showered blows upon the position of his opponents"* — these are only the outward expression of the confident strength of his own religious conviction. Kalthoff found the very essence of religion in the "faith of the future;" the new and the old faith he contrasted with one another as the religion of power and the religion of weakness! "Every belief", we read in his "Ideals of the Future", "that has to maintain itself by the constant confession, 'It once was', is at the same time corroded by fear and weakness, which makes it incapable of creating the hearts of men anew, liberating men's spirits. The faith of power has a different watch-word, the watch-word: 'It will be!' Its power, its blessed, proud consciousness of God, is there already, in that very feeling that it holds the living promise of the future!"**

This being the case, the judgment of the theoretical critic is quite incomprehensible, until one takes into account; that the standard which he applies to Kalthoff and the radical movement, is that of supernaturalism. From that point of view it is no wonder that, in spite of honest effort, he cannot do justice to a Kalthoff! He does indeed bear witness of him: "Kalthoff is no stranger to religious experience, and the high endeavours of idealism. But his really profound and earnest experience, in the undercurrent of his being, constantly coming also to the surface, is covered up and overwhelmed by the floods of scepticism and naturalistic prejudice."*** That is to say, Titius recognizes the genuineness of Kalthoff's religiousness only in so far as it leaves room for supernaturalistic interpretations. For with the abandonment of ethical-religious supernaturalism, he says, "we should destroy our most sacred experiences and feelings".† At the same time, the endless versatility and adaptability of the Kalthoff spirit makes admissions to the traditional modes of conception, not only frequently in matters of expression, but sometimes even in matters of fact, inconsistent with the fundamental idea of Monism. The mystic in Kalthoff surmises that beyond the actual there is a "supersensual" world, which we cannot comprehend.†† So he is able to declare his faith in a divine "Thou", which stands overagainst the human "I", as a religious necessity, and can even openly hold to the possibility of an eternal continuance of that "I". Now Titius consistently finds "uncertainty" in our religious orator, wherever the opposite tendency makes itself apparent in him,

* So Friedrich Steudel in the biographical Introduction to Kalthoff's *Zukunftsidealen*, 1907. p. XX XI.

** Kalthoff, *Zukunftsideale*, p. 129.

*** Titius, *ibid.*

† *ibid.*, p. 132.

†† Cf. Lipsius: *Religion des Monismus*, p. 19.

describing the religion of the modern man as purely a reflex of feeling from the modern picture of the world. In those places in his sermons, where Kalthoff proves himself a decided Monist, Pantheist and determinist, he is obliged regretfully to recognise the victory of naturalism over the idealism, which was still alive in the soul of the radical leader. The interest of religion, according to Titius, demands the theistic idea of God and the heavenly Beyond, as imperatively as moral conviction requires the metaphysical freedom of the will.

This whole argument, however, fails entirely of its purpose, because the contrast between Naturalism and Supernaturalism no longer affords a proper basis for a critical examination of the philosophy of religion. Supernaturalism and Naturalism stand upon the same plane of thought; they are like two brothers at enmity with one another, and their conflict is as interminable as it is inconclusive. To Naturalism the world is material nature; spirit is either pure illusion or else a subsidiary phenomenon of matter with no independent or effective existence. Supernaturalism, on the contrary, upholds the claim of the spiritual; but instead of making good the error, which Naturalism commits at the outset, it relegates spirit to the realm beyond Nature, and only allows it to affect the world of matter through occasional miracle — which involves the subversion of the first principle of all scientific thought. Naturalism, on the other hand, is unable to establish either an inward unity or an actual development of the Cosmos; for both of these must clearly assume the reality of the life of the spirit. It is consequently of necessity indifferent as regards both religion and ethics. Supernaturalism, indeed, recognises a spiritual basis of the world and a moral aim for humanity, but puts the one before and the other after the actual world-process!

Above these two opposites arises Idealism. The individual in its view, is everywhere conditioned and upheld by the universal Spirit, which however, for its part, only expresses itself in separate spirits, and must not therefore be represented as itself a separate, i. e., a personal spirit.* This is the justification of that statement of Kalthoff's, which Titius challenges, that God is "nothing but the innermost essential being of man". So also, from the idealist point of view, morality does not consist in subjection to a foreign will, but in accord with the universal will. Now it must be clearly recognised that the individual will

* Taking up an expression liable to misunderstanding in a previous essay by the present writer, Titius misrepresents his view on this point (*ibid.* p 83). The correction will be found in my essay "The Religion of Monism" (p 37). On the doubt there expressed, whether the name religion should still be used for the "Cosmic feeling" of the modern man, I do not wish any longer to insist.

cannot possibly act in opposition to the universal will, so long as that is understood to be simply the ever constant law of the world: i. e., there is no *liberum arbitrium indifferentiae*. But the universal will, as the doctrine of evolution shows, is at the same time in the world of living beings in a constant process of growth. As the final goal of evolution — though it may never be realised at any time, in any place — there is set before us the ideal kingdom of humanity, a complete accord of will in all reasonable beings, as the highest manifestation of the spiritual ground-work of the world. The moral worth of an act is therefore decided by the question whether it makes in the direction of that ideal or not. The Kantian formula, "So act that the rules of your will might at the same time serve as principles of universal law", remains true, though its justification must rest on other grounds.

Thus it is clear that the reproach constantly renewed against Pantheism — recently by Troeltsch* and Titius** — that it knows nothing of the consciousness of sin, is not valid, or at any rate only where there is the naturalistic idea of a Sole being, with no evolving life. Even though retrospective contemplation must acknowledge Necessity as cause of all that happens — the realm of spirit not excepted — the Ideal is yet judge over the actual decisions of our will, as the inward rule of conduct. Thus out of the theoretical there flows a religious-ethical idealism, of which the poetical expression is in the words of the Earth-Spirit.

„Ich schaffe am ewigen Webstuhl der Zeit
Und wirke der Gottheit lebendiges Kleid.“

(Translated from Goethe by Carlyle in *Sartor Resartus*:

“Tis thus at the roaring Loom of Time I ply,
And weave for God the Garment thou seest Him by.”)

* E. Troeltsch, *Psychologie und Erkenntnistheorie in der Religionswissenschaft*, 1905, p. 41 f.

** Titius, *ibid.* p. 72 f.

REMARQUES SUR L'HARMONIE DE L'ESPRIT MODERNE ET DE L'EVANGILE*)

PAR WILFRED MONOD.

Les réflexions que j'ai l'honneur de présenter au Congrès sur l'harmonie fondamentale de l'esprit moderne et de l'Évangile, m'ont été suggérées par de fréquents rapports et des entretiens contradictoires, en public et en particulier, avec des libres-penseurs, soit à l'université populaire de Rouen, soit comme l'un des vice-présidents de l'Union des libres-penseurs et des libres croyants à Paris. Car la France, qui passe pour athée, est l'un des pays où la question religieuse excite le plus d'intérêt dans les milieux les plus divers.

I. Qu'est-ce que l'esprit moderne? —

A. Une **méthode intellectuelle**. — L'union du sens scientifique: induction (observer, expérimenter, conclure) et du sens historique; évolution. Grâce à la double discipline scientifique et historique, l'esprit moderne est arrivé à un état de maturité, de majorité intellectuelle, qui marque une conquête définitive de la raison, et qu'on appelle la mentalité critique, mentalité en deçà de laquelle il paraît désormais impossible de reculer, car elle fait partie intégrante de notre appareil cérébral; nous ne pouvons plus lui échapper qu'aux catégories de l'Espace et du Temps. Désormais, penser c'est penser critiquement.

B. Une **attitude morale**. Notre époque a donné un rôle grandiose à la volonté, à la personnalité, soit dans l'élaboration des certitudes rationnelles ou des convictions individuelles, soit dans le développement du programme démocratique et de l'émancipation politique des masses.

C. Une **orientation sociale**. — Partout à la fois se manifeste un immense mouvement de compassion chez les uns, de révolte

*) Pour épargner le temps des auditeurs, ce travail a été rédigé sous une forme un peu laconique. Mais si les idées qui y sont exprimées paraissent mériter quelque attention, on en trouvera le développement dans divers volumes publiés par le rapporteur sous les titres suivants: **Peut-on rester chrétien? — La fin d'un christianisme. — Aux croyants et aux athées.**

chez les autres, de justice chez tous, qui entraîne irrésistiblement nos contemporains vers la refonte économique de la société.

II. Qu'est-ce que l'Évangile?

A. **L'Évangile se distingue de la religion** au sens vague et traditionnel du mot, si celle-ci implique nécessairement la notion d'un Dieu monarque absolu, tout-puissant et irresponsable. Le Dieu « Père » est une divinité morale dont l'autorité est celle de la persuasion, (comme dans la famille) — un Dieu qui, pour agir, sauver, demande à être prié, c'est-à-dire réclame des organes, des moyens d'incarnation, un Dieu qui est mais « qui vient », un Dieu ferment de recherche, d'activité, de réforme, de révolte. Le problème de la théodicée se pose d'une manière aiguë et tragique à l'Église contemporaine. (Le soussigné se permet de signaler les études qu'il a publiées sur ce sujet, dans le volume: **Aux croyants et aux athées.**)

B. **L'Évangile se distingue du christianisme.** Il y a eu un Évangile pré-chrétien, puisque les disciples de Jésus fréquentaient le temple juif de Jérusalem.

L'Évangile a préexisté à la **doctrine** des Conciles, dont le dogme est, en partie, un produit de la spéculation grecque. — Il a préexisté à la **hiérarchie**, survivance du judaïsme sacerdotal. — Il a préexisté à l'**identification du règne de Dieu avec le règne de l'Église**; cette prétention au gouvernement universel est sortie de la tradition impériale romaine. L'Évangile a donc préexisté au christianisme.

C. **L'Évangile se distingue des évangiles.** Derrière la lettre des évangiles (qui n'est pas **ne varietur**, ni comme texte, ni comme interprétation) il y a le divin mystère de la personnalité du Christ, il y a son âme salubre et salvatrice de Sauveur. L'Évangile, en son essence, est un souffle, une orientation, une inspiration, une tendance, un élan, une vie. L'Évangile c'est Jésus le Christ, qui appartient au domaine prophétique, moral, social, spirituel, qui règne dans le domaine qualitatif, le domaine des jugements de valeur. L'Évangile est un esprit toujours agissant, qui façonne le présent en vue de l'avenir.

III. Les adversaires des chrétiens clament l'impossibilité de concilier l'Évangile et l'esprit moderne.*)

*) **L'union nationale des Églises réformées de France**, dans sa Déclaration de principes, élaborée à Jarnac en 1906, proclame: « Le droit et le devoir, pour les croyants et pour les Églises, de pratiquer le libre examen en harmonie avec les règles de la méthode scientifique, et de travailler à la réconciliation de la pensée moderne avec l'Évangile. »

On n'a pas souvent rencontré, dans l'histoire de l'Église, une confession de foi qui affirme, non seulement le droit, mais le devoir du libre examen ainsi entendu.

A. Que faut-il penser de l'opposition qu'ils statuent entre l'Évangile et la science ?

Cette opposition n'offre pas de sens, car la vie évangélique et la recherche scientifique appartiennent à des plans différents de la réalité. D'ailleurs, « la Science » est une abstraction personnifiée, une entité métaphysique; seules existent des sciences, avec leurs méthodes particulières, leurs critères spéciaux. Et ce qui les unit, c'est un esprit, l'esprit critique. A ce point de vue purement formel, on pourrait avancer que l'esprit évangélique, envisagé sous un certain angle, est l'esprit critique appliqué à la conduite humaine, au monde et à ses préjugés ou à ses vices, à la personnalité enfin qui se juge elle-même, refuse de se prendre en bloc, fait le départ entre le bien et le mal, rejette ce qui est superfétation, déviation du type normal de l'humanité, dérogation à l'idéal. Y a-t-il rien de plus scientifique ? Or, c'est le processus moral par lequel un homme s'affranchit du péché par la repentance.

L'esprit critique n'est pas nécessairement négatif; il coupe, mais pour émonder; rien de plus positif que la taille des arbres fruitiers: elle en accroît le rendement. De plus, l'esprit critique unit, par la communauté de méthode, les mentalités les plus divergentes en apparence; de même qu'il fait l'unité, au sein d'une âme, entre des tendances réputées contradictoires.

B. Que faut-il penser de l'opposition que l'on statue entre l'Évangile et l'idéal moral de la démocratie ?

Le concept de la dignité de la personne humaine est entré dans le monde avec l'Évangile. « Le sabbat a été fait pour l'homme, et non l'homme pour le sabbat. » Dans la Grèce païenne, l'individu était sevré de toute indépendance. Son corps, sa vie privée, ses croyances, sa famille appartenaient à l'État. « C'est donc une erreur singulière entre toutes les erreurs humaines que d'avoir cru que, dans les cités anciennes, l'homme jouissait de la liberté. Il n'en avait pas même l'idée. Le gouvernement s'appela monarchie, aristocratie, démocratie, mais aucune de ces révolutions ne donna la liberté l'individuelle. » (Fustel de Coulanges: *La Cité antique*.)

Tel est le milieu où Jésus jette cette parole: « Un seul est votre Maître, et vous êtes tous frères. » Quelques années plus tard, au sein des groupements chrétiens, un esclave pouvait être presbytre dans l'église où son maître était simple catéchumène.

La démocratie moderne est le fruit de l'Évangile, et non seulement il n'est pas en désaccord avec un programme issu de lui, mais seul il fournit les moyens de l'appliquer. Car les politiciens athées avouent leur impuissance à régénérer la personnalité humaine,

et leurs doctrines de désespérance cosmique risquent même de briser le ressort de l'énergie individuelle, tandis que l'Esprit du Christ est créateur d'initiative. Comme aux premiers jours, la foi au Dieu de l'Évangile est une source d'indépendance morale, de «personnalisme» authentique. («Mieux vaut obéir à Dieu qu'aux hommes »).

Par conséquent, si Jésus, quand il disait: «Tu aimeras ton prochain!» faisait la part de l'humanité — il faisait la part de l'**individu**, quand il disait: «Tu aimeras Dieu!» Il enracinait l'individu dans l'absolu, lui conférait une valeur éternelle et lui donnait une impulsion infinie.

C. Que faut-il penser de l'opposition que l'on statue entre l'Évangile et l'**idéal social**?

L'individualisme évangélique ne se confond pas avec le libéralisme économique. Les réformateurs sociaux qui veulent modifier le milieu, les institutions, ne sauraient considérer l'Évangile comme une puissance hostile. Preuve en soit le fait que la „Librairie du peuple“, à Bruxelles, a publié, en 1892, une édition abrégée de l'évangile de Matthieu, parmi ses brochures de propagande révolutionnaire.

Si le socialisme „a pour but essentiel la résorption de l'organisme politique dans l'organisme industriel“, s'il préconise l'association des personnes et la socialisation des choses, et s'il se propose, en définitive, de **régir les choses pour affranchir les hommes**, on ne voit pas en quoi ce programme est en contradiction avec l'Évangile.

Le socialisme en soi ne se confond point avec la violence, la haine, l'appétit de jouissance; tout ce qu'il contient de justice et de vérité trouve en Jésus un appui sûr et un garant; la critique du XIXe siècle n'a-t-elle pas mis en pleine lumière les aspects eschatologiques d'un Christ voué au triomphe du messianisme? Il est donc d'une tactique légitime d'enlever aux doctrines de concurrence incohérente et d'égoïsme économique le prestige d'un nom, le bénéfice d'une influence, l'appui d'une force morale et spirituelle qui n'appartiennent et ne peuvent appartenir en droit qu'à un idéal d'affranchissement social, de délivrance humaine, de rédemption cosmique.

- IV. — On peut donc rester chrétien avec bonne conscience, mais ce ne sera pas sans souffrance, car les disciples modernes du Christ ne savent pas toujours «où reposer leur tête.» Dans les églises, on prêche, trop souvent, un Messie . . . sans messianisme; en dehors des églises, on propage un messianisme . . . sans Messie.

Le christianisme officiel, pour être accueilli sans défiance par nos contemporains, devrait consentir à un **désaveu** de ses erreurs et de ses crimes dans le passé, et à un **programme** d'action pour l'avenir.

D'ailleurs, les destinées de l'humanité ne sont pas liées au maintien des églises historiques, mais au triomphe, ici-bas, des principes dont le Christ a été l'incarnation.

Pourquoi des libres chercheurs, des socialistes, des intellectuels ou des manuels, s'ils hésitent à s'inféoder au christianisme traditionnel, ne proclameraient-ils point que les églises n'ont pas le droit de monopoliser l'Évangile, que le Christ appartient à l'humanité, qu'ils le revendiquent, en effet, et veulent marcher sur ses traces, et dans son esprit, à la conquête de l'avenir sans se lier à aucune institution ecclésiastique ?

C'est ainsi que l'on peut concevoir cette « irrégion de l'avenir » dont le voyant de l'Apocalypse a salué la réalisation dans la « cité ans temple. » Ce sera une irrégion pleine de loyauté intellectuelle, de sève morale, de foi, de prière, alimentée aux sources de l'Évangile, celui de la Croix et celui de la Vie.

Ce ne sont point là des rêves. Une force illimitée d'expansion bouillonne au sein du néo-christianisme, puisqu'il condense autour d'un même nom (celui du Christ) et au service d'un seul idéal (le Royaume de Dieu, la Terre nouvelle) les puissances combinées de la religion, de la science et du socialisme. Il concentre donc les activités maîtresses du monde contemporain. Il se sent pleinement d'accord avec l'Évangile d'hier, avec la Culture d'aujourd'hui, avec la Société de demain; il conserve du passé ce qui lui est nécessaire pour agir sur le présent et préparer l'avenir. Il est à l'avant-garde; c'est là sa joie et sa responsabilité.

Pour que ce christianisme — là triomphe, il faut qu'un certain christianisme finisse. Il y a déjà eu plusieurs formes de christianisme. Après les christianismes juif, catholique, protestant, quel sera le prochain? Pour être compris et désiré par l'humanité du XXe siècle, pour être une « bonne nouvelle », il devra mettre en valeur la notion prophétique du Royaume de Dieu. Dans cet idéal commun à tous ceux qui peinent, à tous ceux qui pensent, à tous ceux qui croient, nous avons ce « premier moteur immobile », dont parlait Aristote, et qui tire à soi la création. Un christianisme qui saura s'emparer de la doctrine du Royaume de Dieu, la traduire, la fortifier, la propager, l'appliquer, et revenir (par dessus les conciles) à cet hébraïsme fondamental dont la foi purement morale et religieuse ne peut jamais être en conflit ni avec les découvertes

scientifiques ni avec le progrès social — un tel christianisme sera viable et vivifiant.

L'histoire, comme un fleuve, construit par alluvions successives. Dans l'Eglise primitive était préformé le christianisme catholique; dans le christianisme romain transparaisait le christianisme protestant, et déjà le christianisme messianiste brise les enveloppes du protestantisme pour émerger à la lumière. Cependant, chaque phase dépassée laisse à l'avenir un trésor inaliénable. Le christianisme juif nous a légué le **nouveau Testament**; le christianisme catholique nous a légué l'**Eglise** et ses trésors spirituels; le christianisme protestant nous a légué l'âme responsable. Le messianisme moderne conservera tout cet héritage. Il prétend retenir l'autorité religieuse (non doctrinaire) du document biblique, la fonction pédagogique et mystique de l'Eglise (envisagée dans son Idée); la valeur infinie de l'âme individuelle; toutefois, chacune de ces grandeurs devra être évaluée, désormais, en fonction du Royaume de Dieu. Hors de la « catégorie » du Royaume, ni l'Evangile, ni l'Eglise, ni l'Âme, ne déploient leur véritable vertu, et ces courants d'eau vive se transforment, souvent, en lacs stagnants.

Mais quand le christianisme messianiste aura triomphé, un autre christianisme surgira, plus social encore, c'est-à-dire mieux adapté aux futurs besoins de l'humanité. La révélation divine continue. Les partis politiques, les groupes économiques, les écoles de philosophie, les églises rivales, les nations séparées, ne sont que des échafaudages provisoires qui masquent un édifice en construction, le palais spirituel, le sanctuaire à la fois laïque et religieux où toutes les âmes se grouperont, pacifiées, autour du mystérieux Fils de l'homme, invisible chef d'orchestre, coryphée immortel de l'humanité.

UNION DES LIBRES PENSEURS ET DES LIBRES CROYANTS DE FRANCE, POUR LA CULTURE MORALE

RAPPORT PAR LE DÉLÉGUÉ DE L'UNION M. PAUL HYACINTHE LOYSON.

Mesdames, Messieurs.

L'Union des Libres Penseurs et des Libres Croyants de France, dont font partie plusieurs membres de ce Congrès; M. M. Roberty, Wilfred Monod, Etienne Giran, Bonet-Maury, d' autres encore (tous, il est vrai, appartenant à l' aile droite de l' Union, c' est-à-dire aux Libres Croyants), cette Union, dis-je, a tenu à se faire représenter parmi vous dans son ensemble et officiellement, afin de vous renseigner sur le but de son activité, comme sur ses méthodes, et c' est à moi qu' elle a confié l' honneur de remplir cette tâche aujourd' hui.

Notre Union s' est constituée en 1907 sur ce programme: „le progrès social par la culture morale“. Son objet était surtout d' étudier les questions religieuses, en dissipant la confusion qui subsiste entre la religion et le cléricalisme, et en se plaçant en dehors de toute préoccupation dogmatique et confessionnelle, sur le terrain de la libre pensée considérée comme la méthode du libre examen.

On était, en France, au lendemain de la séparation des Eglises et de l' Etat. Nombre d' esprits réfléchis comprirent qu' une mesure législative de cet ordre n' est pas simplement une manifestation politique ou une modification budgétaire quelconque et que cette loi, en supprimant la part contributive de chacun dans la rétribution du clergé, crée à tout citoyen le devoir de sortir de la passivité que lui permettait l' organisation officielle du culte.

Aussi, la première et provisoire période du groupe fut-elle surtout une période de reconnaissance: et de discussion métaphysique. Les résultats en furent très appréciables. On éprouva, en réaction mutuelle dans un même creuset, les données rationalistes et le sentiment religieux. Mais cette détermination des larges perspectives de l' horizon eût été néfaste

si elle avait fait dédaigner le souci de l'action immédiatement possible. Or la constatation de la nécessité d'un contact entre libres croyants et libres penseurs ne suffisait pas à le faire naître et à le rendre intime. L'opposition d'affirmations et de négations sur le terrain théologique eût été semblable à un combat d'artillerie moderne, à longue distance. Les libres croyants pouvaient rester sur les positions de leurs croyances métaphysiques, les libres penseurs s'occuper surtout de progrès social.

Et, tout de suite, fut fait un double pas de rapprochement: les libres penseurs admirèrent que le progrès social ne peut se faire sans un développement moral équivalent; les libres croyants sentirent que la culture morale pure est sans efficacité en dehors de la préoccupation sociale;

Et le terrain de rencontre et de travail fut déterminé par la Déclaration que voici:

„Les soussignés, libres penseurs et libres croyants, unis dans un même idéal de justice et de fraternité, persuadés que des changements économiques du milieu social sont nécessaires pour rendre cet idéal accessible à tous, mais convaincus que ces changements, si profonds qu'ils soient, ne suffiraient pas, à eux-seuls, pour le réaliser, déclarent qu'une culture morale est nécessaire à cet effet.

„Les soussignés, libres croyants, sentant en eux-mêmes la force active et vivante de leur foi, mais reconnaissant que le conflit entre la science et certaines croyances écarte un grand nombre de consciences de cette source de vie morale, affirment le droit à la pensée libre en face de toute autorité qui repousse la raison et la critique; et acceptent pleinement la méthode du libre examen, convaincus que la religion de l'homme ne saurait être en désaccord avec la raison humaine.“

„Les soussignés, libres penseurs, constatant que le sentiment est un puissant mobile d'action, reconnaissent que la culture morale doit lui donner sa place; et sont prêts à étudier les formes religieuses de cette culture pour rechercher ce qui, soit des principes, soit des méthodes, soit de l'idéal des religions, peut être utilisé pour former des consciences, sans demander aucun sacrifice ni à la science ni à la raison. ...“

Dès lors, l'**Union des Libres-Penseurs et des Libres-Croyants** était fondée. Sa séance inaugurale eut lieu à la Sorbonne le 9 Juin 1907 sous la présidence de MM. Gabriel Séailles, professeur de philosophie à la Sorbonne, du côté des libres penseurs; Hyacinthe Loyson, réformateur catholique, du côté des libres croyants, et enfin, présence symbolique et gage de concorde, sous la présidence du grand apôtre de la paix, Frédéric Passy.

Les sujets discutés par nous, au cours des deux premières années, ont été :

1. Les vertus chrétiennes devant la conscience moderne;
2. Les droits de l'Homme;
3. Les problèmes sociaux et le devoir personnel.
4. L'Éducation de l'enfant, envisagée au point de vue du conflit de la religion, de la morale et de la science à l'époque actuelle.

Les orateurs sont alternativement des libres penseurs et des libres croyants; chaque conférence est suivie de discussions auxquelles prend part le public, et que caractérisent la simplicité, la bonne foi, le désir de se préciser ses propres idées et de s'éclairer mutuellement. Au lieu de chercher les points faibles de ses adversaires, on étudie ce qui fait la solidité de telles positions de ses alliés.

Les libres penseurs sont amenés à reconnaître quelle expérience supérieure des choses de l'âme est au fond de la foi. Ils admettent que les grandes réponses qu'elle a données aux questions suprêmes sur le sens de la vie ont été des agents féconds de la civilisation morale, et ils sont amenés, sans renoncer à l'esprit critique, qu'ils prennent comme moyen et non comme but, à rechercher le fondement humain non des dogmes purs, mais de la morale religieuse. Ils estiment, en outre, que nombre de textes dits sacrés, pour ne plus nous apparaître comme d'origine surnaturelle, sont néanmoins conçus dans une langue morale commune à tous les hommes et que la source des idées qui y sont exprimées est notre nature même. Ils veulent donc restituer au domaine public ce qui a été monopolisé; ils veulent laïciser et non supprimer l'inspiration religieuse.

De leur côté, nos libres croyants semblent amenés: 1. à renoncer un peu au bénéfice de l'immutabilité du devoir, dérivé de la foi; 2. à faire un effort pour aimer le bien parce que c'est le bien, à étayer la morale sur des raisons intrinsèques, ou, du moins, à ne recourir à l'appui de la foi qu'à la condition de l'intérioriser toujours davantage.

Ils prétendent, par conséquent, ne pas tirer leur force essentielle de croyances théoriques, mais de la personnalité même de Jésus, et de Jésus non comme Fils de Dieu, mais comme Fils de l'Homme, comme contemporain perpétuel, agissant en quelque sorte ainsi qu'une image force. Ils tâchent de ramener l'action de la croyance „aux modifications psychologiques produites par l'influence naturelle, rationnelle, d'une personnalité géniale“ (M. Roberty).

A cela, il est vrai, les libres penseurs répondent: ce que vous voyez dans Jésus c'est la projection des progrès séculaires de la conscience

morale; les forces que vous croyez trouver en la foi, c'est vous qui les y aviez mises.

Enfin ils n'admettent généralement pas que la morale chrétienne soit une morale totale. Ils reconnaissent que tout ce qui est chrétien est utilisable et humain, mais ils contestent que tout ce qui est humain et viable soit chrétien.

Bref, chacun des deux groupes dit à l'autre: nous possédons tout ce dont vous bénéficiez, plus autre chose.

Il n'en reste pas moins un accord sur l'essentiel: sur le sérieux de la vie avec ou sans lendemain personnel, sur la valeur infinie possible de l'homme, qu'elle vienne de ses origines ou de ses aspirations. En résumé, les libres penseurs ont fait admettre aux libres croyants que tout ce qui est profondément humain est divin, et les libres croyants ont fait reconnaître aux libres penseurs que tout ce qui est profondément divin est humain.

Tous, en somme, se rejoignent dans une même foi, foi personni-
fiée pour les uns, et simplement foi en l'idéal pour les autres.

Les différences restent surtout dans le caractère, les uns ayant besoin du définitif, de l'immédiat, de l'absolu; les autres, du progrès, de la marche laborieuse du relatif vers le moins relatif.

Dans la méthode les libres croyants demandent la „remorque“, tandis que les libres penseurs constatent que la „remorque“ peut se briser et que, d'ailleurs, ne l'a pas qui veut; ils veulent donc arriver par les moyens du bord, leurs propres voiles, leurs propres rames.

Mais le port est unique.

4. INDIVIDUALISTS AND SECTS.

WHAT WE WANT, A CONFESSION, NO PROGRAMME

BY PROFESSOR CHRISTOF SCHREMPF, LIC. D., STUTTGART.

In the meetings held by the International Congress for Free Christianity and Religious Progress the religious Individualists have been invited to speak. It is the earnest endeavour of the Congress to draw together all those who have any lively interest for religion and those, therefore, who have gone apart to lead their own religious life are not to be left out. The invitation, of course, is not intended to entice them out of that solitude which was at first unavoidable and afterwards self-chosen. They are invited as the Individualists which they are and will remain, and it is as such that the Congress wishes to get in touch with them. This wish, so far as I am concerned, meets a need of my own. As an Individualist, indeed, I feel more anxiety than pleasure at the thought of coming together with others to discuss religious matters: my dread is at once that I may endanger the freedom and truth of my own religious life by so doing. But still I, as I am, ought to be able to arrive at an understanding with others who are as they are. I am in no way disinclined to such an understanding, which does not concern itself with the task an Individualist has set himself, but which presupposes and recognises the fact that he is a man apart. Indeed it is my sincere and lively wish. And so I accepted the invitation to come and speak to you, with some reluctance and yet willingly. But I can only, as it were, introduce myself to you in my religious position. I cannot talk to you in an objective and scientific way, but only subjectively and personally. Do not misunderstand me, please. You will soon notice that in spite of the strictly personal character of my utterances I have no intention of troubling you with my private affairs.

I.

I distinguish between two classes of men: men to whom life is more or less an agreeable habit; and men to whom life has become a question and a problem. The former need not trouble their heads about life; it is the most natural thing in the world for them, and their task is only to maintain this state of things as long as possible by doing away with any interruption to its natural course. The latter must reflect about life: they must adjust it to make it worth living.

The former, when they have no more means of preserving life, must submit to the disagreeable necessity of dying; if the latter do not succeed in adjusting their lives in a manner which is satisfactory to themselves they begin to debate if they shall not throw it away as a failure.

By birth every one belongs to the first class. Life begins as an instinct and becomes a habit, and life remains an instinct and a habit as long as that is possible. It only becomes a question and a problem when some disturbing element affects the personality so deeply that it can neither be ignored nor put aside. The end of this disturbance is, always, that the person is at variance with himself. However, as the person has only become what he is as member of a certain society, and as the product of an historical development, he, in being at variance with himself, must necessarily be at variance with history and society. A man who passes through this crisis becomes a man apart, which he was not before; to arrive at this there is no other way than by going through such a crisis.

Both classes of men have their religion; but religion means by no means the same thing for both of them. The religion of the unshaken man is the radiation and reflection of the natural vital feeling with which he lives his life. The religion of the man to whom life presents a problem is the necessary attempt to adjust his life in such a way that it may be worth living. Religion for the former only consummates, and exalts the life which is his; it may perhaps be its anchorage. For the latter, religion is the condition of life, it is indeed the only path which leads to a life worth living. The religion of the unshaken man is, like his whole life, instinct and habit; it rests on history, it is coined by history, it is a factor in the life of the society of which he is a member. The religion of the other is his own discovery, his creation, his deed.

We will now leave the former class and turn to the latter who, principally, and indeed almost exclusively, occupy my attention.

This readjustment and rearrangement of life by the man to whom it has become a problem is an act of supreme self-consciousness requiring

the concentration of all the powers of the mind. He gains life by understanding it, and the fact of his at the same time understanding and gaining it gives him a new and peculiar vital feeling. Cognition, will, and feeling prove to be here, if anywhere, a real Trinity in Unity. We can, therefore, only think of this religion as self-conscious: it is *eo ipso* theology.

When this man, therefore, in order to readjust and rearrange his life, goes to history for help, he now does so at his own risk and on his own responsibility. He does not return to his old dependence upon history, he no longer feels himself a link in the chain of natural conditions: from that he has broken away. It would be no use to return; if it were, he is not yet at complete variance with himself, with society and with history. Such a case I dismiss; I presuppose a radical rupture in the development of the person: his religion then becomes and remains non-historical. If you give the name of philosophy to an understanding of life which is at once uninfluenced by history and independent of the same, then the religion or theology of this man is also his philosophy.

With regard to myself, disposition and fate early compelled me to adjust my life. To do so has been the endeavour of years, of decades, and I have as yet only arrived at a provisional result. But still I believe that I have come to a clear understanding with myself as to the form which my religious life — indeed my life altogether — can alone have. Everything that in the history of mankind has been acquired for the interpretation of life, I must, and may and will make use of as stimulus and help in my own struggle to get at the meaning of life. But I do not depend upon history nor am I supported by it; I stand outside it, I depend upon myself. In order to emphasize this: I do not build my faith upon Jesus, I stand beside him, I rely upon myself. If he had never lived my religious position would be the same. I have no foothold in Christianity, I stand beside it, I am my own stay, my own voucher. Whatever may happen to Christianity and within it, I, in my religious position, am not concerned. Further: the traditional difference between religion, theology and philosophy has been lost for me in my endeavour so to interpret life that it may be worth living. In my own person I cannot separate the man from the theologian and philosopher. To be able to "live" as a man I must have a theory of life. That is my theology and my philosophy — or it is neither. For these ideas are really too academical, too high-flown. My theory of life is nothing else but my theory of life. Why should it be anything else? Why need it be anything else?

But I will now pass on to the way in which I, at this present time, adjust my life.

II.

I start from the fact, confirmed by my own experience and my observation of others: that man has needs which will never be satisfied between the cradle and the grave. If anyone disputes this, I reply that he has not attained to a full recognition of himself, that he has more to learn from life. Thus our desire for knowledge exceeds our means of obtaining the same. Knowledge is too rich and vast a mine to be exhausted in our short span of life. The most industrious and successful investigator, in leaving off work, does so with the consciousness that he might now perhaps have made a beginning. It is still stranger that there are latent powers in man the exercise of which is inexorably denied him. We will and we must form our conceptions objectively; and we are caught and bound in our subjectivity. We seek the "Ding an sich" and we must seek it as long as the impulse to do so is vital within us; but it is self-evident that there is no "Ding an sich" for us. . . . Thus man is given a need of love which is never satisfied. He who really loves, loves everything and everybody; true love is universal love. But how few creatures do we get to know so well that the feeling between us is one of real love. He who really loves surrenders himself to him whom he loves. If we could only do that! But it is a law of psychic life that with all our surrender there are reserves. The personality is a barrier to true love and yet we can only love as persons. . . . And so there lives in us the longing for a happiness which, according to the laws of the soul, is unattainable because illimitable. . . .

It is, therefore, no mere matter of chance that a man is not satisfied with his life. It is no casual and arrogant whim of his that he expects too much from life; it is no accidental misfortune or fault that his longings remain unfulfilled. The former case as well as the latter is the right expression of his nature and the necessary consequence of his position in the order of things. Therefore when a man is dissatisfied it is no sign that his life is a failure: on the contrary the man who is simply happy has not yet attained to full experience of life, to perfect self-knowledge. This is for me, as I said before, a fact.

But this fact has two sides which present very different aspects. It is man's misfortune that he remains dissatisfied; it is his glory that he can never be perfectly content. Nature has, in a certain way, turned out man too small — so far as his power is too weak to satisfy his spiritual cravings. But he is turned out too great when his spiritual cravings far outrun his power to satisfy them. There is a disharmony in his being. This is his disadvantage and his advantage according to the point of view we take; the question is how he is affected by the consciousness of it.

When the man is conscious that his power is too weak to satisfy his cravings, his self-assurance must be greatly shaken. This is probably always the first impression left by such a feeling of disharmony. But if he is conscious of needs far transcending any possibility of satisfaction his self-assurance will be greatly enhanced. This is always the second impression left by the consciousness of such disharmony and it is not given to every man to experience it. The feeling of exaltation which follows upon it will not permanently affect the state of mind, but if it only recurs from time to time it affords a starting-point for the attempt to rearrange and readjust life.

The recognition that neither chance or negligence has made life a failure is a decided step forward. The man who understands this fact need not seek for the cause of the misfortune or fault whereby he has lost all sense of satisfaction. The cause, indeed, is only that he is a human being and that he has become conscious of the truly human conditions of existence. That is all there is to deplore — and this he is not likely to do: it is the greatest advance he has made in the progress of his development; and this advance has made him, in a certain measure, a human being.

From another point of view the apprehension of this fact brings with it a despairing sadness. If it is inherent in man's nature ever to be unsatisfied, then these unsatisfied longings will remain with him as long as he has a human existence. A complete reconstruction of his personality would be required to satisfy his craving for knowledge, his longing for love. Is such an event thinkable? No. But is it thinkable that such cravings should have been woven into the texture of his being only to be baulked? Is man born great only to suffer from his greatness? That is inconceivable. The man who has experienced this dilemma in his life, dares to entertain the thought — certainly unprovable under present conditions — that his present life, in which the cravings of his being cannot be satisfied, is not his true state of existence. The riddle of his existence is that he lies spell-bound, as it were, under the inadequate conditions of life. But surely the spell will one day be broken. Then he will become what he potentially really is already; then he will be able to unfold his true being which is now only indicated by unquenchable longings. How that is to come about he cannot conceive, but that it will one day come to pass, he believes. He knows he cannot demonstrate his belief to any one, but he also knows that no one can rob him of his belief.

This fact is of great practical importance for him. Owing to his belief, the centre of gravity in his life has been shifted to the future, to the true life that is to come. Quite inadequate as it is to meet his

real needs this present life has lost in importance; it has lost in seriousness, nay more, it has ceased to be of import at all. What does it after all matter? It can never really satisfy him. It is only a question of a greater or less degree of dissatisfaction, and this has little concern for a man in whom the craving for satisfaction has been awakened together with the recognition that perfect content can never be attained between birth and death.

III.

Thus have I interpreted life to myself: neither considering those who have lived before me, nor my contemporaries, nor my successors. My interpretation of life is also only binding for me as long as I believe it to be the nearest approach to truth which I can make at the present time. But I know, of course, what you will have long noticed: that these and similar thoughts have been expressed since early times. It would be strange if it were otherwise, nor does it matter. I believe my interpretation of life to be most especially consonant with the spirit of Christianity. In Christian phraseology my thoughts sound somewhat like this: Man is not only a product of nature but is a descendant of the Most High; he cannot therefore begin and end with time, but has an assurance of Eternal life. Thus this earthly life is of no account in comparison with the life to come. Were I to describe my conception of life in greater detail many important particulars would coincide with, or, at least, show a relationship to the spirit of Christianity. But it is more interesting for you to hear what separates me from dogmatic Christianity, from Christianity as a historical religion.

Dogmatic Christianity not only makes a distinction between this life and that which is to come, but establishes relations between the two. Dogmatic Christianity must, by virtue of its very nature, claim to be the way of salvation, and its peculiarity lies in the way in which, theoretically and practically, it connects time with eternity. A slight sketch of its leading features will bring out my meaning. The whole process of development in time is founded in the Counsels of the Most High; God's will is law for man by which he will be judged on passing from time to eternity. In this way deeds done in this life have a significance for eternity. On the other hand God has offered means of grace, for mankind would infallibly fail to justify itself before the Court of the Most High. According to the use each one of us makes of the means of grace held out to us do we decide our fate for Eternity. The everlasting Son of God dwelling in Jesus Christ became man to save mankind. The Christian Church, a historical institution, is endowed with the Holy Spirit, which, with the Father and the Son, is coeval and eternal; the

means of grace and with that the keys of heaven are entrusted to her care. It will be seen from this scheme how every part tends to enhance the importance of this life with a view to eternity, whereby the secondary aim is attained, that of valuing this life by the life to come. I acknowledge the validity of this endeavour, and I do not deny that an abundance of insight into life and ripe wisdom lie stored in the Christian dogma. But whilst using what I can of these riches for my own elevation I reject dogmatic Christianity as a whole, as an endeavour to connect time with eternity. In abstracto, as an academic theory and as a speculative construction, its tendency is interesting; in concreto, as a scheme of life, I can make no use of it. I deny the right of any one to open or shut the door of heaven for me. The spirit of the Christian Church as known to history is by no means holy. Everything I have learnt under its influence I have been forced to sift, to re-model, or even to cast out altogether. How the means of salvation offered by the Church are to become means of grace to me, I am at a loss to perceive; moreover they are offered to me under conditions that render them unpalatable. I cannot see either why a belief in Jesus Christ can alone save me. If I ever understood this, I understand it no longer, but I do not believe that I ever understood it, for it is inconceivable. Neither can I make anything of the Court of the Most High, seeing that even within the pale of dogmatic Christianity grace has overcome the law.

Now doubtless the question suggests itself to you: How do I connect time with eternity? My answer is simple enough; I establish no such continuity, although, of course, there is such a relation, and we shall one day recognize it when we look back upon our life in time. But I believe that this recognition will be conditioned by a change in our organisation which I can only experience through death; therefore I give up the futile attempt to understand that relation now. What others say on the subject only confirms my opinion and my decision. Here is a very important example: Jesus himself could not form any clear and accurate picture of how the "kingdom of God" would come about; he could not describe how the transition would take place between the present aeon and the future. It almost seems as if this difficulty troubled him towards the end of his career; it brought the greatest, almost insuperable difficulties into the relations between himself and his followers.

I renounce all hope of establishing any definite relation between time and eternity, and with this the possibility goes of valuing the things of time by their eternal issues. I am forced to recognize and judge of the things of time by their significance for this life; their significance for the life to come is unknown to me. I neither require to do anything, nor to abstain from doing anything, on account of the life to come;

which cannot be overrated. Life were scarcely bearable should weal and woe depend upon the transitory circumstances of this world. I cannot understand how those who look upon all the problems of the present time as the most serious things in life are not distracted and crushed by them. If we, on the other hand, keep the fact before our eyes that all that is necessary is to pass tolerably the few years before the great metamorphosis, then our life may become endurable, nay, even cheerful.

IV.

I dare not hope that my religion will commend itself to you as satisfactory. What is wanting in it may be, in your estimation, the chief thing in religion, namely, the recognition of definite relations between this life and the life to come. It is evident that it can never become a means of popular education. It is not practical, for it establishes no standards at which to aim, sets no tasks, imposes no rules. My religion is not popular. To be intensely engrossed in questions of this life is popular; it is popular to live according to certain rules in this life with a view to the hereafter; it is especially popular to make a certain manner of life here subservient to the supposed relations with a future life. But a man can do nothing with a religion that bids him live in this world and judge things therein only by their relations to the world, and yet live in the consciousness that it is not his real life, and that he can make no preparation for the real life which is to come. All this is intensely unpopular. Nothing can be done with such a religion.

Quite true; I know my religion is unpractical and unpopular; I do not deny that I suffer under these disadvantages. But my faith is not shaken thereby. Allow me to tell you briefly how I help myself.

Firstly: Although it would undoubtedly be more satisfactory to recognize and establish definite relations between this life and the next, I am not able to do so. Nor can others, so far as I can see. But because they, like myself, think they ought to be conscious of such relations, they take their stand on traditional modes of thought, they entirely overlook all difficulties contained in them and imagine they have acquired certain knowledge of the relations between this life and the next. I prefer to remain conscious of this great and important want in my interpretation of life. After having divested myself of my fear of hell — a fear only instilled into me by my education — I await with serenity of mind what the unknown future life may bring. All the same the general tenure of my mind is not very different from that of the Christian. Through faith in Jesus Christ, Justification, and Redemption the dogmatic Christian is freed from the fear which I have overcome without these

means of help. Both of us must await what death will bring. He perhaps, but very rarely, may await the end with a certain exalted and joyous feeling of expectation which I do not in the least grudge him. I do not look upon the absence of such exalted joy as any real loss.

Secondly: Truth is not at all popular. Truth certainly does not consist in theories only understood by trained thinkers, nor does it consist in thoughts so commonplace that he who runs may read. Neither is Christianity popular; it was spoiled when it became a national religion. Justification by faith is not the only unpopular dogma, the Gospel of Jesus is equally so. The errors of Jesus were popular; his truth was unpopular and has remained so. Of course everyone can understand the Beatitudes; everyone, that is, who has discovered the equivocal nature of laughing and weeping, of poverty and riches, of honour and dishonour — the equivocal nature of life altogether. Everyone can find that out, it is, we may almost say, palpable. Nevertheless it is not a popular truth, and never will be. To have discovered it is the end of one stage of development; to have overcome it is the beginning of another stage of development. He who has not attained this last stage neither desires nor can he make any use of the Gospel of Jesus. It is the same thing with the religion which I have won for myself by a long process of development; it appears undesirable, useless, even disagreeable to all those who have not come to it prepared by their own line of development. But as I said before: all truth is more or less unpopular, and the higher the truth the more unpopular it will be.

Thirdly: Unpopular as my religion is, it is, of course, useless as a national religion, and this condemns it in the eyes of the religious politician. For in his eyes religion — and indeed everything else — only gains significance when it becomes a factor in the life of the nation. Now I do not deny that there is such a thing as a national religion, a religion possessed by that complex personality, a nation. But a national religion can only be the possession of an unassailed personality; the religion of a man assailed by doubts can only become a national religion through a misunderstanding; it is adopted as a whole and soon loses its peculiar character, as, for example, is the case with the Christian religion. I am quite aware I cannot satisfy the religious longings of a nation. But a nation is not everything. Beside and above the nation is the individual who has grown out of the circle of life-relations of which he is a product and which have hitherto supported him. Now, at his own risk and on his own responsibility, he must seek a *modus vivendi* for himself. My line of thought is only suitable for the individual, it is intended to help those who must make the transition alone, and also to show them how this existence, which at first appears terrible, may be made bearable.

This may be a small task compared with care for a national religion. And as I do not think that the individual will return to his people, nor do I wish him to do so, my work must seem unprofitable to the religious politician. He must even look upon it as dangerous, for were the individual to return to his people he would bring a disturbing element with him. I know this, I even deplore it in a certain sense; hence I am reluctant to sow doubts in the mind of those whose religious life is instinctive. If a man is childlike in his faith I take pleasure in him. But my affection is reserved for another, for the man who has isolated himself from religious fellowship. For that man who is at war with himself, his people, and with history I have passionate love. My interest for him begins when the national educator has given him up. For him, the problematical nature, I do my work — it may be a very problematical work — but I love my work, it is the work of an individual for an individual.

Fourthly: If my interpretation of life, or my religion is not satisfactory, it is at all events helpful. I, at any rate, felt the process by which I arrived at this result to be one towards convalescence and health. It is free from all fear. The intense seriousness of life is mitigated by my religion. A certain degree of seriousness always remains, enough to make me wish to conduct my life with propriety to the end. Real seriousness begins in the life to come, and is a seriousness with no pretence about it. As I know nothing about a future life, I can make no preparation for it. I do not work out my salvation with fear and trembling because I know what all my work would be of no avail. I do not harass myself about the things of this life, because they are of very relative value and importance. I can therefore take life quietly and comfortably. Some excitement and worry are unavoidable, but they are part of the business of life.

Fifthly: I find my religion, if it deserves this name, very helpful in forming pleasant relations with my fellow-creatures. I will only mention in passing of what great advantage it is for the necessary regulation of worldly affairs that they are taken at their real value, and that their worth is not exaggerated. The whole life of the present time, the life of the church included, suffers from a ridiculous, almost insane over-estimation of power, honour and enjoyment. But let that pass. What seems much more important in my eyes is that my view of religion excludes all quarrelling about religious matters. Seeing that it is impossible to prepare in this life for that life which is to come there is no temptation to foist — either delicately or rudely — my own religion upon others. After all we must all console ourselves with the belief that we shall grow into an eternal life, we know not how. Therefore we can and we must leave our fellow-creatures alone. The modes of religious expression

there is no such thing as a preparation for eternity. Let that man prepare for death who is desirous of playing his part well when death comes; for eternity no man can prepare. But the man who has assimilated eternity in thought does not take time quite so seriously. This is the only practical effect of religion, but it is an effect the importance of are things of this life and therefore cannot yield subject-matter for contention. Men have, indeed, never quarrelled about eternal matters, but only about temporalities which, they imagined, were of importance for the life to come.

What I have said to you may seem in great part little suited for an International Congress for Free Christianity and Religious Progress. I certainly consider my own religion to be free Christianity, but I can quite well understand that other people may think the Christianity I once had now lies buried under the influence of freedom and negation. The greatest progress in religion that I can see is, that it has changed from being a particular mode of action in life and has become a general disposition of the heart. Let those who will assert that in the process it has become lost to us altogether. If I have spoken unsuitably to the occasion let this be my excuse: that I came as an invited guest and an address is of no value if it does not reveal the personality of the man speaking. What I have offered you are my best and weightiest thoughts; I must either have kept silence or risked wearying you with them. I did not think it right to be silent because I am convinced that my thoughts — however unsuitable and strange they may appear — are calculated to further the object of this congress. This I conceive to be to further a sympathetic understanding between the different religious communities, denominations and tendencies. Whether the great religious organizations will ever cease their bitter strife and work peaceably together is very doubtful; it will certainly not happen at present. Hence the question practically before us is this: How can the individual arrive at a better and more friendly understanding with another individual? My accentuation of the individual in religion is therefore in accordance with the tendency of the congress. Now a friendly understanding between different individuals is greatly helped — perhaps even made possible — by the assumption that each individual is led towards eternal life in his own way, a way which he himself only becomes conscious of later on. This central thought, necessary to all religious understanding, is brought into the light by the tendencies of this Congress. You will, I think, at once apply it to my case, and if you do so you will find the apparent paradoxes in my address less strange and less obnoxious.

GOD AND THE RELIGIONS

BY DR. HEINRICH LHOTZKY, LUDWIGSHAFEN, LAKE CONSTANCE.

Religious congresses are like exhibitions — exhibitions of religion, I am afraid, however, that one phase will be passed over this time, which is also a religion, and has a right to be heard. I mean Atheism. Atheism certainly is a religion, for the serious atheists are so from a need of truth, from religiousness. Their imitators and camp-followers are, as human beings, entitled to consideration and pity, but are as little thought about as are the thoughtless hangers-on of all systems of thought. Yet conscientious and honest Atheism must be listened to. For it is a faith, like every other. Neither more nor less.

Why are we really assembled together? To recommend our religions to one another? — Hardly. We will not do so here. Perhaps later on we shall be sending messengers to the strange religions, to diminish their strength. Religions are in the habit of doing that. But we have met here to mutually view one another's religions; perhaps, too, in order to make some personal impressions from eye to eye, man to man.

This is, namely, the wish of us Germans. I believe that no nation on earth inclines so much to foreign ways and habits, as we do. This is said to be a great mistake. Perhaps that is right in many respects. But it seems to me that it is good for the world when at least one nation possesses the unlimited power of valuing foreign ideas and sympathising with foreign ways. That is why we are scattered abroad amongst every nation.

But if we want to inspect our religions rightly, we must do so with special eyes. Not superficially in a few days, as is done at exhibitions, but — surely I may say it here: As far as I can see, all present are united in believing in a God. We must view our religions, therefore, with the eyes of God.

I believe that whosoever learns how to look on the foreign mind as God looks on it, will have derived gain during these days, but only such a man.

Some may have come here to study people or the science of souls. That is all well and good. But he who will gain something for his life, not merely seeking all kinds of spiritual excitement, must come here for joy in God, and must learn to see as God sees.

That is not really difficult. We are, I think, all agreed that man belongs to God, that the foundations of our being rest on God. Therefore it is not impossible to regard and value a human society, or any human views, from above with divine eyes, not from beneath, from a party standpoint.

It is not difficult, but strange and unusual.

How can such a religious meeting as the present survey the human religions from God's point of view?

I.

For our children we once had a pious nurse, but of a different faith. The little ones soon forgot their own religion and prayers, and, in their childish innocence, did as the nurse did. We let them go on, and did not disturb their deep seriousness. The children were still little. But when we were amongst ourselves, they gave us much amusement.

Imagine, now, the eye of God, directed on the children of men and on their doings. It notices their religious ways too. They pray. Loudly and softly, in hard forms and in childish simplicity, in endless repetitions and with unexpressed sighs. They sing in every imaginable way, they kneel, they dance, they fold their hands or spread their arms, they cross themselves, they bow themselves. They preach, they teach unheard-of and incredible things. They go through the most elaborate religious performances. They sacrifice. They sacrifice everything that exists, even human beings. They carve, fashion and cast all sorts of more or less accurate representations of the Deity, probable and improbable. They erect temples and altars, dedicate water, trees, mountains, in short they do all that can be done of an unusual character. And all these strange things are supposed to honour the Supreme Being as a mighty Unity or as a powerful Plurality.

What a scene! Is it not funny, too? For there would be no humour, if it were not founded in God. Nothing is, nor can be, without Him, not even humour. And whoever has to see all this, and the endeavours of all ages and of all nations, must they not feel like parents in the nursery: "Dear good children! What you do think of! And all of it to my honour! How glad I ought to be. Look! I am glad. It makes me glad to see you thus. All my pleasure on earth. A play which I have enjoyed for ages, a festival. Gay and many-shaped, of inexhaustible richness of

form and style, is my whole world. Verily, I have caused it to be. It bears my mark upon it. Plurality, and yet unity. But a thousand years are as one day, keep your thousand-years' day of religion!"

Is it anything else? Can it be otherwise? One thing is plain and clear, that no one way is "the" right one. Their sum total is all the more wonderful.

And, correspondingly, a matter for joy. What, then, are religions, otherwise than endeavours to find something higher, human attempts to develop, a vast search after God, in order to grow up to Him?

I do not think that mankind has succeeded in giving due expression to the laws and stages of development, but there is no doubt that development exists, and that we, as human beings, are placed therein by the will of God. What, then, can more delight a Divine eye than really to behold all mankind and all the forms of religion?

There is not a single nation on earth, however deep it may have sunk, which has not made some attempt at religion, which has not consciously sought a road to something higher. However curious the experiments may have turned out, at any rate they are there. Which is a matter for great rejoicing.

Herein does humanity preserve its unity. All mankind is seeking something higher.

And why? Because, in higher things they are conscious of truth, their truth, to which they are convinced that they have rights and claims. By their religions all human beings, without clear knowledge of it, or being able to express it, testify that their truth rests in God. Thus, they all profess something, and their profession of truth ascends from this planet. Without a doubt, it reaches unto God.

But religions are much more than professions. Were they only that, they would be narrow-minded and condemned to extinction. And this is not the case. If they had not at least some communion with God, they would have dried up.

Thus every religion is a representation of some experience of God, acquired by some prominent man, as a stay, support and guide for those who are not so advanced.

God can be experienced in three ways -- in material life, in susceptible life, and in spiritual life.

We have, therefore, three forms of religion -- a material, a susceptible, and a spiritual form. All three are represented to-day by numerous forms of usage. For the earth is an immense museum of religion.

The material forms could not grasp the idea of God's versatility, so that the religions of this category know a plurality of Gods, to whom they paid reverence. On the other hand, the susceptible religions found,

in their highest forms, the unity of God. But this was so awful and mighty for them, that it was removed from uninitiated eyes, and appeared only as a doctrine of secrecy for the initiated. Earlier representations of God became only symbols to them, to which man was to rise to higher stages until finally the great truth arose: God is Spirit and Unity, and is only to be sought in spirit.

To-day we are passing to the last form, the highest one for us. We have not yet fully grasped it. To us, it is more a doctrine than an experience or a revelation, given by a few who beheld and inwardly experienced it, but not yet a source of strength for the masses. Therefore our highest religions are filled out with feelings and yearnings.

That does not matter. We show thereby that we are on the road, that we are children of a glorious series of development, from whose high goal we are certainly not remaining excluded.

The chief point in these higher forms of religion was a total disregard of a representation of God. They understood how to hold communion with the great Mind of the Universe without any material foundations, because no more of these sufficed them.

Is not this chain of development an infinitely blessed experience of God? Are they not all stages in the formation of precious intercourse between God and man?

One man can experience God with another. This proves that the many are one in spirit. It gives us the comforting assurance that not one individual step forward is lost or in vain. Not even when it is despised and trodden down by the misunderstanding of the many, nor when the man concerned is overlooked or crucified, stoned and burned. If the step forward has only been made by one, it will, sooner or later ripen into fruit for the many.

And more. The Being of God is always being experienced by men individually, though it be in the simplest material form. The material is as much God's as the soul or the mind. Mankind is therefore never quite abandoned by God, and the proof of this, as also the proof that God is, perhaps the only proof, is furnished by the religions.

It is not a mathematical proof, which compels every movement, but a historical one, which will finally convince everyone.

But how? If all that goes by the name of religion is error, if we are surrounded by an infinite Nothing, if only a cruel void is behind all? —

Good. Granted. That would be a Nothing lifting us visibly, a Nothing knowing a height and a depth. A Nothing which can laugh would still be a spirit over all. Even the blackest, wildest, most despairing doubt must always end in a God. It may call him a Father or a Nothing. It stands in Him, whether it will or no.

From God's point of view, the religions are a matter for rejoicing, whatever dress they may wear. They bear witness to an inextinguishable consciousness, to a precious progress of everything human.

And yet, all the same, a matter for sorrow and hesitation.

In the first place, no religion is the truth. Each one contains some truth, not one of them "the" truth. Their multiplicity just shows that all are right to a certain degree, not one of them is completely right. It is good that they exist, but at the same time painful, how they are themselves. They are all only experiments and, as such, truth; but for this very cause they are not more than mistakes, not fully-discovered truth.

Every religion, then, reveals the dark as well as the bright side of the human race.

We, human creatures as we are, have two obstacles which hinder our truth. One is fear, the other hatred. We are cowards and wayward. And our religions bear the marks of both. As religions. Unfortunately.

The religions say: God. That is beautiful, and a cause for eternal thankfulness. Rejoicing should follow on our natural thought. We are all moving forwards, upwards. Then our goal is God, an inexpressibly glorious communion. A cause of ever-swelling joy. But instead of this, every religion nourishes fear. The material ones are afraid of the gloomy materials, the susceptible ones fear all kinds of malevolent Psyche. In the highest forms, even, one sees oppression, destruction, mistrust, wandering in sin, in short, everything dark and dreadful, causing black fear instead of happy trust. Some blame God for the fear, others their evil conscience, but they are all under fear.

And the other evil is hatred. The unsociability of people. In truth, humanity is a unity, but in reality it is disunited. This is also the work of its religions. Even in their highest forms they teach quite unabashed: What others do is wrong, and one hates the other secretly and openly, and the hatred becomes incapable of reconciliation if anyone is opposed to them.

The religions are stages of progress. Undoubtedly. Yet they hate progress. They bear witness to development, yet they oppose development. Nothing hates all new ideas more than do religions. No one has ever endowed or promoted a religion without having been persecuted for a longer or shorter time. And their foes were always religious people.

Perhaps the religions have more lives on their consciences than wars have. Often enough they have taken wars into their service. Our German Fatherland itself was wasted, almost destroyed, by a thirty-years' religious war. But even where no blood has been shed, religious hatred has given a secret death-stab to thousands. Animals and human

beings can be reconciled, but not religions. They are only satisfied when the other is trodden down. It is the same, whether they preach love or not.

It is fortunate for our age that the religions have lost much of their power. Humanity can breathe.

The painful thing in all the religions is, that they nourish these two evils, fear and hatred, in the name of God. They want to be roads to God, and so they are. But, at the same time, they hide Him, and it is just in the religions that the way to the Father becomes very difficult for many. They burden more often than they liberate, taking the first place themselves, and putting God second.

From God's point of view they are coverings, with which mankind is covered, because they hide God instead of revealing Him. That can hardly be otherwise. According to their origin, they are the crystallised forms of individual experiences, landmarks in our history, where development stops until the masses come on. Humanity is susceptible to their solidness, and this dull consciousness makes them religiously oppose all too rapid progress, because such progress could break their chain.

That is why all religions were originally national. God really ought to be one and the same to all. Even in the lowest material stages, men ought to know that they are an earthly unity, for all are menaced by the same forces of Nature, the same material conceals all. But they are human peculiarities, because the unity of humanity is too great to be recognised in the lower stages of development. Therefore we first had to grasp the unity of sex, then that of birth, then that of the nation, at last, that of the race, and, at the very last, of humanity. This last idea is not yet fully recognised to-day. It is a philosophical truth, not one of experience nor of custom.

The religions, of course, also took this direction, and it was a great step forwards when some of them, to whom the unity of God became so clear that they openly proclaimed it, broke loose from the fetters of nationality, and tried to work for humanity at large.

As far as I know, only three religions have succeeded thus much up till now — Buddhism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism.

But even these three have not ceased to be concealments. They are still ruled by fear and hatred; they also take care that progress is not made too fast. They are afraid that the unity of mankind would be rent asunder, unless they themselves moved slowly.

Therefore they still form a painful spectacle to the eye of God. A heart, which, at the same time knows the yearnings of a father and a mother, can do nothing else than long for union with its children, and here are concealments and limitations, hatred and fear, the separation

of the whole and its parts. The deeper men sit in their religions, they are all the more exclusive in being for God's real truth. God is peace and love.

That will become clear, even though with longsuffering. Ages ago, someone said, speaking for God: Behold, a time is coming when the Lord will take away all the coverings, with which all peoples are covered.

This time has not yet come, but we feel its approach like the dawn and if we religious people are met together with all our individualities, what more can we desire than to cast a glimpse behind the curtain, and rejoice in our God, who is the Father of us all?

An important task for us arises from this. It matters not that we are few. Progress is always made by the few, not by the many, and the good of the few is never lost. It becomes a source of riches for the many.

The task is this. We must learn to look on the religions differently from heretofore.

Because they have all arisen from the experiences of individual great men, all have a tendency to look backwards. The predominant feature of the religions is the consideration and study of some great event of the past. Every one of us bears the mark of someone long since gone, the stamp of a name, by which we think we must come to God.

There would be no objection in this, if we but grasped the spirit of our heroes. Their spirit was their consciousness of the experience of God's nearness. That would be all right. But we religious people mostly remain in the form, letter and flesh. We try to imitate them instead of pressing forwards, armed with their being and their experience.

Thus all religious life has a similarity of form and behaviour. Every man is a wonderful peculiarity, certainly a necessary speciality in his being, and religion generally saps the best in him. Uniforms are the clothes of similarity, of that which is contrary to nature. An old story says that clothes were first worn outside Paradise. Our religious clothes show our distance from God.

When God means something to us, our individuality will unfold. We must become transparent, that, through us as we are, the idea of God works on the adversary. That will not happen, however, if we wear our uniform backwards, but only when we press on in our own selves, letting the Spirit of God into our spirit.

Perhaps an example will make it plainer. That is a religion worthy of reverence, which was attached to the experience of Moses. What Moses specially possessed, the only thing of value, was the consciousness, so surprisingly simple: A man's truth rests on loving God and respecting his neighbour. That is a condition beyond fear and hatred.

Whosoever so thinks, acts, and strives, is in the spirit of Moses, and walks aright. His eyes are not cast behind, but in front.

But he is but chained and spoiled by Moses, who only knows his forms, only knows the ancient Moses, and only takes care to remain blameless in the game. The old gentleman would not recognise him as being one of his, but he would say: Thou shouldest not belong to me. Thou shouldest be God's, and art so only when thou leavest the covering of fear and hatred, and enterest into the power of confidence and love.

What, then, is really the aim of all doctrine and experience of God? Only this, that true and genuine human beings may grow. But men are peculiarities, filled with peace instead of fear, with love instead of hatred. The truth of man rests in God, and the truth of God is revealed in men. He who seeks men will find God, whether with or without religion, and he who seeks God will also find true men. Equally independently of religion.

According to this, we should only look so far back over our religious past as we obtain power to move forwards to God, freely and independently. Then our religions will be supports, and not fetters. They will unite us in spirit, not sever us.

Every religion seeks God in its own way and form, so that the representatives of each may be one in spirit. God beholds and bears all the different forms, and esteems every man according to the measure of his sincerity. We too must learn to behold everything which severs us in forms, doctrines, opinions and systems, and gladly rejoice in our one common goal. Every man has this right.

Two roads lie hidden in every religion — a wrong and a right one. When one man, one form, one doctrine becomes important and indispensable to humanity, and appears to be the only criterion, or whoever asserts anything to be the only way of salvation, is on the wrong road. This one is unfortunately very broad, and the road of the masses, as also of very many servants of religion. But whoever looks only to God, and is not misled by any of these differences, is on the road of the Spirit, the right road. It is unfortunately little trodden, up till now, because few are they who find it.

In the same way, every religion has two sides, a bright and a dark side.

The bright side is, that there is one God for all, one God, before whom no error, no sin is unpardonable. One rejoices in unlimited trust in the Father of all mankind, and from this happy trust comes true power of living, which even enters our material life, creating really happy human beings who find no difficulty in equally esteeming their fellow-men, in forgiving their mistakes, and in exercising love; and where there is a difficulty or a failure, the happy attempt is made again.

But there is also a dark side, where a distrust and trembling before God hold sway. Men endeavour to protect their earthly joy from Divine influences, and are full of bitterness and disfavour against all who think differently.

The dark sides of the religions engrave gloomy folds in the features of the beautiful human countenance, and embitter people. That is why natural feeling has made a powerful movement against these gloomy religious ideas. Especially in our own time an open enmity and indifference to God has arisen, which seeks to deny His existence altogether. Thus have the religions in many cases caused God Himself to be put in the shade, because masses of people dwell on the dark side of religion, not at all knowing its bright side.

You all know that. Therefore it is our certain duty, as children of light and of the day, to seek and honour God, untrammelled by any of the religions which exist on this planet. We are met here, to strengthen ourselves in this.

I esteem this inner position to be the grandest task of our age, because religions are everywhere becoming brittle, owing to commerce and the rapprochement of the nations. It is thus all the easier to seek and honour God Himself, caring for none of the spiritual obstacles.

Something more results therefrom. All the religions of the world have one great common error, in which their chief power rests, above the minds of their adherents.

They all assert, that their most essential gift is, to make man's destiny happy after his death, if, before his death, he has obeyed them, otherwise they terrify him with heavy and eternal punishment.

That is a mistake, and, though perhaps unconsciously, it is certainly an untruth.

We do not know whence human beings come, nor where they go. There we are, set in this curious material life upon this star, which is hidden, and remains so, just where it begins to be interesting and worth knowing. But one thing we do know. In this condition we surely are in God's hands, and may venture to conclude that this peculiar existence of ours is not without a future.

Therefore the difficulty of our life on this planet does not lie in an existence after death, but in an existence now, in life. Our present material life is the important thing, not some ultra-material after-life, about which no one can say anything certain.

It follows from this that the only doctrines and rules which have any importance for humanity are those which tell him how to behave in this life, how to live, how to hold communion with God and his fellow-men to-day. Whatever comes to-morrow and later on, will be looked

after by to-morrow and later on, but the important thing is To-day. The only certain thing, too.

If a man or a group of men succeed in fulfilling the duties of to-day, it is the most natural result that they receive salvation at once to-day. Whoever does truth, must be quickened and blessed by truth. Otherwise, truth would not be truth.

We must strive for salvation to-day, not for salvation after death. If we gain it to-day, we shall certainly never lose it, for salvation is union with God, that is, something permanent. But if we do not gain it to-day, then it is at least an uncertainty about our attaining to it later on, as about our future existence altogether.

The truth in our conduct will become apparent every moment by its results of salvation, or its spiritual happiness which is so great, that it easily helps us over heavy outward experiences and conditions. In the same way our untruth would every moment appear in dire consequences, robbing us of true happiness of spirit. Not even the most dazzling outward circumstances may comfort or permanently help us over this deprivation.

All that is quite clear. There are people happy in the most reduced circumstances and there are unhappy people in the best and most brilliant positions. We are spirit, and far more than our appearance tells.

Every difficulty about the hereafter is for us useless and superfluous; what governs to-day, is important.

What is that? That is the consciousness that we, as human beings, have the right at any moment, and without any trouble, to hold spiritual communion with God, as far as we are able to comprehend Him. In this we are independent of temples, doctrines, forms, and intermediary forces; independent, too, of our mistakes, sins, weaknesses, and degrees of consciousness. Every individual may look to God in full confidence and love, and will thus find his happiness and present salvation.

Yes, he can at any moment tell if his conduct be right. He sees that by the way he gets on with other men. Our neighbour is our next self. As no one may rage against his own self, so can no one, who is on the way of truth, rage against his next self. As we are to other people, so are we to God. If we are wrong, which may be ascertained any moment, we are wrong with God, and if we are right with man, we are also right with God. Thus the springs of salvation are closed or open every moment. Let him to whom they are closed see to it that they open, and let him to whom they are open, guard against nothing more than against their closing.

Humanity is unconditionally a unity, and God and man belong inseparably to each other.

As long as the religions lead us on this road, in whatever form they may do so, they are of value to us. If they teach and will otherwise, they must sink. If they make our present life Divine, they are right. If their chief aim is to determine our future destiny they are wrong. The future can only be the fruit of the present. But there is no fruit which must not ripen in slow growth, in which every moment is of eternal significance.

All those assembled here should be agreed on that. Nobody's special religion prevents it. Every man should, however, help to bring about the full and clear expression of this sole human truth in doctrine and life. This is the only way we must learn to regard our religions.

We are not those who wish to abolish any existing religion; we know they are historical necessities, of which development has need. They are necessities, like material, and even what we call sin.

But we are men who want to learn to separate the essential from the non-essential, want to preserve the essential, and regard the non-essential as non-essential.

The One Truth of God and man is essential. All doctrines, forms, formulæ and customs are non-essential. We may use them, but only with care, lest they acquire an overdue meaning.

In general, we must therefore regard a change of religion as dangerous. Whoever cannot believe differently, only changes at his own risk and danger. We will not respect him less for that. But he ought to know that he thereby runs the danger of becoming a fanatic. Fanaticism is a diseased condition, in which a man takes unimportant things for important, thereby losing what really is important. Those who often change their religion, end as a rule in despair and atheism.

No, no one religion can separate us from God, nor is any one of them alone able to lead us to Him. For God is a Spirit, and is only found in spirit and in truth. Here, every man has a road at once, and it is quite immaterial in which religion or nation he happens to be born.

He who has ever comprehended God in truth, has trodden this road. Unfortunately, only the minority have come to full understanding in it. But the time is coming, and now is, in which this truth of humanity is being understood and experienced.

THE MENNONITES

BY THE REV. DR. J. G. APPELDOORN, EMDEN.

I have only a short half hour allotted to me in order to talk to you about the aims and views of the religious community the members of which are known in Germany as Mennonites and are designated in Holland „Taufgesinnte“. Consequently, it is scarcely possible for me to discuss in detail the history and origin of that peculiar branch of Protestantism the direct spiritual heirs of which are the present-day Mennonites. The temptation to correct many popular errors in this direction is very great. For just as we Mennonites are frequently regarded as „Wiedertäufer“ (Anabaptists), so the opinion prevails among a great many people that we are the descendants of the notorious Münster enthusiasts. It is true that I don't deny all relationship; but the unfairness consists in the inclination to regard the Mennonites as “tamed” Anabaptists instead of recognising the historical fact that is daily becoming clearer that the Mennonite belief is rooted historically in a powerful movement during the time of the Reformation, in the Baptist movement, in Anabaptism.

That there have been various parties and directions in this great movement goes without saying, for the Reformation, and the modern age of which the Reformation was only a symptom, although the most powerful symptom, was very well adapted for the individuality of men to become prominent. It cannot be denied that some of these parties, driven by cruel persecution to despair and ecstasy, were induced to commit outrages; I am of the opinion, however, that the movement as such, should not be made responsible for this; just as little as Lutheranism should be made responsible for the outrages of the „Bauernkrieg“ (peasants' war) despite the fact that Luther's behaviour and words were the first cause of its outbreak. Certainly, the Baptists have been unable, like Luther, to free themselves from all implication. Their principles prevented them from joining the princes of the land, as

the great Reformer did, in quelling the outbreaks of the "murderous and robber peasants" whose spirits he was the first to stir up. Moreover, it must be noted that not only many of the old Baptists lamented and suffered by the Baptist movement of the Reformation not having been carried to a successful issue (in no religious communion have there been so many martyrs for their faith as among our Baptist forefathers, although they were guilty of no other crime than being three centuries in advance of their times) but the severe muse of history must most certainly have lamented and suffered to see the historical forgeries that the victorious parties of the Reformation perpetrated at the expense of the Baptists. The confused and false views concerning the events at Münster that were circulated, and are still held, have gradually been exposed by the historian Corbelius, who was perfectly impartial although he belonged to the Catholic Church, in a work containing his investigations which unfortunately has not been completed. The greatest credit in this direction, however, is due to the Geheim Archivrat Dr. L. Keller now in Berlin, but formerly librarian at Münster and it may be taken as probable that the genius loci caused him at that time to make his investigations, which show us that the Baptist movement was a widely ramified phenomenon of the time of the Reformation, the deeply rooted significance of which for the world's history cannot be denied.

For Anabaptism has at least fulfilled a world-historical mission on two occasions; firstly, in the incorporation of its views in the Independent State of Cromwell and secondly, by its views exercising a dominating influence on the Constitution of the great Commonwealth on the other side of the Ocean. As regards the first, I should like to point out that as early as the second half of the sixteenth century active communications existed between Holland and England. Those persecuted in Holland took refuge in England and vice versa. Traces of persecuted Dutch „Taufgesinnter“ were constantly being found in England. As early as 1560 there was a community of Dutch baptist refugees at Norwich. Robert Brown, an influential antagonist of Anglicanism, was intimately connected with them, and it is certain that he propagated lucidly and emphatically the doctrines of Independency, regarding the independence and freedom of religious men and communions, similar to those held by the Anabaptists from their very beginning. After his defection to the State Church others took his place. On their being persecuted they emigrated to Middelburg and Amsterdam, and other groups of English Congregationalists settled at Leyden. From these were descended the celebrated Pilgrim Fathers who crossed the Ocean in the "Mayflower" in 1620 in order to found Independency in America. They laid the

basis for a form of State which even to-day is impregnated with their principles, namely the United States of America. They and their brothers in Holland maintained communication without interruption with their spiritual relations in England. That their influence was great can be perceived by Cromwell's Independentism being a mixture of Calvinism and Anabaptism. The Anabaptism takes away the ecclesiastical dogmatism from Calvinism and deprives Anabaptism of its secular functions. That, however, the Anabaptist tradition was predominant can be proved by several examples. It is true that Independency preferred to have nothing to do with the Church and ecclesiastics. That a divine, whether he was a Calvinist or Presbyterian should dictate to them, was abhorred by the Independents. Further, Cromwell and his adherents were passionate in the defence of the principle that every one had the right to be independent of any Church. Cromwell went so far as to say that liberty of conscience was a natural right and whoever demanded the same ought to have his request granted. Further, the Independents held the Anabaptist fundamental principle that the kernel of Protestantism was the complete independence of conscience. They renewed the Baptist ideal of a Divine service performed by laymen, preached freedom in the formation of dogmatic conceptions and church communions and broke away from all school theology. The treatise from which I take these details only mentions one point in which Independentism is opposed to Anabaptism. The latter preaches the kingdom of the Saints who suffer in this world, the Independents a kingdom of Saints which is to be for all of us. And it must be accorded that the idea that the whole State should be Christian did not originate with the quiet defenceless, more or less shy Dutch Anabaptists; it is quite certain that it originated in the ranks of the Scottish Calvinists who were eager for fight.

As regards the second point which has been already touched on, namely the influence that the Baptist views have gained in America, I shall be very brief. It may be mentioned that there is a marvellous unity between the Mennonite and Quaker movement, and that there were many characteristic features in full swing among the Mennonites before the "Society of Friends" accepted them. Among these is the testimony concerning internal enlightenment, the unpaid preachers, their condemnation of war, and of the oath, the discipline in their communion and the exclusion of members who commit offences, and their simple mode of living. This agreement is certainly too great to have come about by chance, and in addition one recognises the fundamental idea that pervades Anabaptism; namely the desire for a consistent lay Christianity. Now George Fox drew conclusions from this principle

of Anabaptism. The Quakers were much nearer to the Baptists than the Independents in so far as they decidedly condemned war and brute force in honour of God's kingdom. The Quakers, however, have especially developed in America. There Penn, the second founder of their community, made a "holy test" with a State established according to the principles laid down in the Sermon on the Mount: without force, without sword, without oath. It is there that the idea of humanity found room to develop powerfully, and its traces can be found without any trouble in the American Constitution.

From the above it is evident that Quakerism is older than the Quaker, and it is not to be wondered at that there are so many points of similarity between the Quakers and the Mennonites. For Quakerism is nothing else than modified and logically developed Anabaptism.

It is true that this highly important connection is unknown to the general public, as well as the fact that present-day Liberalism has its origin in the Baptist movement. The general public is satisfied with the wisdom expounded in school literature to the effect that the Anabaptists, after the first fierce outbreak at Münster, withdrew from the world as Mennonites, where apart from busy turmoil they pursued a quiet and pacific life only to be absorbed by the National Churches later on. This erroneous opinion, many people think, seems to be confirmed by the fact that the term "Mennonite" is unknown to many Germans.

I had the intention of speaking to-day about the aims and views of the present-day Mennonites. As far as the aims are concerned it has been emphasised in the letter from your General Secretary that called on me to hold this lecture, that the aim of small religious communions is identical with that of the larger Church corporations, namely the establishment of the Kingdom of God on Earth. I don't think that anyone except those blinded by intolerance can refuse to assent to this statement. It is not necessary therefore to discuss the final aim or the fact that the Kingdom of God is the goal for which all Christians strive.

The question is the ways and means by which the various religious communions hope to reach this goal. It can be said concerning present day Mennonites that they are the direct descendants and spiritual heirs of the old Baptists in this respect. The views that characterised the Anabaptists from time immemorial are still active among us and are upheld by some of us with energy and heartfelt enthusiasm. The nature of these views has been partly explained in the foregoing. Dr. L. Keller has stated that in the bosom of Christianity there have always been parties who have protested against the Church as such. He even takes

the trouble to endeavour to establish a historical connection between these parties among themselves and the Baptists. But, aside from whether his attempt can be regarded as successful, I desire to draw your attention to the fact that the dawn of the new era was characterised by a rupture with the traditions, by a desire to return to the sources, to the origins. The Reformers, too, desired to return to the Gospel, to original Christianity; the Baptists, however, were more consistent, which for instance is evidenced by their not desiring to have anything to do with a Church, and by their repudiating the baptism of children, as advocated by the Reformers. It is probably a matter of general knowledge that the Catholic Church only originated during the second century, and it can easily be perceived that the idea of a Church was a Catholic conception. By establishing Churches, partly under the pressure of political conditions, the Reformers remained under the spell of Catholicism. It can be asserted that the Protestant Church is to a great extent Crypto-Catholic. The single circumstance that the admission to this Church presupposes the assent to formulated doctrines of belief, to creeds, is calculated to verify this. And if the conception of a Church is in itself a Catholic conception what is to be said to the idea of a State Church and to the fact that this idea has been introduced into Protestant countries? This reflects, although it may be in a fainter form, the immoral principle in which the intolerance of Catholicism incorporates its ineradicable desire to exercise tutelage: *cujus regio ejus religio*.

As against this the Mennonites emphasise the value of the autonomous independent communion: the communion, similar to the religious communion of original Christendom still remains the ideal; it is not difficult to trace all the peculiarities that distinguished the Mennonites formerly and that characterises them now: namely, their feeling of solidarity, their democratic institutions, such as the baptism of adults before they join the communion. For baptism to them is something more than a badge of association which has taken the place of the old Jewish badge. The community was conceived by them originally as an Association of Saints, a holy community of God, and it is self-evident that only the independent, free and truly moral man can join it. The idea of the general priesthood of the believers occupied the front rank of interest, and although I will not deny that a mystic tendency has also manifested itself amongst us, it must be emphasised that the pure moral contents of the Gospel, even now, is what influences us most. The heart-belief, the unconditional confidence of the soul in God is what is to be shown in a virtuous holy life: "ye shall know them by their fruits." This principle produces in us an aversion against all dogmatic principles of belief. It can be said that the principle of "justification by faith"

was to Luther what the conception of the holy community of God has been to the Mennonites. For it would be fundamentally erroneous to assume that the difference between the Mennonites and the other Protestants only consisted in the Mennonites having cut down tradition more than others, and in their having returned more consistently to original sources; that they only adhere to autonomous communities because the early Christians were only divided into independent communities; that the practice of baptising adults in only carried out by them because during the first Christian centuries only adults joined the Christian brotherhood by baptism, and the custom of baby-christening most probably only became customary under the influence of the growing dogma of hereditary sin. No! — This has all been determined through their moral views, as I have shown in the case of baptism: a child is absolutely no person, no moral being; how can a child join a moral communion? And on the other hand the community ought to be able to determine its belief according to its own conscience, without any secular or ecclesiastical power with its compulsory creed preventing it.

Among the Mennonites of to-day, especially in Germany, there may be numerous bigoted members. In the South West of Germany, in the Eastern provinces of Prussia, there may be many old-fashioned Christians among them and consequently, not quite unjustifiably, they may be regarded as being patriarchal in their simplicity; but no one ought to mistake this for the cause; for the chief point at stake is the following; their belief, no matter what it may be, is not a compulsory belief, and just as their strenuous lives, devoted to work, prove the honesty of their belief, so does their belief in the text of the Gospel contain for them the full truth. They have remained at the stage when these views were generally regarded as the true ones. If, however, the light of investigation also penetrates to them, no dogmatic prejudices will prevent them from adopting more liberal-minded views, for they likewise hold fast to the perfect autonomy and independence of the Congregation. Consequently they are in principle, liberal-minded Christians and the same may be applied to them that can be applied to larger-minded Christians, that the truth of an utterance is not proved by its origin, nor because it originated with Jesus, but because above all it recommends itself to the heart by its moral content.

This is evident from the injunction "but I say unto you resist not the evil," etc. which has been quite abandoned in Holland and which is being neglected to a growing degree in Germany since the struggle for liberty in 1813. It is not improbable that the reason for the defenceless attitude of the Mennonites was not the words of Jesus alone; it

is not improbable that it originated with the Swiss Mennonites and was directed against an evil that brought terrible disorder in its train, namely the Swiss free-lance system, the condottiere, which begun in the 14th century and the baleful effects of which had already been felt in the beginning of the 16th century. And this applies in a still greater measure to the prohibition of taking an oath, which rule is still in force among all Mennonites. This restriction certainly does not rest solely on the words of Jesus "Swear not at all — but let your communications be yea, yea: nay, nay: for whatsoever is more than these cometh from evil," For although I should not like to deny that the words in the Gospel were the first cause for the Mennonites refusing to take oaths, this reason would not have been sufficient for them to maintain their attitude if the words had not found an echo in their strict moral consciousness. For we free Mennonites do not regard ourselves as so strictly bound to the word of the Gospel, and a view, or opinion, does not pass with us as Christian because Jesus also harboured it. As a child Jesus most probably believed in the devil and in hell, but this is no reason for us to declare such belief as Christian and to add it to the store of our convictions. If we should be proved, as represented by Professor Harnack, the words "Swear not at all" have an application attached that is too wide, and that Jesus never thought of prohibiting an oath under all circumstances, and that he did not mean the oath taken before the magistrates, this would not weaken our standpoint. For apart from everything that Jesus said, or meant, the oath is to us immoral and therefore not to be permitted under any conditions. For firstly, it cannot be doubted that according to the original meaning of an oath it is an appeal to God, or the Gods, as a witness, and that it may involve eventual self-damnation. And in this connection I should like to draw attention to an inconsistency of which the representatives of ecclesiastical Christendom are frequently guilty. I can remember even now the impression that the last words in Goethe's Werther made on me when I first perused them: "Workmen bore him, no clergyman accompanied him." That is to say the suicide was condemned by respectable Society as well as the Church. And now about one and a half centuries after Goethe wrote "Werther's Leiden" the educated public, if not the "respectable" public, has gradually arrived at the opinion that the suicide in the majority of cases is an unfortunate being, a person who is ill. The Church, however, has not been able yet to adopt these views; in my neighbourhood a clergyman hardly dares to accompany an unfortunate of this description on his last journey to the grave and the Church refuses compassion to those who perhaps require compassion most. The Church damns the suicide, but, and this is the grotesque part, defends the oath

which involves self-damnation. Unfortunately, there are only the Mennonites and a few confounded radicals who condemn the oath. But apart from the original significance of an oath it is immoral in itself, for if truth can only be guaranteed by the solemn words confirmed by an oath, in which the name of the Lord is almost taken in vain, then plain and simple truth is deprived of its value and men are educated in the belief that a simple promise is not binding. The Mennonites protest against this conception of a twofold truth by condemning the oath under all circumstances.

Moral considerations influence us in this point certainly more than the above mentioned words of the Gospel. Certainly I, and most of the Mennonites are with me in this respect, would fain believe that these words really originated with Jesus. I am of the opinion that it is very doubtful whether Jesus, or any other man, could have ever called himself "the truth"; nevertheless I am convinced that the words "But I say unto you, Swear not at all" and "But let your communications be Yea, yea: Nay, nay": perfectly accord to the honest, plain heart that was averse to all deceit and that must have beaten within the bosom of the Son of Man. I feel convinced that he was inspired to these words by his detestation of all lying. And how are we to call ourselves by his name if we begin by neglecting these words in which he forbids the oath? The command is so clear and so simple. If we are not faithful in small things, how can we be faithful in greater things? for instance in the much more difficult injunction to love our enemies? For despite everything else that may be adduced against the validity of the prohibition it does not seem worthy of refutation that Jesus took a solemn oath himself on one occasion.

The life of every Christian should bear witness to his piety, to his belief — that is the conviction of every sincere Mennonite: as far, however, as the undogmatic, anti-clerical character of the Mennonite religious communion is concerned I don't think that I can do better than quote the words of a man who rendered great services to the Dutch Mennonites. He says: "The religious communion of the Mennonites is a silent protest against the amalgamation of Church and State; it shows how Christian truth does not require written creeds to assert itself, and it protests against the ecclesiastical rule in which the independence of the communion as well as of the members of the communion is lost."

THE DEEPER SPIRITUAL UNITY

BY THE REV. T. RHONDDA WILLIAMS, BRIGHTON, ENGLAND.

One of the most hopeful signs of the present time is that Liberal Christianity is striking the note of a deeper spirituality; not content with broader views it is sinking its shafts into the deepest mines of spiritual experience, and laying hold of the wonderful treasures of the God-consciousness. Liberal Christianity in the past has never been pre-eminently a spiritual movement, and at the present time it seems to me to have almost reached its limit, unless it can enter upon a new inheritance through spiritual experience. But that is the very thing which it promises to do. Its work in the past has been of great value in many ways, but I think it will come to be recognised that the chief value of the liberalising rationalism that has been at work in theology lies in its clearing the ground for new enterprises of soul in the experience of God. It is in the power of thought-forms in some measure to cramp and narrow experience.

So far as Liberal theology has delivered us from the dogmatic attitude, which was a fetter not only upon the intellect but also upon the soul, it has prepared the way for better things. It has shown the unreasonableness of many of the old barriers which divided the sects, and demonstrated the unreality of the line between the church and the world, and thus it has opened out the ground of larger and truer unity. Nevertheless, in itself, it is little more than a preparatory process, and as such it seems to me to have done its work. The day of credal authority in religion for us is over. Rational Liberalism has broken down the frame-work of the old theology beyond repair. There are signs, too, on every hand, that denominationalism is on the wane, every church is complaining of depleted membership. What does all this mean? It means, I think, that the great need of religion today is a new and intense spiritualization.

Orthodoxy has failed; a mere liberal theology, on the other hand, cannot feed the soul; denominationalism is dying because denominationalism is not big enough or good enough, sectarianism is being burst

by the out-push of that growing human spirit, which is realising wider relations. What religious people of all denominations need to do is to press in upon the centre, to re-discover the very soul of religion until they possess it and are possessed by it. We may be thankful for the thoroughness with which critical and rationalising work has been done. It is that very thoroughness which brings us to see the limitations of such work, and the need of something beyond it. If, as is not unlikely, some of the prophets of a new spiritual era in religion should arise from among the rational Liberals themselves, it would only be a new illustration of an old and familiar fact. Luther became a reformer because he was in dead earnest about religion as presented to him in his church, so earnest that he got out of it all it could give him, and then found it was too little; a less earnest or more superficial nature might have gone on satisfied with old forms and prescriptions. It was one of the most devoted and intense sons of the Anglican Church, who initiated a new religious movement in England in the end of the 18th century, which ultimately became detached from the church; it was through the intensity of his nature that Wesley discovered the need of some new form of service. Mrs. Besant, the thorough-going materialist, who preached her materialism up and down the land, tried to bring all life under its domination, applied it here and there and everywhere, found, through her thoroughness, that materialism was not big enough for the task she imposed upon it. The ardent, thorough-going materialist was appointed to know that this was a spiritual Universe after all, and to be a witness to that spiritual reality to all the world. In the same way many rational Liberals have been so thorough in their work as to become the leaders in a religious era richer and more glorious than any yet witnessed. The very thoroughness with which the historical work on the New Testament has been done will bring us the conviction that no historical results are sufficient for the human soul, and that, valuable as history is, it must take a secondary place in religion, personal experience and immediate knowledge of God taking the first place. The benefit of the rational criticism of the Gospels will be found not so much in results established, but in the conviction it will bring us that not along that line shall we discover the greatest treasures of religion. The discussion regarding the origins of Christianity must make it clear to us that our personal religion does not depend upon the way in which the questions of that discussion are answered. The Christian religion has a history which may and should be studied, and from which much help can be got if we are spiritually alive; but, as Dr. Cobb rightly puts it: "If the proposition that the Christian religion is a historical religion be intended to state its nature and aim, then is its falsity so utter and

mischievous that it can only be designated as anti-Christian and must be met by the counter-proposition that a historical religion of that character is a materialistic religion." Those who believe in the historical Jesus can get no good from Him, except so far as they are able to enter the same realism of spiritual reality. Those who do not believe in the historical Jesus, and those who have never heard of him are not debarred from entering that realm. Men have entered it in every land and in all ages, and whether they call it Jesus, or Christus, or the Spirit of Jahweh, or Brahm, does not matter. All temples may be useful, but all temples are too small, for this reality fills heaven and earth. Divisions in the religious world are quite harmless as long as they only represent different ways for different types of men to express religious reality. The great variety among men may make variety quite necessary in religious service and in forms of thought and worship. But this variety should never be accompanied with enmity or antagonism or with any feeling of separateness. When divisions in the religious world show hostility, the hostility is nearly always due to exclusive dogmatic positions, i. e. to mistaking an aspect of truth for the whole truth. The only remedy for this is a deeper spiritual vision. I have no hope of union as the outcome of the discussion of points of disagreement. There were two brothers in the 17th century by the name of Reynolds; one was an ardent Papist and the other an ardent Protestant. They used to argue their respective positions, and they both argued so well that each converted the other! On both sides it was evidently a very successful discussion, but even then the net result was no gain. So long as the discussion turns on the relative merits of parties or the relative truth of dogmas there will be no unity. The only hope of unity is in a deep realisation of that spiritual truth which is greater than all the dogmas, and transcends all the parties, because out of that realisation will come a willingness to welcome any little system through which the broken light may shine for a day; the old sects will not proceed to denounce new sects; the Christian churches will not treat Spiritualism, the New Thought or Christian Science, as **taboo**, but will be willing to welcome whatever help they can give to men in the spiritualisation of their life. In the great surrender of the soul to God arises a new humanity, in which all men are one, and which brings the great peace. Differences will remain in matters of intellectual apprehension and judgement, but all bitterness will vanish, in the common access through one Spirit to the Father of all. What religious people need most to-day is not theological discussion but spiritual illumination; not arguments, but experience; not clever intellectual scimmages about points of difference but a quiet prayerful realisation of the true vision of God

We must, of course, explain the truths of experience as best we can, but it is necessary to remember that no explanation is adequate and that therefore no explanation can exclude all others. What explanation of the Immanence of God was ever satisfactory? Yet the man whose life has been flooded with the consciousness of God is so sure of it that no argument against it could shake him. It is this consciousness that is becoming the actual experience of a good many liberal Christians to-day, and in it they feel they have entered upon a new inheritance of religion full of surprises to themselves, as if the mystic doors of God are flung open to them on all sides. It is my conviction that the liberal movement is now coming to its baptism of the Spirit, the heavens are opening above it, and the voice of God proclaims the Divine Sonship in its heart. In this experience we are learning that illimitable powers are at work in our lives, and the soul rises to a land of light beyond the shadows and the sunsets. We are passing from the consciousness of striving and seeking after God into the master-consciousness that God has found and filled us. And here we get, not a theory that all men are one, but a vivid realisation of it in which the mind lives, in which the heart abides, so that there is no hatred and no enmity, there is indeed a broad ground of welcome for any new forces that may rise to enlarge the area of the spirit-life. This will make for union in the religious world as nothing else can. The little separate pools on the shore are all one when the tide of the ocean has overflowed them all. When we know the life of God as filling all our lives then our small separations are all extinguished. I believe this spiritual development of man is on the way. All the pentecosts of humanity are prophetic of it. Every prophet, seer, poet, of the true order, are the foremost waves thrown up the beach of human consciousness by the tide that is coming in from the vaster ocean of the Divine Life. It is a pity that so many who believe in evolution fail to believe in the further evolution of spiritual faculties. It is necessary to realise that these are capable of constant growth, that the man who to-day only sees enemies may to-morrow see the horses and chariots of the Lord; the man who now sees only the fiery furnace and its victims, may come to see the form of the Son of Man in the midst of the fire; he who to-day has but an eye for clouds may grow the power to see the Christ that comes upon them. Why should we be content with the present measure of spiritual discernment? With more of it, that more which is possible to all, the world would fill up with holy presences, life would grow august and majestic, and through all the unlovely facts and forms of to-day, through the confusion and strife of the world, we should see the new humanity emerging conscious of its unity in God.

The man who first experimented with electricity could not have dreamed that the day would come when by touching a button in England a spark could be sent over the land and under the sea to open doors, and turn up lights, and fly flags in Canada! Yet what is the power of electricity compared with Spirit? We, as spiritual beings are in possession of a power, a power that pervades the universe, ten thousands times more wonderful than electricity. When men will turn inward to study the laws of the spirit-life, when they will take the trouble to perfect its instruments of expression and conveyance as carefully and diligently as men have done in physical science, then I believe we shall gain the power to send out thoughts as far and as unerringly as the electric spark travels to-day, thoughts that would flash upon the world like the most stupendous miracles, that would open the doors of freedom, and turn up the lights of hope, and fly the flags of peace in all lands. Thought is practically omnipotent; spirit is supreme. Civilisation as we have it is the embodiment of thought. Dreadnoughts are only ideas materialised. Think the new thought and it will create the new civilisation, energise the universal spirit and the Dreadnoughts will melt away. It is literally true that with God, and in the consciousness, all things are possible. And the key-note of the religious change of our time is the note of this experience. We are beginning to realise that the world in which we live is full of spiritual communication which we can receive, if we qualify ourselves to do so. We are told that the air over the Crystal Palace in London is full of wireless messages. And why? Because several receiving stations have been erected there. The atmosphere of our life, will be found full of spiritual messages, too, as soon as we build our receiving stations. Mere orthodoxy of belief will not do, and yet mere freedom from the bondage of creeds is no good, that measure of Reality which can come under the foot-rule of intellectual dialectics is too small. What then remains? God and the soul remain, all the wealth of Spiritual Reality remains. This is a universe of concealed hearts. It has certainly been the glory of God to conceal the real things. They are wonderfully wrapped up in veil after veil; it is only by learning to take off fold after fold that we get to the heart of truth. "Press on, there are divine things well enveloped" as Whitman said, "more beautiful than words can tell!" All that the past has ever given us is nothing more than an intimation of what is to come. We must read Christianity not as a system of doctrine, and not as mere history, but as a symbol of that indescribable fullness of Divine Life which is making its way towards us, and to which we are going. Nothing we have yet realised is worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us. To enter into this experience is to be in the presence of the Holy Grail

which puts a strange glory on the face of all our fellows. It is to find ourselves in the temple which is larger than all the churches, in the fellowship which is wider than all communions, in the truth which is greater than all the creeds, and in the morality which is wider than all the codes. As soon as we know this temple at all, we know it is many-doored; that it has different openings for different types of men in their differing needs, as Matheson sang in his beautiful hymn:

“Three doors there are in the temple
Where men go up to pray,
And they that wait at the outer gate
May enter by either way.

O Father give each his answer, —
Each in his kindred way;
Adapt Thy light to his form of night,
And grant him his needed day.

O give to the yearning spirits,
That only Thy rest desire,
The power to bask in the peace they ask,
And feel the warmth of Thy fire.

Give to the soul that seeketh,
Mid cloud, and doubt, and storm,
The glad surprise of the straining eyes
To see on the waves Thy form.

Give to the heart that knocketh
At the doors of earthly care,
The strength to tread in the pathway spread
By the flowers Thou hast planted there.

For the middle wall shall be broken,
And the light expand its ray,
When the burdened of brain and the soother of pain
Shall be ranked with the men who pray.”

LE CHRISTIANISME LIBÉRAL ET SES RELATIONS AVEC L'INDU

V.

SYMPATHETIC RELATIONS WITH OTHER WORLD-FAITHS.

LE CHRISTIANISME LIBÉRAL DANS SES RELATIONS AVEC L'ISLAM

PROF. E. MONTET, D. TH., RECTEUR DE L'UNIVERSITÉ DE GENÈVE.

L'Islam, dans ses rapports avec la civilisation occidentale et chrétienne, présente actuellement un très grand intérêt. Cet intérêt est quadruple, selon que l'on considère la politique, la civilisation moderne, la colonisation ou la religion.

Au point de vue politique, le monde musulman est en voie de transformation. Les Jeunes Turcs sont en train de changer la face des choses en Turquie. En Egypte, le parti national, le parti du peuple, le parti Khédivial des réformes, et le groupe, qui les englobe tous, de la „Jeunesse Egyptienne“, préparent, dans un avenir lointain peut-être, sans qu'il soit possible cependant de l'affirmer, une Egypte nouvelle; en Perse, le parti national tend au même but.

Au point de vue de la civilisation moderne, un esprit nouveau commence à pénétrer l'Islam; nous assistons aux débuts très humbles d'une sorte de laïcisation du monde musulman. Ce fait est surtout frappant en Algérie, en Tunisie, en Egypte, en Turquie, aux Indes. L'Arabie elle-même, où l'on construit des chemins de fer, entre en contact avec notre civilisation.

Au point de vue de la colonisation, les puissances de l'Europe qui ont des sujets musulmans, principalement l'Angleterre, la France et les Pays-Bas, portent le plus grand intérêt à toutes les questions, d'ordre politique, social, religieux, etc., qui touchent à l'Islam.

Au point de vue de la religion, enfin, l'Islam, qui compte au moins 250 millions de fidèles, est d'un extraordinaire intérêt, surtout pour nous hommes religieux d'une confession différente, confession propagandiste et missionnaire au même degré que la religion de Mahomet.

C'est à ce dernier point de vue, exclusivement, que nous étudierons ici l'Islam, et plus particulièrement dans ses rapports avec le Christianisme libéral, dont nous sommes les représentants.

L'Islam se présente à nous, qui l'embrassons d'un seul regard dans sa totalité, sous la forme d'un bloc énorme, l'orthodoxie musulmane, bloc qui, par quelques interstices, laisse passer de petits courants de libéralisme religieux.

Ici se pose une question préliminaire. Y a-t-il dans l'Islam, je parle de l'Islam du XX^{me} siècle, des athées, des indifférents et des libres-penseurs? Il y en a, mais ce que je crois pouvoir affirmer, d'après mon expérience personnelle, c'est que les uns et les autres sont peu nombreux. J'ai connu des Egyptiens, des Turcs, des Algériens, etc., libres-penseurs; dans les mêmes pays, j'ai rencontré des indifférents en matière de religion; au Maroc même, dans ce centre, par excellence, de l'orthodoxie musulmane, j'ai été en relation avec un athée, et cela à Marrakèch. Mais indifférents, athées et libres-penseurs sont une infime exception. On peut dire d'une manière générale et très véridiquement, que le Musulman est un croyant, plus ou moins fervent, plus ou moins éclairé, mais un croyant.

Quelle sera notre attitude, à nous Chrétiens libéraux, à l'égard de ces deux groupes si divers, et numériquement si différents, le bloc orthodoxe musulman et le courant libéral musulman? Telle est la question que nous allons rapidement examiner et à laquelle nous nous efforcerons de donner une réponse précise.

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Envisageons d'abord l'orthodoxie musulmane. Cette orthodoxie a un *credo* très simple, mais au fond très incomplet. Ce *credo* ne comprend en effet que deux articles: l'unité de Dieu et la mission de Mahomet. En réalité, les croyances des orthodoxes musulmans sont beaucoup plus touffues. Ils croient au surnaturel dans le sens le plus absolu du mot; ils croient à l'intervention miraculeuse des saints, auxquels ils vouent un culte fervent et le plus souvent terre à terre; ils croient aux anges et aux démons et à leur action bienfaisante et malfaisante; ils croient au salut par les oeuvres, à une vie future (ciel et enfer) matérielle et grossière. La plupart des orthodoxes musulmans professent un fatalisme pratique, qui n'exclut pas d'ailleurs toute affirmation de libre-arbitre. Il est vrai que, sur ce point, le Coran n'a pas d'enseignement catégorique et que les théologiens musulmans ont été divisés sur cette question. Je laisse de côté, dans cet exposé, la morale musulmane, qui pose, dans sa comparaison avec la morale chrétienne, plusieurs problèmes délicats et d'une solution difficile.

Encore une fois, quelle sera notre attitude à l'égard de cette orthodoxie?

Nous nous abstenons, et ce sera là notre premier devoir, de toute activité missionnaire en pays musulman. S'il est un fait constaté aujourd'hui, c'est que les religions monothéistes ne s'entament pas les unes les autres. Sans doute, il y a des conversions sincères de l'une à l'autre, mais ce sont des exceptions. Le plus souvent, les conversions, lorsqu'elles se produisent, sont dues à des motifs intéressés. D'ailleurs les résultats des missions chrétiennes en pays musulmans sont à peu près insignifiants; il ne faut se faire aucune illusion, à cet égard, sur les statistiques fournies par les sociétés missionnaires.

Notre second devoir est d'éclairer nos frères musulmans sur eux-mêmes et sur nous-mêmes. Il faut leur dévoiler les superstitions de leur religion, les encourager dans les efforts, que font quelques uns d'entre eux, pour revenir à l'Islam primitif et travailler à une réforme religieuse. Il faut aussi leur démontrer que, s'il est des Chrétiens étroits qui les condamnent, les jugeant, plongés dans l'erreur absolue, il en est d'autres, les Chrétiens libéraux, qui, très respectueux de l'Islam, éprouvent une profonde sympathie pour les fidèles de cette religion.

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Examinons maintenant le libéralisme musulman.

Constatons, en premier lieu, son antiquité. Dans toutes les religions, le libéralisme s'est affirmé en face de l'orthodoxie, en général minorité contre majorité, et n'a jamais cessé d'avoir des représentants.

Dans l'Islam, le libéralisme religieux n'est pas un mouvement de date récente; il remonte au parti appelé Mu'tazilah, qui fut fondé au VIII^e siècle de notre ère par Wasil ben'Ata († 748), et qui s'éteignit au XIII^e siècle. Monothéistes absolus, les membres de ce parti croyaient au libre-arbitre; la plupart d'entre-eux interprétaient dans un sens spirituel les récompenses et les chatiments du monde futur; ils niaient l'éternité des peines. Au fond, c'étaient des rationalistes, au sens qu'on a donné à ce mot dans le Christianisme. Pour eux, le Coran était un livre humain. La plupart des docteurs mu'tazilites admettaient que l'homme peut parvenir directement, par sa propre raison, à la connaissance de Dieu.

Depuis la disparition de ce groupe religieux, dont l'un des membres les plus illustres a été le fameux penseur, théologien et moraliste, Zamakhschari († 1144), le libéralisme religieux a toujours eu des représentants dans l'Islam. A l'heure actuelle, il y en a un peu partout, en Egypte, en Tunisie, en Algérie, en Turquie, en Perse, aux Indes. Dans ce dernier pays, un des plus remarquables libéraux de l'Islam, Syed Ameer'Alî, écrivait, il y a peu d'années encore, cette parole, dont la

vérité est toujours actuelle: „La jeune génération tend d'une manière incessante aux doctrines mu'tazilites“.

Le libéral musulman croit à l'unité de Dieu et à la mission de Mahomet, comme nous croyons nous-mêmes à l'unité de Dieu et à la mission de Jésus, je veux dire dans un sens large et étranger à toute pensée d'communication, ou simplement d'intransigeance confessionnelle. Il peut varier d'opinion sur le libre-arbitre ou le déterminisme, comme le font bien des Chrétiens, mais il conçoit d'une manière spiritualiste le salut personnel et la vie future. Quant à la morale, elle est très élevée chez les musulmans libéraux, et le principe monogamique trouve fréquemment parmi eux des défenseurs. La tempérance et l'abstinence de toute boisson alcoolique y sont généralement observées. Le dévouement au prochain et la charité y sont largement cultivés. Quant à la personne de Jésus, elle est très respectée, dans tout milieu musulman, libéral ou orthodoxe; la différence ici entre les deux tendances, c'est que le libéral musulman respecte Jésus, comme nous, libéraux Chrétiens, respectons Mahomet.

Quelle sera donc notre attitude à l'égard du libéralisme musulman?

Notre attitude sera inspirée par la sympathie que nous éprouvons, pour une tendance religieuse, qui, bien que provenant d'une confession différente, est incontestablement apparentée à notre propre tendance religieuse. Dans le Christianisme et dans l'Islam, le spiritualisme religieux est au fond le même. C'est ce dont on peut se convaincre en lisant le bel ouvrage de Madame Loyson „To Jerusalem through the lands of Islam“, dont une traduction française paraîtra prochainement. Cette femme éminente, chrétienne convaincue, était une grande admiratrice de l'Islam. C'est également mon cas: j'ai voyagé en terre islamique, en manifestant ma sympathie pour l'Islam et spécialement pour l'Islam libéral, mais en faisant toujours profession de Christianisme. Il n'est point nécessaire d'avoir une double mentalité pour prendre cette attitude; cette attitude est possible, parcequ'il y a une parenté spirituelle entre le Musulman aux idées larges et le Chrétien large aussi par les idées religieuses.

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Un mot seulement pour conclure. Qu'il me soit permis de rêver pour l'avenir, un avenir prochain, une confédération des trois grands monothéismes: Judaïsme, Christianisme, Islamisme. On traitera d'utopie cette belle vision. Utopie est un terme inapplicable en l'espèce. L'union est en train de se faire entre Chrétiens libéraux, Juifs libéraux et Musulmans libéraux: ce Congrès en est la preuve même.

THE POSITION OF LIBERAL CHRISTIANITY IN JAPAN

BY PROF. H. MINAMI, UNITARIAN MISSION, TOKIO.

Should you ever be in Japan and travel through the country you will find temples everywhere, even in the smallest fishing village. The single word temple seems in this case to be very inadequate to describe the manifold kinds of buildings for Divine service. From time immemorial there have been two forms of religion in Japan. The one is the national religion: Shintoism, i. e. mythology as old as the history of Japan itself. The other is Buddhism introduced into Japan 1358 years ago, or 552 years after the birth of Christ. The temples of these two religions are built quite differently and they can be distinguished at a glance from the outside. The first are called "temples of the gods" and the second "Buddha temples". In addition to these there are numerous other places of worship including many Christian churches and chapels. According to the latest statistics the Shinto and Buddha temples numbered 288,000 in the whole of Japan and the Christian places of worship 1675. There are 263 Shinto and 1276 Buddhist temples as well as 108 Christian churches and places of worship in Tokio, the capital. The Mohammedans and Mormons have also not failed to send their missionaries to the land of the Rising Sun. If to this be added Confucianism, which is hardly a religion but a moral doctrine, almost all noteworthy religions in the world are represented in Japan. Consequently, it can justly be said that the Japanese field of religion is very variegated. These many and varied religions cause us Japanese to ponder: Are they all equally true, or false? Is one true and the others false? Is one better than the other? This is what our forefathers meditated on when Buddhism was introduced. And this is what we, who are compelled to observe and learn the highest and lowest forms of religion, the most spiritual and abstract and the coarsest and most sensual forms and ideas of religion, are asking again in Japan. Christianity teaches the worship of spirit in spirit, Buddhism philosophises about naught (Nichts) and Nirvana; on the otherhand, the sun, moon, mountains and rivers

even trees and animals are worshipped. One religion teaches us to lament existence and the other to rejoice in the world. Is it not natural that the various factures of these different religions should be compared and pitted against each other? In regard to the diversity of religions a German professor was right (the whole library of that eminent theologian, Professor Max Müller was transferred to Japan), in saying that Japan was the most suitable country for carrying on comparative theology theoretically and practically, and that consequently the library was going to the most suitable spot. We have been accustomed from ancient times to make comparative investigations of religions; the Shintoists, Confucians and Buddhists have always done so. In modern times new religions have been added. Comparative investigation, as already stated, is natural and necessary in Japan; for without it no divine, and no religious-minded person can uphold his standpoint. Why is the one religion prized and not all the others? Does the one religion exclude the other? Or is peace among religions possible? These have always been our queries. The ancients, however, recognised that none of the religions could be uprooted and the Shintoists gave the Buddhist gods Shinto names and made them their own, and vice versa. This accommodation was successful and peace prevailed. In the last decades similar occurrences took place. The Shintoists, Buddhists, Confucians on the one side, and the Christians on the the other, carried on the most excited controversies. And the orthodox Christians attacked the liberal-minded Christians furiously when the latter first came into the country. The dispute, however, between believers is absolutely detestable to ordinary human understanding and to present-day moral consciousness. On the other hand the mutual accommodation which proved the saviour from discord in times gone by is no longer possible.

In this situation the appearance of Christian liberalism proved a deliverance. In 1885 the "Allgemeine evangelisch-protestantische Missionsverein" sent its first messenger to Japan, the first German mission. Two years later this mission was followed by the Unitarians of America and finally, in 1890, the Universalists joined them. These three bodies to-day are the only liberal missions that have remained in Japan and they are working with unflagging ardour. According to my opinion the chief merits of the German mission consists in scientific work (*wissenschaftliche Arbeit*) and that of the Unitarians in propaganda. Whenever theology is spoken of in Japan the German mission is always accorded the place of honour — although there is no lack of theologians who from party spirit are wont to ignore this fact. On the other hand, to the Japanese who know something about Christianity, thanks to practical propaganda, especially of the Post Office Mission,

Unitarianism and Liberal Christianity are identical. Naturally the German mission has not neglected practical work and the Unitarians have also been prominent theoretically. But — and thus my remarks be interpreted — the main services rendered have been as stated above. Apart from this difference in their significance, the liberal missions are alike in one point, namely that they have increased the horizon of the representatives of religion to a great extent by initiating them into a deeper sense of the nature of religion (*Wesen der Religion*) thus demonstrating the untenability of the theory that divides religions into revealed and natural religions. Hereby it became impossible to accuse each other of erroneous beliefs, and instead of the accommodation which moderated the distinctions between various religions, or almost did away with them, tolerance became the saving word of modern times. The educated representatives of religions regarded it as quite their duty to become acquainted and even esteem the good points of those religions to which they did not belong. At the desire of the Buddhists I have lectured about the Christian dogmas at one of their missionary courses in Tokio, and have held lectures on Christianity at a Buddhist high school for years. And the demand of the Buddhists to become acquainted with Christianity has not been awakened by the desire to learn the weapons and position of the enemy in order to be prepared for the attack, but by the desire to profit by his many good points. If now the Buddhists were to attack the Christians, or vice versa, as was frequently done in a detestable manner, it would be regarded as improper and be condemned as unworthy of the beliefs held. This noble, tolerant attitude of the various religions towards each other is a good fruit of the work of the liberal missions, although they cannot claim it solely as their merit; the constantly increasing spiritual intercourse between Japan and Europe and America, and the many channels through which Western culture can pour into Japan may also account for a part.

A halt, however, cannot be made at this stage, but one is compelled to advance still further and to ask whether the religions, i. e. Buddhism and Christianity (Shintoism from a theological point of view is regarded as a fairly low form of religion and is not taken into account) can be united, whether a new religion may be expected or not. Ladies and gentlemen, you have your questions of the day at home and, just as in other countries, we have our burning questions which are being discussed with lively interest and universally. And this is one of them. University professors, churchmen and priests, pedagogues and journalists are indefatigable in writing and talking about it. I regard it as meritorious that the Unitarians have placed their platform in Unity

Hall in Mita, Tokio, at the disposal of these gentlemen to discuss the question publicly. Thus we Christians are not prejudiced in these struggles of the times and this is very valuable for the appreciation of our Christian religion. The Buddhists, Professor Takatum and Priest Sakaino, the Christians, journalist Koyama and Professor Okada, and Professor Tetsujiro Inouye who would like to found a new religion, have all spoken peacefully together there. Naturally, we also take up our own attitude. According to my opinion we have to thank, in the main, German theology, which chiefly came to us through the instrumentality of the German mission, that such an atmosphere has been created at all. Through the learned investigations of Professors Pfeiderer and Harnack, and other *savants* who belong to religious historical circles, we have learnt how Christianity developed during some 2000 years. We have heard how Christianity in its youth became blended first with Hellenism, then with Romanism and then with the Teutons. Our eyes were opened and we had our attention drawn to the manner in which in China Buddhism had interwoven itself with the Chinese philosophic systems, and in Japan with Shintoism. In view of these investigations it is clear that there are only three possibilities. Either a new religion must result from this blending, or the one must absorb the elements of the other, or no connection will be made. The third possibility cannot be believed in now. The other two possibilities remain. Some consider it possible that Christianity and Buddhism will amalgamate and produce a new religion, although this can only take place in the far Future and through a religious genius. Others hold that the history of the two religions is too different for them to become unified — but that one will adopt the merits of the other religion and perfect itself; so that Buddhism will become Christianlike and Christianity will become Buddhistic. It is stated that a sign of this is to be observed in the Buddhist imitation of Christianity, in their devoting more attention to love, in their thinking more theistically and divesting themselves of pessimism; and that the Christians are adopting Buddhist traits. This observation is not devoid of foundation. The adherents of both religions esteem each other mutually and are prepared to adopt each others virtues. Hereby not only peace will be concluded, but the right path to progress formed. The establishment of a new religion, however, seems to-day very improbable.

The general conviction of the educated Japanese can be stated as follows: We have adopted Chinese culture and with it Confucianism and other philosophic and religious systems, as well as Indian culture with its Buddhism. These have helped to raise Japan to a high stage of culture. Now European culture, and with it Christianity, comes to enrich our Japanese culture. Must we become Christians for this reason?

Japanese history places great obstacle in our way. Since time immemorial Shintoism, Confucianism and Buddhism have existed side by side. Why cannot we have another religion as well? What am I to say to this? Apart from the difficult theoretical question as to whether Christianity is the absolute religion, and apart from the pious Christian consciousness of considering it to be so, the matter in Japan shapes itself practically as follows: Shintoism appeals to the one, Confucianism to another, Buddhism to another and Christianity to the fourth, more than the other religions. We Japanese in our international position are compelled to think of religious from the comparative religious historical standpoint, and to concede absoluteness to none. Despite this I believe that the final victory in the competition of religions in Japan will rest with Christianity, if the word victory is interpreted as spiritual dominion, and not that all Japanese will become Christians, because it is the most perfect of them all. But I believe that this victory will only fall to an unfettered and free Christianity. It is true that the condition of many standing aloof is not clear. What is evident is only the statements of the various missions of orthodox tendency, the size of which enables them to influence the people immensely. The free missions cannot keep pace with these. But their influence is growing powerfully although unostentatiously. It can be said that even the majority of educated clergymen in the orthodox church are liberal-minded. I could produce a good deal to substantiate this from my own experiences.

This discord between truth and semblance was best evidenced at the fiftieth anniversary of the Protestant Mission in Japan, which was held last autumn in Tokio. Only a few outsiders knew that the fete was being celebrated without the strong backing of the Japanese Christians. This was pointed out in the press, the general thread running through the statements being as follows: The liberal Christians had not been enrolled for the fete and unprejudiced people said that only half of the Japanese Christians celebrated the anniversary. Although the Liberals were slighted on every occasion the Japanese Christians become more liberal from day to day, despite the efforts and ardour of the orthodox. That this is perfectly natural, can be understood from what has been said.

At the anniversary in question lectures were held in which the hearers were told what Christianity had done for young Japan. The lecturers pointed out the services rendered by the Christian missions in reference to education, more especially education of women, and to literature. They could justly relate that Christianity had metamorphosed and idealised morals and religion; yes, in many cases, popular life. They told how the Buddhists had been compelled to imitate the zeal of the missions

and their benevolence. Baron Kikuchis', the Director of the University at Kyoto, reply, in America, of "no" to the question as to whether the Christian missions have had an influence on the development of modern Japan, is not at all in accordance with facts. He was too emphatic for Bushido and the Imperial decree concerning education, and was led astray thereby. There was one point, however, that the Jubilee people forgot to mention, and that was that it was just liberal Christianity that had obtained such importance in Japan. The influence of free Christianity is not confined to Christian circles, but goes beyond its limits. A number of educated young Buddhists formed a corporation and called themselves New Buddhists. The designation New Buddhism sounds similar to the name of New Theology, as modern theology is called in Japan. The New Buddhists have applied our liberal mode of thinking to Buddhism, and think of it as they do of other religions, as we do about Christianity and other religions. The influence of Liberalism on Buddhism is quite visible here, and this progress will constantly be made in the sphere of spiritual life. I do not hesitate to assert, by reason of long experience, that the more years pass the more will liberal Christianity continue to influence the spiritual life of Japan.

The last question that occurs to me is the question of the Christian Mission in Japan, especially the liberal Christian mission. The well-known Japanese author Uchimura was misunderstood to declare that he considered foreign missionaries as unnecessary for Japan. He only said that Christianity would continue to spread in Japan without missionaries. He could show this by many examples. This is a proof of how deeply Christianity has become rooted in our popular life. Nevertheless, we cannot do without foreign missionaries, for our Christianity is too young and requires experienced educators, if it is to develop soundly. But we make great demands on our missionaries. They must really be our teachers for head and heart. And this applies in a still greater measure to the Christians of liberal tendencies. The statements made in Professor Troeltsch's essay, directed against Professor Warnek, were consequently very instructive for us. We, too, consider a mission as extremely valuable in which the practical and the whole is aimed at, and which not only concerns itself with conversion, but with education, internally connected with the religion in question. It cannot save and convert us if it has as its object "our assent to the belief that it saves from damnation and hell" for that is nothing new to us and all religions around us teach the same. We look for a belief "that elevates and transforms the whole standard of life." We find it in the truth and eternity of Christianity which "is the belief in the redemption and the community in God which overcomes

THE MESSAGE OF BUDDHISM

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My first duty is to express my sincere thanks to your executive Committee for according to me the privilege of attending this International Congress and presenting to you some features of that Message of Enlightenment which was given to the world, twenty five centuries ago, in the valley of the Ganges. And it is well, I think, that in this great gathering of liberal religious thinkers of the West, one of whose aims is the deliverance of man from the bondage of dogma and external authority, some account should be taken of the teachings of Buddhism — the Wisdom — Religion of the East. For of all religious teachers it was Buddha — The Awakened One — who promulgated the first charter of the Liberty of Conscience by declaring that nothing should be believed in on mere authority of teacher, text, or tradition, that that only should be acted up to which one's reason approves as being conducive to the weal and welfare of one and all. Now, this freedom of thought which Buddhism ensures necessarily flows from the very nature of its teachings. The Message of Buddhism, is, as you are aware, no supernatural revelation, it puts forward no dogmas which demand a belief in the incredible and the impossible as the price of salvation, it enjoins no mystic rites and mysterious ceremonies for the purpose of securing eternal happiness. There is no place in Buddhism for vague theories and dreamy speculations which have no practical bearing upon life. Buddhism surveys the facts of existence, it takes a complete view of man as he is with his powers and his limitations, and it recognizes the operation of unvarying laws in the sphere of moral activities no less than in the physical world. In accordance with this view of life in its manifold phases, it sets forth a system of practical ethics which has for its aim the elimination of evil, the development of that which is good, and the cleansing of the heart, so that one may begin to walk in "the Path, which opens the eyes, and bestows understanding, which leads to peace of mind, to higher wisdom, to full enlightenment." All

this has to be accomplished by one's own efforts. Evil must be eschewed, the good must be practised, and the path of emancipation must be trodden each by himself and for himself. Here no god or gods can help man, nor is rite or ceremony, penance or prayer, of any avail. "You yourselves must make the effort; the Buddhas only point out the way." That is the teaching of Buddhism. — Self-help is the key-note of its message. In words which peal forth the inmost convictions of one who has, unaided, fought and won the great battle of self-conquest, the Master thus exhorts his disciples: — "Renounce evil, my brethren, and practise that which is good. It is possible, brethren, to give up evil and practise the good. Were it not possible, I would not tell you thus to give up evil and practise that which is good. Because it is possible, I tell you brethren, " Renounce evil and practise that which is good! Test this teaching on the touch-stone of your own experience, and you will come to realize a great truth which can be the surest basis of all spiritual progress.

The question has often been raised whether this system of self-discipline and self-culture should be termed a religion. Now the word religion connotes different things to different men and no two definitions of the term really agree. Generally the Western mind conceives "the broad foundations on which all religions are built up" to be "the belief in a divine power, the acknowledgement of sin, the habit of prayer, the desire to offer sacrifice, and the hope of a future life." Buddhism scarcely fulfils all these conditions of a religion, in this ordinary acceptance of the term. It is none the less a historical fact that it has inspired millions of human beings in the past, as it inspires millions today, with the noblest of ideals and the highest devotion, and has enabled them to walk in righteousness and purity. Viewed from this standpoint Buddhism is entitled to the term religion in what liberal thought would, I venture to think, admit to be a higher sense of the word.

However this question may be decided — and it matters little whether the **Buddha Dharma** is called a religion or a system of ethics — one fact remains undisputed, and that is the universality of its mission. At the very outset of its career Buddhism consciously struck this original note of universality. In India and elsewhere there were many religious teachers and prophets before the time of the Buddha — the Awakened One. Their influence was, however, more or less local and their message was addressed to their immediate following, or at best to the men of their own race. It was the Founder of Buddhism who first conceived the noble idea of a world-wide mission and proclaimed a scheme of salvation open to all mankind. Before his time religion was the birth-right of certain castes or classes and salvation the prero-

gative of selected peoples. Others outside the pale had to secure the blessings of religion through the good offices of the privileged ones. Buddhism swept away all such distinctions. The gates of the Kingdom of Righteousness founded by the Sakya Muni were thrown open to all who would only strive to enter it, irrespective of caste, class or colour, and his message of deliverance was addressed to the whole world. That marks an important event, a turning point, in the history of religion, nay, of mankind. At the very beginning of his public ministry, the Master set this seal of universality on his mission. That event is worth recalling, his first sending forth of his disciples. He was residing at Isipatana, near Benares, the "Eternal city" — where he had a few months before preached his first sermon — or as the books put it turned the Wheel of Righteousness. Already he had gathered round him a small band of disciples — sixty in all — who had themselves under his guidance attained liberation. He now calls them to him and delivers to them the following injunction: — "Go ye forth, O brethren, and wander over the world, for the sake of the many, for the welfare of the many, out of compassion for the world, for the good and the weal and the gain of gods and men. . . Proclaim the teaching lovely in its origin, lovely in its progress, and lovely in its consummation, both in the spirit and in the letter. Set forth the higher life in all its fulness and in all its purity." Thus was started the first religious mission known to history; thus was kindled that flame of missionary zeal which has since done so much, both in the East and the West, to enlighten and uplift mankind. In the life time of the Master this **Dharma** was proclaimed by himself and his disciples in every part of the middle country, the Madhya-desa, the Holy Land of India, and after his passing away his disciples continued to spread the Good Law in the neighboring lands. Then, two centuries later, there arose the Great Emperor Asoka, one of the greatest rulers the world has yet produced, in whose time and under whose patronage Buddhist missions were sent to almost every part of the then known world. In this age and in subsequent times the Buddhist missionary braved the perils of the sea, crossed snow-capped mountains, and traversed waterless deserts in order to proclaim to the world the Master's teaching "lovely in its origin, lovely in its progress, lovely in its consummation", and "set forth the higher life in all its fulness and in all its purity" History bears evidence to the remarkable success of these missions. Land after land acknowledged the sway of the Lord of Compassion, nation after nation submitted to the guidance of his gentle Law, until countless millions of Asia and in neighboring lands felt the ennobling influence of his teaching. And be it remembered here that this conquest to which the annals of religious history scarcely

afford a parallel, was achieved not by the force of arms, nor by the use of any violent and compulsory methods. No wars have ever been waged for the purpose of spreading the truths of Buddhism, not a drop of blood has been shed in the course of its propagation, not a human being has ever suffered persecution on account of his faith at the hands of Buddhism. The only weapon the Buddhist propagandist wielded was that of persuasion. Indeed he had no need to use any other weapon. The sweet reasonableness of his message, the spirit of tolerance which it breathed, the boundless sympathy and love which it inculcated — these were in themselves strong enough to bend the hearts of men and win them over to the path of righteousness. So wherever the teachings of the Buddha obtained a foothold, there we find man becoming more humanized, a new sanctity given to life, the position of woman improved, and the cry of suffering humanity receiving due recognition. "Whoso ministers unto the sick, ministers unto me" said the Master, and that saying bore abundant fruit in Buddhist lands, where sprang up in response to that expression of infinite pity and sympathy, hospitals for both men and animals, asylums for the blind, the lame and the cripple, and refuges for the needy and the destitute. Buddhism, furthermore, encouraged all intellectual activities, it ensured liberty of thought, fostered art and culture, and above all it invariably made for peace.

One feature of Buddhism, which deserves special notice, is the position it gives to humanity, the high value it assigns to our life here on this earth. To be born a human being is according to Buddhism a priceless opportunity, for man can realize the highest happiness — the ideal of arhatship — here in this world itself. The Buddha was, to begin with, a man, son of human parents. He was a husband and a father before the woeful cry of a sorrow-laden world pierced his loving heart and drove him away from his happy home, from his young and beautiful queen and his only child, into the forest, there to search in deep meditation and by strenuous effort for the cause of that pain and suffering to which all life is subject. And when he had by the conquest of passion in his own heart, become the All-wise, the Perfect One, when he had thus discovered the Great Truths concerning life, he came back to the world and taught mankind the way out of all suffering — the Noble Eight-fold Path, which led those who chose to enter it out of the bog of misery on to the bright summit of perfect peace and happiness. And he taught that the beginning of the higher life was right conduct here among one's own fellow-beings. He who had entered upon this course of life was in that respect above the gods. Yea, the gods themselves did obeisance to the man — the house-holder — of pure conduct,

who maintained his wife and child by righteous means and was zealous in the doing of deeds of charity and humanity.

Such, then, are some of the features of the message which Buddhism offers to the world. The **Dharma** is as infinite as Truth itself — it is the Truth indeed — and what is here presented to you is but a tiny drop from that boundless ocean. I must, however, now come to a close. But before I conclude, let me ask you one question: “what must be your attitude to this message of Enlightenment, this religion of humanity?” This is an important question, important to you as well as to us Buddhists. Orthodox Christianity has not dealt with Buddhism in a fair or friendly manner. It has condemned Buddhism as a baneful “heathen” cult and through its missionary enterprise it has spared no pains to destroy it. It is not my purpose here to criticize Christian missionary methods or to discuss the general question of Christian missions to Eastern lands. I would rather confine myself to the relations of Christianity to Buddhism in my own country. Christianity first came to Ceylon with the Portuguese invader in the early part of the sixteenth century. Since that time it has used every available means — fair and unfair — to “convert” the Buddhists. With what results? The Sinhalese population of the Island is about 2,300,000 of whom less than 200,000 are Christians. Four centuries of Christian proselytizing work, carried on, in its earlier stages at least, with the aid of ruthless persecution and wholesale corruption, has only that much to show as the fruits of its labours. Obviously Christianity has not gained much. But on the other hand Buddhism has in the meanwhile lost much, though not in point of numbers. The persistent attacks of the Christian propagandist at a time, when, owing to political and social disorganization, the Buddhists were least able to defend and protect their faith, naturally went far to weaken its hold upon its followers. This undermining of the national faith has had serious results. It has led to the abandonment of national ideals and culture inseparably associated with the ancestral faith. We have become to a great extent denationalized. We have given up a good part of our simple life, and our ancient, beautiful customs and manners. We have lost pride in our past, glorious as that past has been with its history extending over 2000 years, with its record of heroes and heroic deeds, with its great cities and magnificent Viharas and stupas and mighty tanks, the very ruins of which today elicit the admiration of the world. So, you see, as a people we have gone far on the downward path. But things are, I am happy to say, changing. The last quarter of a century has seen the birth of a new spirit, or rather the revival of the old spirit. The Buddhists have awakened to a sense of the danger threatening their faith and their

ADDRESS

BY THE REV. PROMOTHO LOLL SEN, CALCUTTA.

Brothers and sisters, when I first visited Europe a new world was opened to me and when I carried back to my country all the delight and profit, the love and wisdom which I gathered in yours, old India became new to me, my dear country dearer still. And when I come to you again do I not come to my own with a change of word here and there, bits of psalms which must be familiar to many of you! "Awake, awake! put on thy strength, O Zion; put on thy beautiful garments, O Jerusalem. Break forth into joy, sing together, ye waste places of Jerusalem, for the Lord hath comforted his people, he hath redeemed Jerusalem." "O sing unto the Lord a new song; for he hath done marvellous things: he hath made known his salvation; all the ends of the earth have seen the salvation of our God. Make a joyful noise unto the Lord, all the earth: make a loud noise, and rejoice and sing praise." "Know ye that the Lord he is God; it is he that made us and not we ourselves; we are his people and the sheep of his pasture. Enter into his gates with thanksgiving, and into his courts with praise be thankful unto him, and bless his name. For the Lord is good: his mercy is everlasting: and his truth endureth to all generations." Now if such psalms were sung in ancient Israel, they have been sung anew in modern India, in Bengal more than in any other province, by us of the New Dispensation more than by any one else. When one of our Apostles visited America, the good poet Whittier got from him the sense of one or two of these and rendered them into English verse. One or two more may be found in the "Hymns of Faith and Life" compiled by Dr. John Hunter of Glasgow. And, my brothers and sisters, if I have spoken to you of the delight and profit I derived from my stay in Europe more than a decade ago, shall I not express to you my sorrow that during the quarter of a century which has passed since Whittier met Mozoomdar not one more of our hymns has been translated by any of you? What the reason is I do not know, but is it not time for you to consider seriously whether or not the late Professor Tyndall's hope expressed to the late Mr. Mozoomdar

has been fulfilled, that light which once came from the East might come again from the same quarter? For if the will of God is not to be confounded with what is called the iron will of a man, a Napoleon or a Bismarck, but means the good pleasure of God, His grace, His mercy acting according to ways which are past finding out; well then is it not time again to consider in the new light of the new time the meaning of St. Paul's words when he said: "God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spoke in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by His son"? Has not He, who has spoken through Moses and the Jewish prophets, through Christ and his apostles, spoken also through Zoroaster and Confucius, through Srikrishna and Buddha, through Mahomet, through Nanak and Sri Chaitanya, to different peoples in different parts of the globe? Well, the same God has revealed himself to us in these days in the East, in India, in Bengal, in Calcutta, in manner so new, so wonderful, so marvellous that when we speak of the self revelation, a New Dispensation, we speak not from ourselves but from God. And we are safe in His hands! My brothers and sisters, the self-revelation of God means more, infinitely more than meets the ear. It means that God comes once again to possess all that is His! "The one thing needful," said Amiel, "is to possess God." How can we possess Him, if we do not give ourselves to be possessed by Him? When a New Dispensation comes to a particular people they must surrender their all to it, or they shall perish. The New Dispensation which has come to us in these days, being the Dispensation for the age, for all the world, my brothers and sisters, when I speak in its name, I speak not as a man from the East to those who are of the West, but I speak as a child of the New Dispensation to children of the New Dispensation. For were we not all born into the New Dispensation when we were born into this world? Believe me, we all live, move and have our being in the New Dispensation which is no man's invention, but which is of God, in God; which is God Himself. So when I invite you to study with all the love and humility, the faith and hope which the New Dispensation fills me with, I invite you to study the infinite God Himself. It cannot be done in the closet alone among books, nor in the church, nor in the streets of the city, but in our uprising and down-sitting, wherever we live and move, in all Nature, in all past history, in the whole present. Does this not mean infinitely more than meets the ear? Does this not mean that we have an endless life before us to live—and that we are no longer our own to do what we please, but that we are God's to do His good pleasure, and one another's in Him, to bear one another's burdens, to share in one another's joys? Does this not mean that the burden which is laid upon us cannot be laid aside at will,

but must be welcomed and borne in all love, for it is a burden which God bears with us? Does it not mean that we are labourers together with God to create a new earth and found a new family on it, the family of the children of the New Dispensation? It means, my brothers and sisters, all this and infinitely more than all this. Do you not hear once again the voice which spoke in ancient Israel: "Behold the days come that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel. I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts: and will be their God, and they shall be my people. And they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, know the Lord: for they shall all know me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them; for I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more." That voice has spoken again, and if you have not heard it, we have, and in the entire literature of the New Dispensation, and best of all, in its hymns, you have a record of its utterances which will be to whomsoever will care to study it in the proper spirit, "a new gospel of God's saving grace." For many things you will forget and I will not weary your patience with too many things. But will you not remember the sum and substance of what I have said? James Martineau found in German thought a new world opened to him. Before him Thomas Carlyle found in Goethe the man he sought. Goethe found in Italy a new birth for him. Schopenhauer found in the Vedanta the solace of his life. And should any one here present take a hint from me I shall say to him, forgive me if I seem partial to my country, but I cannot choose but say: In Bengal you will find to-day what you will find nowhere else in the world. Study Bengali literature—and if, by the grace of God, you can enter into its genius, you will find in our hymns a new Bible which will make all the old Bibles new and living to you—which will make yourself and all the world new to you—and which will make the new self-revelation of God, which we have learnt to call the New Dispensation, your study by day and your dream by night.

THE SIKH MOVEMENT IN INDIA AND ITS RELATION TO FREE CHRISTIANITY

BY PROFESSOR TEJA SINGH, AMRITSUR, INDIA.

The Lord has been sending His Apostles (those who reflect His Will by merging their little wills in Him) in all ages, and thus guiding and protecting His children, and manifesting the Glory of the Divine Law.

The tyrannical and the conceited Harnakash (an Indian prototype of Herod) He doth destroy, and saves His Prehlah (an Indian Saint and Bhagat who showed absolute trust and fearless faith in the Divine Father long before the Christian Era).

The vain adherents of dogma, and the conceited calumniators of simple faith, and guileless worship, He leaveth in the background, and accepteth His Namdevas (Namdeva was a Mahratta Saint of the 15th Century, who was noted for his childlike simplicity and absolute faith in the Divine Father).

Sayeth Nanak let us adore and serve such a Divine Master, who shall at last free us from all external and internal oppression. (From the Sikh Scriptures Rag Asa Mohalla 4.)

The Science of Religion or the Science of the Soul, is the realm for whose conquest the highest and the noblest specimens of humanity in the East have put in their best energies, undergone all kinds of hardship, and sacrificed everything worldly without a murmur.

This spirit of solving the Mystery of the Divine Life, and seeking atonement with the Divine Law, though common nearly to the whole of the Eastern Hemisphere, formed a special trait of the Indian, the Hebrew, and the Arabian people, so much so that all the great Religions of the world have had their birth in one or the other of these three Countries.

Of this trio, to India belongs the honour of being the oldest, and yet the youngest — as there has never arisen a crisis in its social, religious, or political history when, in spite of the superficial look of old hoary age, and dreamy surroundings, the spirit of the times has not risen equal to the task, in a strong, useful, and indigenous spirit. Rhythmic

periods of rise and fall there have been many; but in all epochs just as the outlook appeared the darkest, someone appeared to give a fresh impetus to the onward march of things.

The whole course of this Indian history, which takes us as far back as human chronology goes, is divided into four periods — the Satjuga (the simple childhood stage of humanity), the Traita (the boyhood stage), the Dawapar (the youth stage), and Kaljuga (the manhood stage). These periods are progressive evolutionary periods, as with each the struggle, the responsibility, and the chance of quicker evolution for the individual have been increasing. (Vide Brother Gurdas, the Saint Paul of the Sikhs, vars 11 & 12.)

In each of these periods, at the most critical junctures, great souls have appeared in India — to guide humanity in its onward march, the Hansa Avatar in Satjuga, Ram Chandra in Traita, Siri Krishna in Dwapar, Gautma and others at the beginning of Kaljuga; Guru Nanak at its close.

The theistic teachings of these four periods will be fully dealt with in the papers of other brother Indians taking part in this Congress; and I will limit myself to the message of Guru Nanak, who appeared just at the closing years of Kaljuga, at one of the most critical periods of Indian History. To him as the humblest servant of the Lord, has been given the task of completing the work of the four Cycles (Jugas); by bringing about Satjuga in Kaljuga, or in other words of combining the simplicity and innocence of the childhood, with the knowledge and the strength of the Manhood Stage of Humanity.

There are references in the Vedas and other Hindoo Scriptures to the effect that about the close of the Kaljuga a Jagat Guru (Universal Saviour) would appear, who will deliver the message of the age to all mankind, and bring humanity in direct touch with the sphere of God-Consciousness (Vide Introduction to Lala Shankar Dyal's Translation of Japji Sahib, the Corner Stone of Guru Nanak's message).

Just as is usual in such cases there are some who give this place to Guru Nanak, and there are others who are waiting for the appearance of the Jagat Guru in this century (Vide Mrs. Besant's speeches and other articles on this subject in the Theosophic Messenger).

Those who hold Guru Nanak as the Jagat Guru do not want to be dogmatic, as in doing so they would go against the most vital part of Guru Nanak's message, who held dogma to be the worst enemy of all true religious progress. They take up the only tangible position in the realm of living Faith, and say that if Guru Nanak is the Messenger for a Universal Church, His message will spread all over the world in God's own way and God's own time. But at this juncture, they too

are expecting the appearance of a great Soul (Nehklank — a wholly unselfish being) — who will walk in the footsteps of Guru Nanak, and reveal his message to the whole world (Vide some letters sent to Saint Nihal Singh, an Indian Journalist, by one of these believers, written long before Mrs. Besant had made any public utterance on the subject). The present half century, however, will shed a great deal of direct light on this subject, and without making any dogmatic assertion one way or the other, we will give a brief account of the lives and teachings of Guru Nanak and his nine spiritual successors.

Guru Nanak was born at Talwandi a small village in the Punjab during the latter half of the 15th century, the way for his Divine Message having been prepared by sixteen Saints and Bhagats, who belonged to all classes, creeds and ranks of the Indian populace, and were spread over all the provinces and principalities of that great country. All of these precursors were independent researchers in the Divine Sphere, and though they started their devotional careers in different ways, yet through the genuine love of divine truth and the intensity of their faith, they ultimately reached the same conclusions, and boldly preached against all dogma and spiritual censorship.

The gist of their teachings as supplemented and organised by Guru Nanak and Guru Arjan his fourth successor is:

(1) That God is the One in all and the All in One, in Whom we live, move and have our being. He is the Source of all Love, Good and Truth.

That the Divine Father could be known directly by each individual, through Meditation (on the Sacred Word), and Unselfish Social Service.

(3) That the Divine Spark lay dormant in each person born as a human being, but was hidden and clouded by the fog of selfishness. Once this fog was lifted up by continuous meditation and service, the Divine Spark within, could shine forth in all its glory, and blend its light with the Ocean of all Good and Truth.

(4) That in the path of the spiritual development humility was the greatest of all virtues, the more one knew of the Divine Realm, the more one felt the utter insignificance of the individual.

(5) That no one, however great in his evolutionary development, could lay claim to be a Divine Incarnation, the only Son of God, or the sole Prophet. Any one who did so had not conquered egoism, and was not yet completely at one with the Lord, and incapable of reflecting His full Love, Glory and Power.

(6) That all of us have sprung from the same Divine Light, and thus His common children and the inheritors of His Glory.

But unfortunately for us, we are too often prone to play the prodigal, and run after mere tinsel. Those of us who turn away from these baubles after a vain pursuit to get peace out of them, and repent of our short-comings and failures, can make up for the lost time by Loving Devotion, Prayer, Meditation, and helpful Social Service; and be ultimately taken into the Father's Bosom.

(7) That even those who are the accepted of the Lord, though feeling the Love, Mercy, and the Guidance of the Father every moment, cannot assert that they are so accepted, as human flesh is weak and in danger of stumbling down. Their duty is to go on doing the Father's Will as revealed to them in the Spirit, and leave the final acceptance or non-acceptance to Him.

(8) That man and wife were the complementary parts of a Divinely fashioned machine; and each helped the other in its onward evolutionary march, till united by love, mutual service and Divine sympathy, they become one in spirit — each fully responsive to the other — thoroughly blending the male and the female elements into one indivisible whole. Blessed in this Spirit Union, they became at one with the Father, and nothing could part them any more.

(9) That running away from the duties of the world and trying to seek God in the Forests and Monasteries was not right; as the Divine Light was within, ready to burst forth in increasing glory, through loving service to all fellow beings, and the right performance of our family and social duties — the struggle with the world's temptations being a necessary part of our onward march, as each battle fought and victory won added a fresh ray to the Light within, till all the dross of selfishness, having been thus purged off, we, though surrounded by the world, are still above it.

(10) That all mankind being originally of one kin, and so having the same birthright, the present differences in rank, position, intelligence, and spiritual power were the complex resultant of the past and the present Karma — each individual always having the chance of wiping out its old score by present right action, loving meditation, and social service.

Such is the general trend of the teachings of Guru Nanak and the great Saints and Bhagats who worked in the various provinces of India (12th to 15th century) — and for whose linking together into a Divine Brotherhood Guru Nanak appeared on the scene.

He welded their individual efforts into one organised whole and laid the foundation of a true democracy of Saints hitherto unknown to India, nay, even to the whole world.

Guru Nanak began this work in right earnest and during the course of his extended travels, which encompassed Kabul, Arabia, the regions bordering the Caspian Sea, and all parts of India, he met the Saints still living and held Divine intercourse with them. He was acknowledged by all of them as a Divine Messenger, and rendered full homage and reverence. (Vide his interview with Shaikh Farid, and several Bhagats described in the current literature of the day; used for reference by McCauliffe in his History of the Sikh Religion.)

The links of Love and Fellow-Feeling thus created were finally soldered into an everlasting chain of Divine Fellowship by Guru Arjan the fourth spiritual successor of Guru Nanak; when he put into a regular and systematic form the message of Guru Nanak and his three successors (Guru Angad, Guru Amar Dass, and Guru Ram Dass). Guru Arjan however did not limit himself to his direct teachers, but put the teachings of the sixteen Bhagats and Saints side by side with theirs; thus making them part and parcel of the Message of Sikhism and demonstrating in a practical way the Special Message of Guru Nanak that the role of true sonship was open to all mankind, irrespective of caste, creed, or colour.

The Saints so honoured were selected from all parts of India, and from all ranks and strata of society, as the following will show: —

Name	Province	Rank and Caste
1 Sadhna	Sindh	Butcher
2 Farid	Punjab	Muhamedan
3 Bhikhan	Oudh	Muhamedan
4 Kabir	Oudh	Weaver
5 Sur Dass Governor of Sardoi	Oudh	Brahman
6 Jaidev	Bengal	Brahman
7 Namdev	Bombay	Tailor and Dyer
8 Trilochan	Bombay	Merchant
9 Parma Nand	Bombay	
10 Dhanna	Rajputana	Jat (Farmer)
11 Pipa	Gagraongarh	King
12 Sain	Rajputana	Barber
13 Rav Gass	Central India	Cobbler
14 Mira Bai	Rajputana	Princess
15 Ramanand	Madras	State Official
16 Beni	Probably of Madras	

Thus the movement which began with the Bhagats and the Saints above mentioned, and which was organised and systematised by Guru

Nanak and his nine direct Spiritual Successors was an all India movement, in fact, and a universal movement in ideal — as it clearly showed to the then caste-ridden Indian mind, and will show as time goes on to the whole world (now in an extreme danger of being divided into colour-castes) — That the heights of the Divine Atonement are open to all men, as a birthright of the human stage of evolution.

Reference has already been made to the 9 direct spiritual successors of Guru Nanak. All that is now necessary to state is that the founder felt that the task of re-organising the religious, social and political fabric of India was too gigantic to be finished in one span of human life. With the vision of a God-conscious man he felt that the completion of the first cycle of the work given to him by the Divine Master, would require ten whole-hearted servants of the Lord succeeding each other, and always doing the Master's Will according to each stage of the work.

Knowing the great burden of responsibility that was to be borne by the next successor, Guru Nanak tested and tried all his disciples, including his two sons; and ultimately chose Bhai Lehna, the humblest and the most devoted disciple, who though always immersed in Divine meditation, was ever ready to attend to the minutest and the most exacting calls of social service.

The example set by Guru Nanak was closely followed by all the Sikh Gurus, and always the most deserving person was chosen to the spiritual trusteeship, after going through a most natural but none-the-less most exacting trial, in the capacity of uniting devotion with service.

Thus the work was carried on, ostensibly by different persons, but virtually moved by one spirit, each applying the universal principles of Love and Service to whatever task was given to him.

Bhai Lehna who became Guru Angad, after Guru Nanak passed away from the physical plane, watered and tended the seed germ of Truth planted by his Master. He collected all the Teachings of Guru Nanak and simplifying the existing script to suit the requirements of the people, he began spreading his message, through centres of combined religious worship and elementary education.

Guru Amar Dass, the third successor, took a further step to bring the teachings of Guru Nanak into actual social practice, by abolishing the interdining restrictions; and making birth, marriage, and death all occasions of simple thanksgiving and Divine praise, and not of frivolous mirth, and selfish wailing.

The fourth Guru Ram Dass, whilst still carrying on the work inaugurated by his predecessors began erecting a central place of worship at Amritsar, which was to be thrown wide open to persons of all castes

and creeds, and where hymns in the praise of the Lord were to be sung every day from 2. 30 a. m. to 10 p. m. without any interruption.

The fifth Guru Arjan completed this Temple, which is now known as the world-famous Golden Temple, and created a similar centre of divine worship at Taran Taran.

Above all he compiled a thoroughly systematic and authorised version of the Guru Granth Sahib (the Sacred Scriptures of the Sikhs) from the teachings of the four Gurus preceding him, his own writings, and those compositions of the Bhagats and Saints already mentioned; in which they had risen to the heights of Divine Vision soaring above all form and dogma. He installed this book in the Sacred Temple at Amritsar; and with all his disciples knelt down before it as a mark of reverence and homage to the Spirit of the Teachers as embodied in their teachings. This simple act added another link in the chain of social and religious equality of all men, as the Bhagats and the Saints some of whom belonged to the lowest castes of India, were thus daily revered by high and low as God-Conscious men who had given the Light of Truth for the good of all mankind.

Soon after the completion of this life-work, a complaint was taken against the Guru to Emperor Akbar, that he had compiled a Scripture quite different from the Mohamedan and the Hindu Sacred books.

A meeting with the Emperor was soon arranged, and on carefully listening to several verses of the Guru Granth Sahib the broad-minded and the tolerant Akbar became a great admirer of the Gurus and their teachings.

The next Emperor Jehangir, who soon after succeeded to the throne, happened to be weak and bigoted. He was played upon by the envious and the calumniators much more easily, and issued orders for the Guru to present himself at the Royal Court — on the joint charges of sheltering his rival and brother Khusro, and the omission of the special praise of Mohamed from the Sikh Scriptures.

The Guru felt that there was more behind such an order than it superficially conveyed, appointed Guru Hargobind to be his successor, and then departed for Lahore to meet the Emperor.

The first question that the Emperor put to the Guru was, who shall go to the Paradise — the Hindus or the Mohamedans? The Guru replies: —

Some address the One in All and the All in One as Ram (the Hindu name of God) others call him Khuda (the Mohamedan name of God).

Some serve Him as Gossain (another Hindu name of the Deity) and some as Allah (another Muhamedan name). But He the Creator,

the All Merciful, and the Kind Helper and Uplifter of all is One and Indivisible.

Some again go to the Sacred rivers for attaining Salvation.

Others go to Mecca for the same purpose. Some worship Him through Pooja (Hindu form of worship). Others by bowing down in prayers.

Some read the Vedas, while others read the Koran.

Some wear blue, while others wear white as sacred vestments.

Some call themselves Turks and others style themselves Hindus.

Some bethink themselves as preparing for Paradise, whereas others put Sawarga before themselves, as their ultimate Have.

But, sayeth Nanak, he alone can be at one with the Divine Father, who sees the working of the Divine Law through all things, and bows down in humble submission to the Father's Will, understanding the inner harmony, beauty and the Divine Purpose of every event (though superficially seen through the physical and the intellectual eye, it may appear to be very unfortunate and disastrous).

Although the Emperor could not help pronouncing this teaching of the Guru as impartial, yet he fined the Guru heavily for sheltering his brother Khusro, and also insisted that a special praise of Muhamed be inserted in the Sikh Scriptures.

The Guru could not obey these two Imperial mandates, in as much as all the offerings sent to him were for the help of the poor and the needy, and could not be diverted for paying an imperial fine. Secondly he had sheltered Khusro simply as a brother in need, and not as a rival to Jehangir.

The special praise of Muhamed, too, he could not see his way to insert in the Sikh Scriptures as he held with Guru Nanak, that no one prophet or saint held the key to Heaven, and that: —

There were in the Father's Court hundreds of thousands of Souls who were as acceptable to Him as Muhamed, and hundreds of thousands who had reached the same evolutionary heights as Brahma, Vishnu, or Mahesha.

These two bold and fearless refusals were sufficient for Guru Arjan's to be handed over to the Provincial Governors who were ordered not to let him go till he had paid the fine, and inserted the couplet required.

The Guru kept firm in his faith and knowing that the physical frame was a temporary abode given to the soul for realising and propagating the Truth, he refused to sacrifice his convictions.

The Governors seeing him so firm, thought that torture might bring him to change his opinion, and resorted to a series of infernal devices.

First he was kept without food, drink and sleep.

Then partly immersed in a boiling cauldron of water.

Then red hot sand was poured on his body, and finally he was made to sit on hot iron sheets.

All this time the Guru kept himself absorbed in Divine Meditation and frequently repeated this Verse:

“O Divine Father, blessed and sweet are the workings of Thy Will. Everything else is temporary, but thou, O Lord, art Eternal.”

“Sweet to me is Thy Will, all that Thy Servant Nanak wants, is the constant communion with Thee, through thy sacred name.”

During the second day of these trials, one of the disciples of the Guru, and on the third Shaikh Mianmir a noted Muhamedan saint, who had frequently held Divine Intercourse with the Guru and knew his greatness addressed him thus: —

“Divine Saint and the accepted Servant of the Lord as you are, you can destroy these tyrants and free yourself in a single moment.”

But the Guru answered: —

“It is the will of the Lord, that this ephemeral body of mine, be used for a holy purpose, and be blessed in the Service of Truth, so let His Will be done.”

On the fourth day, the tortures of Guru Arjan came to an end, as on a special request from the Guru, he was allowed to take his morning bath in the River Ravi, then flowing by the fort of Lahore, the torturers pleasing themselves with the idea that cold water would irritate the wounds still more. But the Guru, who knew that his end was approaching, took his bath, recited Japji Sahib (The morning Hymn of Praise and Devotion) and told his disciples that his physical career was coming to a close.

He ordered them to trust his remains to the river — and give his last message to his successor.

“That the seed of Truth planted by Guru Nanak, had been watered peacefully by the four successors; and he as the fifth successor or the sixth Guru was born at a stage, when every effort would be made to eradicate the Truth by oppression. Though young he should always trust in the Divine Father, and manfully defend his weak defenceless followers, and all those who sought his protection in those troublesome times.”

Thus the sixth Successor of Guru Nanak had a very responsible task to do. With the duties of a spiritual teacher, he had also to combine the duties of a Knight and Protector. Both these he performed devotedly and manfully; always giving the first place to his spiritual

duties, and never fighting with anybody unless actually attacked by the oppressors, who since the beginnings of the Muhammedan invasions were used to brow-beating everybody, and making their will the law of the land.

But it was now the will of the Lord that their pride be broken, and their selfish wills checked; so all the imperial armies, and the imperial treasuries could not prevail against the devoted followers of Guru Har-Gobind, the helper of the weak, and the fallen, and the defender of the tyrannised and the oppressed (vide McCauliffe's History of the Sikh religion).

Guru Har Gobind was succeeded by Guru Har Rai, who although prepared for all contingencies, was not molested by anyone, as the Mughals had had enough of it with Guru Har Gobind. So the seventh Guru travelled from place to place and spread the message of Guru Nanak.

The eighth Guru Har Krishna was another martyr to the cause of truth.

But it was left to Guru Tegh Bahadur, the ninth Successor of Guru Nanak, to play a unique role in modern Indian History.

From his very childhood he was immersed in Divine Meditation, and had a marked tendency for leading a retired life. After his marriage he settled down at a small village, Bakala, near Amritsar, and lead an unostentatious life of devotion and social service. After the martyrdom of the eighth Guru the call to the spiritual succession came altogether unsought to him.

Soon after his accession he began his missionary tour all over Northern India; and spread the Message of Guru Nanak among all classes of people. Everywhere he infused divine life and energy into the downtrodden Hindus, and attracted many Muhamedan disciples. But side by side with this work of divine teaching, based upon Love and Free choice, Aurangzeb the great Mughal tyrant — who had imprisoned his father, treacherously executed his eldest and youngest brother, and driven a third to exile and death — was trying to cover his sins by posing as a great defender of the Faith and was forcing Hindus to accept Islam at the sword's point.

Millions succumbed to the fear of death and accepted Islam. Many bled for Truth, the Sikhs always playing a very important part as bold dissenters. Soon however the people became very despondant, and did not know whose protection to seek from the blood-thirsty legions of the Imperial army.

The Brahmans of Cashmere were the worst sufferers from this forceful conversion, and in the extremity of their despair they went

to a Hindu Yogi, who fell into a trance and told them, that the Spiritual Sceptre of India was at that time in the hands of Guru Tegh Bahadur, the ninth Successor of Guru Nanak, and he was the only person who could turn the tide of oppression.

So directed these Cashmere Brahams went to Guru Tegh Bahadur and laid their tale of woe and suffering before him. On hearing this the Guru was deeply touched. For sometime he remained immersed in deep thought and meditation and then said "The oppression on this unfortunate land is passing beyond bearable limits".

"As pointed out by Guru Nanak (Telang Mohalla), India no doubt had to pass through great trials and bloodshed in order to pay the penalty of its adverse National Karma. Much of it had been wiped out by the fearless courage of martyrs and the manly struggle of the heroes. At last the psychological moment for giving a higher spiritual impetus to the people had come, so that shaking off their lethargy they might see the light of truth and martyrdom clearly and making a bold effort to stand firmly by their convictions break the power of evil. In order to do it successfully a spotless saint must go boldly to the emperor, calmly remonstrate with him against his oppression and as a natural consequence be ready to lay down his life for the honour of Truth and Justice, and the protection of the defenceless millions. On hearing these words Gobind Rai, the ten year old son of the Guru, stood respectfully before him and said "Father if this is the only remedy for stemming the tide of evil and oppression I see none worthier than yourself to undertake this Divine Mission."

At this supreme moment, Guru Tegh Bahadur thanked the Lord and embraced his son, and felt a continuous glow of Divine unselfishness and sacrifice, which the whole future career of Guru Gobind Singh, his son, was going to be.

Accordingly a message was sent to the Emperor that Guru Tegh Bahadur was coming to him and if he could convert him to Islam all the Hindus would follow him.

The Emperor was overjoyed at this news, as one successful conversion was going to bring to him such a rich harvest of new converts.

The Guru left for the Imperial City, stopping on the way to meet all those disciples who had a special longing to see him. This caused some delay, and the impatient Emperor had him arrested and brought to Delhi with five disciples, where an Imperial Conference was soon arranged.

The wily Aurangzeb at first offered the highest religious rank to the Guru and requested him to accept Islam. Guru Tegh Bahadur calmly spurned these offers and said "No lip-faith can save any one and no prophet holds a special key to heaven; the all-merciful Father,

accepting all who worship him in Truth and Spirit." The Guru further added that the True Searchers after the Divine did not desire Paradise and were not afraid of hell, as all that they desired was to love the Lord and do his will.

Then the Guru turned round to the Emperor and told him not to oppress his subjects, as a sovereign who did so was cutting at the very roots of his own power.

This enraged the Emperor very much, who told the Guru that only the performance of some miracle could save him from torture and death.

To this the Guru replied that what the world called a miracle was the spontaneous manifestation of the Divine Energy through his accepted children, but no truly God-conscious man could demean himself and use Divine Energy to please the mob or even an Autocrat.

On this the Guru and his disciples were for several days subjected to diabolical tortures, one disciple being sawn in twain and another boiled alive. No one however swerved in his faith. Finally the Guru was beheaded just after he had finished his morning recitations and prayer.

All the chroniclers of the period, both Hindu and Mohamedan, agree that on the day of the Guru's execution the earth shook, the sky was overcast, and all nature took part in the universal gloom of the Imperial City and a deep wail of grief and sorrow wenth through the length and breadth of India as the news spread from place to place.

A day before his execution Guru Tegh Bahadur sent the token of succession to Guru Gohind Singh and advised him to be forever the champion of the weak and the oppressed, and the spiritual guide and organizer of all men irrespective of caste, creed, rank, and colour.

"The child is father to the man", and so the unselfish boy of ten proved to be a very crystallization of devotion, service, and unselfishness. He organized the Sikhs into a Religio-Martial Knighthood, always fighting on the defensive, and sacrificed his four sons (two of whom were taken prisoners and build up alive in a stone wall at the age of 7 and 10 by the Muhamedan tyrants, for spurning all offers of rank and privileges and not accepting Islam, the other two fighting bravely on the battle field and falling martyrs to the great cause of national regeneration); his mother and himself for the freedom of religion and the defenceless millions of India.

After his earthly career the chain of the Ten Spiritual Kings came to an end, and Guru Granth Sahib, the Sikh Scriptures, were installed forever-more to take the place of the Ten Gurus; as in it lay summed up the spiritual light and energy of the Gurus.

Thus it was that at the completion of the first cycle of Sikhism, the ultimate ideal of Guru Nanak, the Guruship (the Spiritual teacher-ship) came to be fulfilled, as he said: —

“The Sacred word is the real Spiritual teacher; and the reverential and loving attention the disciple.”

In other respects, too, Guru Govind Singh left the Sikhs as a compactly organised community with a true Socialistic-Democratic basis — as each individual was to live for the community and not for himself. The freedom of personal opinion and its expression was however given to each individual in all the religious, social, and political gatherings, each member (both male and female) having an equal status.

This spirit, coupled with daily Divine Meditation, and deep faith, made the Sikhs, though small in numbers, a very formidable power in the land. The successors of Aurangzeb tried to destroy them by hunting them down like wolves. Thousands were captured, beheaded, flayed alive, cut joint by joint — but not in a single instance did any Sikh, male or female, renounce his faith. They never gave up their struggle against oppression, and ultimately destroyed the Mogul Power in the Punjab, the gateway of all Mohamedan invasions, and established Socialistic-Democratic Republics, called Taran Dal, and Budha Dal. These two republican bodies worked in an ideal way, and in an ideal spirit for some time, and then became sub-divided into twelve Missils, or petty states, which were finally merged into one Monarchy, under Ranjit Singh, the Lion of the Punjab.

The work of infusing these truly Socialistic principles into the people, and rendering them capable of realising and working them out, was the most serious and difficult one — yet it was realised, and kept up under one form or the other for over a century and a quarter after the death of Guru Govind Singh — realisation of the Divine through meditation and unselfish social service being the corner stone of this fabric.

With wordly success, and the possession of a most powerful monarchy — the most powerful that the English have had to face in India (vide Col. Cunningham, History of the Sikhs) — these two life-giving and uplifting practices were given up; and thus lacking the harmonising influence of God-consciousness the erstwhile Socialistic democratic brotherhoods became a hot-bed of warring individual and personal interests, at variance with the social good, and its very democratic basis made it a whirlpool of turbulent dissensions.

Finally the Khalsa (the Sikh Knighthood) was betrayed into the hands of the English, and though physically and materially in every

way equal, if not superior to them (vide Col. Cunningham's History of the Sikhs), it fell; as the very life of its life, the living faith in the Divine, had left it.

For sixty years after this the Sikhs have passed through various vicissitudes, but a strong revivalistic spirit has set in during the last fifteen years. The Spirit of God-consciousness is again being touched by many of its members, and the great Sikh Saints and teachers tell us that the second cycle of Guru Nanak's Mission has begun. The great Hero of a Disciple (foretold by Guru Nanak in Talung Mohulla one) is expected to appear; and he with his triple Crown of Thorns, Steel and Divine Glory will usher in a new era in the World's history, by bringing the Sphere of God-consciousness within the reach of all mankind; and purging the human race of its worst enemy, the vain pride in caste, colour, and dogmatic creeds.

THE MESSAGE OF MODERN INDIA

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Sisters and Brothers! —

Is it true that India has a message for the nations of the west—a message for the world? Some there be who would have us believe that the East has ever dwelt in the fairyland of fancy, that to look to India for a message world-broad and vital were as idle as to expect the sun, in its mystic cycle, to rise from the west.

Let me begin, then, by sounding a note of dissent from this view—a view which would carry with it the strange suggestion that the evolution of the world-idea was confined to the shores of the Mediterranean!

Sisters and Brothers! I have faith in the spiritual ministry of India. The spirit of God has, from the beginning of her days, been with her the master-impulse of her thought, the inspiration of her faith, the providence of her national destiny. Her synoptic mind, eager for a vision of the world-whole, has faced the problem of Reality with a courage and confidence awakened by an intuition that the organism of experience is rational, root and branch; and the soul-consciousness of India has laid the sacrifice of all speculations on the altar of the Eternal—the **Atman**, — the One-in-All, the All-in-all of Life. Embedded in her song and story, her art and philosophy, her lyric poems of love, her tender hymns of faith is this Idea of the **Atman**.

The world has despised her; but she has been loyal to her world-Idea her inner God-consciousness. Spirituality has been her speciality; she has subordinated the not-self to the Self; she has in diverse ways proclaimed the sovereignty of the Unseen Self. The Greek saw the parts in the whole; the Hindu saw the whole in parts; so it was that the one perceived the symmetries and relations of individuals, the rights of individuals giving to the world legacies of Art and Political Philosophy; but the other saw into the Infinite, the Divine, the Universal, and developed a System

of Yoga, a social polity of **dharma**, and a Religion of Communion. **Inwardness** was the characteristic of the Rishi's life: he saw the world-secret from within: therefore was he called the Rishi, the seer. In the Vedic age he sang of 'the One whom the sages call by many names'; and again 'of Him the Unitary Being in whom all live, move and have their being'. In a later age—the age of the Upanishads, —the same idea is sung—the idea of the One **Atman** immanent in all. Thus we read in one verse "He who dwells in man and he who dwells in the sun are one and the same." In another verse the **Atman** is adored as the Eye of the Eye, the Ear of the Ear, the Mind of the Mind, the Life of Life. The world is God-ventured—this the emphasis of a number of other verses.

Thus God is represented as not being alien to the Universe, not an "other" of Nature but in intimate and abiding relations to nature and man. One of your own thinkers — Dr. Duessen — has with truth observed that to the ancient 'Rishi' came the "most intimate and immediate insight into the ultimate mystery of being."

Think, again, of the Book which is as no other book, the Bible of India—the Bhagavad Gita—the song which tradition associates with the name of Krishna. The Bhagavad Gita, too, sings in rapturous strains of One in whose presence all things become bright, all things become sacred, for they are seen to lie within the sacred circle of a shining mystery — the mystery of Ages, the mystery that is God!

The same world-Idea is eloquent in the songs and sayings of the teachers of mediaeval India. Nanak the apostle of Harmony, Ramdas and Ramanand, Kabir the sweet singer of **Suk Nidhan** and **Sabdavali**, Farid, the Mahomedan mystic, Mirabai, the queen of beauty wounded with the love of God, Surdas the master of a Mighty Song, Tulsidas, the creator of classics which in point of poetic art will match, and in point of mystic insight exceed Goethe and Shakespeare, Tuka Ram, the **bhakta** saint of the South, Chaitanya, the philosopher smitten with the yearning of a woman-soul for a vision of Ancient Beauty pure and fair beyond compare—these and others of the long line of India's mediaeval mystics bear witness to India's aspiration towards the Eternal Unseen.

And India, we maintain, has a message still! Modern India has a message for the world—a message for the West. The service of the west to India and the world is a daily deepening experience of every one who is in contact with modern culture and modern civilization. But that India, too, has her message to give, is what not many realize to-day. That Modern India within whose mystic zone are met the many races and nations of the world, must unseal the fount of inspiration which the world needs, is what the world has yet to know. Many who

think they know Modern India, because they have visited Karachi, Calcutta or Bombay, speak of the subtle scepticism of the educated, the deep dissatisfaction of many with the popular faith, the veiled agnosticism and the open indifference, if not the aggressive atheism, of not a few. Such critics interpret the **seeming** not the **being**, the externals not the **soul** of India; they ignore the presence in Modern India of **New Forces** steadily gathering up and silently preparing India for her world-ministry in the twentieth century.

Yes, India has seen a New Face, small though the number be of those who have entered this New Vision; and the God of Nations summons her to be ready for the Day when—her powers surrendered to the Spirit and placed at the service of His will—she, the Mother of Religions will enter upon her world-mission and give New Apostles to the world which cries with a piteous cry to-day for a New Gospel.

Her Message to the world is the message of the New Dispensation, better known as the Brahmo Samaj of India.

The note of emphasis in the New Dispensation is the **New thought of God**. The central point of our faith is the truth **that God is a self-revealing Spirit**.

He is the foundation of our faith—not books, not churches, not creeds, not rites, not systems of thought and schools of philosophy. The immediate self-revealing Spirit is the foundation of our faith. The Eternal, whom philosophers call the absolute, we adore as the **Immediate**. He is not a distant deity. God is the Infinitely Intimate. His life overflows into the soul. In the words of Sri Keshub Chandra Sen. "The Lord in our midst is not as a dead Deity but as a living God of Providence." The Eternal is the Immediate. And this leads us to the truth that the Eternal is the **In-soul (the antaratma)** of all. Philosophers have confounded common-sense and piety by interpreting God as the unrelated Absolute standing aloof from the finite. But the New Dispensation speaks of the mystic mingling of the Infinite and the finite.

God is not the cold barren Being of abstract ontology nor the static substance of mediaeval theology. The Absolute that is incapable of establishing relations with the finite is a poor wooden being, at best exciting pity as the rock-bound Prometheus in the ancient story. God is a Spirit — the self-revealing Reality.

The self-revelation of God within the sacred circle of soul-consciousness is thus the first and fundamental message of the New Dispensation.

Our Religion is not **credal** but **personal**. Religion we maintain is not a dogma but an experience, not a creed imposed **ab extra** but a personal realization of God. God-feeling is of the essence of religious life. Not till we have been awakened by the immediacy of personal

contact with God to a mystic apprehension that He is not simply with us but **within** us may we be said to have seen into the open secret of Religion. We reject therefore the view expressed by Prof. Wilhelm Hermann in the words, — “The Church must, therefore, declare the mystical experience of God to be an illusion;” and again in the words, — “We are Christians because in the humanity of Jesus we have struck upon a fact which is of incomparably richer content than are the feelings which arise within ourselves.” The learned Professor here forgets the truth that to know Christ one must first have some direct experience — call it feeling or call it consciousness—of God in the Soul. Nothing therefore, — no church, no creed, no prophets, no angel, no man—must stand as a screen between the soul and the Supreme.

All these may serve as aids to higher life, none of these must be accepted as an authority in the Court of Religion.

The seat of authority is the soul within, for God mediates; none must stand as a mediator between Him and His devotees. “He is the Master-light of all our seeing.”

In speaking thus, I do not forget the argument of Kleutgen, who cannot see his way to credit the human intellect with a direct knowledge of God. As a denial of direct God-experience open to every soul, Kleutgen’s view cannot, of course, meet with our acceptance; but there is an element of truth in his view; and I think our position will be better understood if I set forth in brief in what sense we may decline to credit the human intellect with a direct **knowledge** of God—the emphasis being on the words “intellect” and “knowledge.”

Our theism is personal; and we hold that not the intellect alone but the whole dynamic personality — (reason, will, conscience and heart) must receive the self-revelation of God. ‘Pragmatism’ has rendered one service; it has vindicated the life-value of truth and shown the error of arrogant intellectualism; logic-hunt after truth will not avail: The Real cannot be reached by reins of mere understanding. Contact with God requires more than the functioning of what in Eastern psychology we call the **manas** (mind). Contact with God involves the action of prayer, the suggestions of conscience, the play of sacrificial love; mind, conscience, heart and will must all be active—not the intellect alone—for a mystic apprehension of God.

Again, this mystical which is the experimental knowledge is not what ontologism means by the **vision of God**. The expression “God-vision” occurs often in our literature, but the words though identical in form of sounds do not mean the same thing in our theology and in ontologism. We believe in the truth of the ancient declaration: — “No man has seen God at any time;” yet we hold that the **feeling** of God

is what every devout seeker after God has experienced over and over again. This God-feeling, dim yet direct, undefined yet effective, mystical yet immediate, is experienced by every one who waits upon the Spirit. The pressure of God is upon every soul: so it is that God-feeling is the supreme fact in the religious history of the Race. It grows into God-consciousness in the devout; it becomes a perception of the infinite in the world's thinkers whose intuitions are pure; it glows with the glory of God-vision in a Jesus, a Krishna, a Chaitanya, but as a focus of some pin-hole peeps into the mystery of ages, it enters the circle of the soul-experience of even the sinners who seek the Lord. God-experience is a fact; so Keshub declared: — "Our faith in God is not so much a conception as a spiritual experience."

To interpret this God experience a little further: — to find God in the soul, to feel His stir in the depth of our personal selves, is to recognise Him as a Person, not alone as the Cosmic Energy, but as the Personality of all—as indeed the only Perfect Person, the Living Original, the Type and Truth of all human personality—is the God of our Faith. Our theism is not impersonal, not abstract, not anthropomorphic, but personal. Personality is the highest category known to us—the highest, therefore, in terms of which we must interpret the Supreme.

One of your most eminent scientists — E. Haeckel — speaks of the world-ground as the infinite sum of all natural forces in which there can never be any connotation of personality. But the God of our Faith is not the sum, but the Source and Centrality, the Original and Integration of all natural forces and therefore is more than they. He is the Unifying Power and Will of all the Forces and more. He is the **Sachchidanandam**—the simple synthesis of Existence, Consciousness and Bliss.

He is the Spirit of Love. And so the truth, which the Church of the New Dispensation has preached from one end of India to the other, is the truth, profoundly mystical, pre-eminently practical, the deep and vitalising truth of the saving **love of the Spirit of God**. Not till we have a consciousness of the indwelling Grace of God may religion become for us a dispensation of the Spirit.

Religion is often described as the striving of man for God: this does but indicate one movement of spiritual consciousness: the **downward sweep of the Spirit** requires no less to be noted. Man seeks God; yes—but God also seeks man. In truth man would not seek God, if God were not **by him and in him** already. In man's aspiration for the Eternal is the stir of Infinite Love.

The late Professor Sidgwick showed an insight of the soul rather than delivered a dictum in dialectics, when he spoke of theism as "belief

that there is a sympathetic soul of the Universe that intends the welfare of each particular human being and is guiding all the events of his life for his good."

Religion is the recognition of the Providence of God. The truth of the saving love of God is often pictorially expressed in our devotional literature when we refer to God as the Mother. The severity and legalism of institutional religion may find little congenial in the conception of God as the Divine Mother. But the Hindu heart feels specially drawn to the mother-idea in spiritual devotions. The Hindu can appreciate the feelings which filled the Rabbi's heart as he rose at the sight of his mother's footsteps and cried "The Majesty of the Eternal cometh near." To the Hindu the name mother is blessed above every other mortal name, blessed above the praise of man. Round that one word "ma" (mother) cluster countless associations and thoughts. The sanctities of home, the pieties of life, the tender emotions of the devout life aspiring towards God—all recall the name "mother"; for all are nourished by the mother-idea.

God is the Mother-Heart of the Universe, the Eternal is on speaking terms with every soul. The more the consciousness of sin grows upon us, the more we feel the need of a Divine Mother whose undying love may be the home of the wandering soul pursued by the aggressive forces of evil.

Nietzsche has said in one place that atheism gives a sort of peace. Yes, but it is the peace of Death, it is the peace which dulls the sense of sin. Yet sin is an awful reality. And it is not without reason that some of the noblest natures have been smitten with deep restlessness of the soul. The stern voice in which the awakened conscience rebukes us can in normal natures be subdued alone by a consciousness of God's saving love. So it is that man naturally cries for a Gospel of Redemption, and to grow in life is to feel more and more the need of the love of God.

Oh! the West long anxious about schemes of salvation, long perplexed by the dogmas of "original sin", "eternal hell", "predestination", and "personal Satan"—the West stands in need of this truth—the truth of the saving love of God. One writer says the ancient Jew stood so much in awe of the Eternal that he would not utter the name Jehovah. I know not if this be true indeed; but if the attitude indicated by the words were the settled disposition of any one to-day, I would pity him, not praise him. The attitude of aloofness may be a passing impulse, but it must vanish in the inward evolution of the soul. Considered as an abiding attitude of the soul, it argues lack of faith in Omnipotent Love; for the All-Holy, the All-pure is also All-love. Stained with many sins and scarred with many sorrows and wounded with the many wounds of the heart, we still come unto Him, for the Infinite is the Immediate

and, as the Mother-Heart of the Universe, the Eternal is on speaking terms with every soul. The Grace of God seeking every sinner and flowing as a spiritual force into every soul is a fact to which the psychology of religion will, I trust, bear ample witness before the century comes to its close.

Man's life—conscious and subconscious—is in daily deepening contact with God's Immortal Love. That love breathes benedictions upon us and looks with saving sanctity at us and speaks in tones of touching appeal to us, — to transpose to form and dignity the base and brute in us, to transfigure our souls scarred with many sins—to remould the Man in each and fashion into fairness every one as a child of the light of God.

Let me hurriedly refer to some of the important implications of this new thought of God. The truth — the self-revelation of God in the circle of soul-consciousness—involves the idea of the **essential** nature of Religion. Religion is not an **accident** of human life; religion is the constitution of the soul. Hence Religion is at once natural and revealed. It is **natural** because it is intrinsically adapted to human nature: the soul's natural cry is for God: the heart gravitates to the Mother-Heart. Religion is revealed because it is also the life of God in the soul of man; religion is the meeting-point of man's ascent to God and God's descent to man. The Reality of Religion asserts itself as the soul interprets the Divine will through the imperatives of Conscience, the intuitions of devout reason, the consciousness of sin and the aspirations of the heart towards the All-Love. There is a pre-established harmony between God and the human soul; and so we of the New Dispensation cannot endorse the view of those theologians in the West, who, still subject to mediaevalism, are fond of creating a partition between natural theology and revealed theology! For the same reason we reject the many interpretations of the analysis of religious consciousness offered by some of the thinkers of the West. Thus Ribot, in "The Psychology of Emotion" resolves religion into fears of the Unknown. Fear by itself will not, we maintain, give rise to faith in the Unseen. The truth is Religion is not fear of God but personal response to the self-revelation of the Spirit: The Psychology of Religion has not to fetch religion from a foreign field. The religious sentiment is rooted in the human soul. To study aright the constitution of the soul is to know that it is natural for the soul of man to give response to God. As star shines to star, as sparks of flame rise upwards, so does the soul of man turn towards Him and rise to Him in aspiration and love.

In the absence of the mystical experience of God in the soul a good deal of confusion has been created in the name of Religious Psychology

by a number of Western thinkers. Spencer finds the origin of Religion in the primitive man's interpretations of dreams; Ribot resolves religion into fear. Feuerbach whose "Essence of Christianity" is a misreading of that Religion so grotesque that I find no parallel to it except in the pages of Nietzsche—Feuerbach would have us believe that religion is due to ignorant abnormal personification by man of his own desires. Gruppe does not hesitate to inform us that religion has its origin in selfishness!

Think, too, of the number of academic discussions concerning the relation of the infinite and the finite. One thinker says the infinite is the negation of the finite; another informs us that the infinite is unknown. A third is analytic enough to add the infinite is unknowable; a fourth observes the infinite is the zero of thought; a fifth declares the infinite is the surd of metaphysics; a sixth maintains that the infinite is simply an abstraction of the finite; a seventh suggests that the infinite is the snare of theology; and so on and so on.

All these discussions and other theories—a discussion of which I must omit for want of time—lacking the insight which comes of personal experience, miss the idea, that the relation between the infinite and finite is **real**—so intimate, indeed, that without the Infinite, the finite were nought. God is the substance of all subjects and the subject of all substances, and the finite exists and operates because it has its being in Him—the self-subsistent, self-revealing One. The Infinite is not a negation but at once the fulfilment and foundation of the finite.

Once we grasp the idea of the **essential** nature of Religion, we understand, too, what is the real proof of God's existence. The so-called "proofs" of God's existence which we find in Western books of natural theology are meaningless—certainly valueless—if they be not interpreted as an imperfect setting forth of some aspects of the double-faced fact known through personal experience—the God-ward movement of the soul and the soulward movement of God. This fact, indeed, is the one solid proof of Religion. So it has been declared in one of our books that the only proof of God is in the witness of the Atman. And did not Christ, teach the same truth when he said on a memorable occasion. — "Flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but my Father who is in heaven?" Religion rests upon internal testimony; they who miss that may be students of theology but they know not the secret of Religion. They who **have** that stand on secure ground and instead of being afraid of the progress of natural science and the disclosures of historical criticism, welcome all science and scholarship as friends of the sacred cause of faith.

Not without reason is it that we of the New Dispensation speak of our Faith as the "Science of God!" The theologian of the West has

been often exercised in mind over the so-called conflict between science and faith. There is no conflict but an essential harmony between the two. The real conflict is — not between science and religion — but between the naturalistic interpretation of science and religion on the one hand, and the dogmatic interpretation of religion and science on the other. The conflict, in other words, is on the one hand between naturalism and religion, on the other hand between science and superstition, but, **not** between science and religion.

The words of Rivarol are profoundly true, — “God is the explanation of the world and the world is the demonstration of God.” The truth that God is a self-revealing Spirit involves also the affirmation concerning the **Immanence of God**. Dogmatic Christian theology has long been committed to the creed of the supernatural.

The time, I submit, is come to substitute the categories of the spiritual in the place of those of the supernatural. God is a Spirit and therefore immanent in the entire organism of experience. This does not mean, as Dr. MacTaggart of Cambridge would have us believe, that God is but a College or Congregation of souls. With this pluralism our theomonic belief in the immanence of the self-conscious, self-determining, self-revealing Spirit will not accord. The Immanent God is personal — the Cosmic-Personality — this is the truth which pluralism needs. The personal God is Immanent—the Indwelling Spirit—this is the truth which the theology of the West must needs emphasise and interpret to-day.

God is immanent in the soul — yes. He is also immanent in the external world. The self-revelation of God springs up first and fundamentally in the human soul but is not exhausted there: it extends to nature and civilization. The Spirit of God is immanent in the life of the soul, the works of nature and the course of history. Does not this idea give a new outlook altogether upon the world? If God is immanent in nature then is nature not soulless but the very apparition of the Eternal. Then in truth the ripple of the river and the murmur of the trees and the wonders of the world are a shewing forth of the one Spirit. Then there is a vision of the One-in-all that is; of His light in the sun, His Beauty in the moon, His smile in the star, His glory on the snow-capped mountain height, His benediction on the blushing rose, His emotion in the singing bird, His Love in all.

One of the “New sayings” of Jesus puts this idea in the mouth of the Master in a significant manner thus. — “Jesus saith: who are they that draw us to the kingdom if the kingdom is in heaven? The fowls of the air and all beasts that are under the earth and upon the earth and the fishes of the sea—these are they that draw you.” And

another saying of Jesus has the words: — "Raise the stone and thou shalt find me; cleave the wood and there am I."

The idealistic interpretation of nature resting on the idea that God is the world-soul, — the Hiranyagarbha of Hindu theology — will give a new framework to Western psychology and a new stimulus to Western science. Nature is not alien to us, she is not an irreconcilable "other". The laws we discover and the forces we discern are not secrets snatched by us but revelations disclosed to us by the soul of Nature in the hour of that wise passiveness which presupposes patient investigation and truth-impassioned interpretation.

The psychology of sense-preception, too, may welcome this idealistic view of the world. Every precept is the meeting-point, shall I say? the holy betrothal of the subject and the object. Not alone is the subject active in the way of functioning through its categories; the object is also active in the way of inviting through the impressions it makes on the subject. The stimuli awakening sensations are the object's invitation to the subject. All reality partakes in measure small or great of the self; and in perception the object seeks the subject so that each may realize itself in and through the other. This view will account for the spiritual ministration of nature, a view so eloquently worded in modern times by Goethe, Wordsworth, Shelley and Browning. Children of the Spirit! think of the silent-eloquent ages of nature's life. Think of the grandeur and glory of her growth. Think of the shapes and sounds of her sunrise and stars. Think of her music and melody and all her wonders woven with wisdom — and then beholding her, bend your head in lowly reverence and salute her as the Angel of the Lord working out the will of the Ancient of Days. One of our scriptures has well declared, — "The world is His Body and the whole of it shines through His lustre."

The error of Agnosticism is easily exposed. In ignoring God the agnostic must logically disown the universe — himself included — for God is the essential implicate of soul, nature and history.

The truth is God is not the Unknown, but the Ever-to-be-known, not the unrelated, but the Spirit who in His Infinite Love establishes personal relations by revealing Himself. The practical import of this new idea of God is sung and re-sung in our hymns and the prose-poems of our devotional literature. To say that God is a self-revealing Spirit is to say, among other things, that God's interest in the world is vital, God's immanence — so it seems to us — is the guarantee of the ultimate solution of the problem of evil. God lives; nor has He disowned the world. He lives in the dynamic flux of things. He lives in the circle of soul-consciousness; and in this fact of God's perpetual presence and providence we have the assurance that pain is passing, that sin is not

an abiding element in the life of the Universe, that evil is alien to the economy of the world-whole and can have no permanent place therein; else would the Universe be a **multi-verse!** Good shall come at last, at last, to all; the final word of evolution is Peace, is Bliss, is God-vision. Think you, Omnipotent Love will confess final defeat? He is interested in the conflict of the world. He invites each to be a **co-worker** with Him to usher in the Day when the world shall wear the Triumph-crown of Beauty, truth and love.

You need no words from me to tell you that we of the New Dispensation regard all the learned lore of the theological "hell-fire" as a superstition because a stern impeachment of the undying love of the Omnipotent Lord. We believe that every soul is destined to enter into fellowship with the Father-soul and to grow in Eternal life, years without end.

The same truth that God is a self-revealing spirit and is in saving intimacy with each carries with it the suggestion of the **infinite value of the soul.** Every soul is sacred and is destined to be a "home" of God, a centre of His life because called to be a co-worker with His will. The church of the New Dispensation is based on the principle of Brotherhood not Priesthood. Rejecting the notion of "original sin", repudiating prejudices of colour, caste and creed, of custom, rank and race, recognising every human being as born of the spirit, full of faith in Man and therefore in the brotherhood of Man here and hereafter, recognising God to be the Supreme Friend and Educator of Humanity, — the Brotherhood of the New Dispensation has been the guardian of spiritual freedom — the sacred birthright of all. "Enfranchise the spirit" — this is one of the fundamental teachings of our Church. She has ever taught that religion must rest not on tradition but on truth. Faith must step out of the furnished lodgings of the past. Nothing human is infallible, — no book, no church, no man. In the quest of truth let each abide by the declarations of the self within. Men may persecute you, they may try to impose their dogmas on you, but let it be your privilege, children of Eternal truth! to be true to the reports which the Spirit of truth communicates to you. Dare to think in obedience to the higher impulse of your personality; maintain your individuality; recognise the right of private judgment; emancipate yourself from the bondage of custom and creed; remember Religion is Freedom and Truth only another name of God.

The Religious Ideal of our Church is freedom and fellowship in Faith. Members of our Church are committed to no dogmas; every one is welcome to have a free play of his or her thought. Only one condition is imposed, viz. **search after Higher Life** — the Life in God.

Prefect freedom is the primary demand of thought and is therefore recognised not as the **privilege** but as the **right** of every member of the **New Dispensation**. Our **Samaj** is not committed to any coercive dogmas which dwarf individuality, but is a **Brotherhood** open to every one who, retaining loyalty to the religious affirmations of his own consciousness, may still bear testimony of life lived in God. The union of all who seek the Truth within the sacred circle of Faith for the service of all within the mystic pale of Humanity — this is what we in India are striving after in many ways.

Sisters and Brothers! We are few in numbers, we are unorganized, our workers are not men of wealth; but our strength is in the sacred principles of freedom and fellowship, of brotherliness and benevolence, of aspiration and self-sacrifice, of personal experience and pure aspiration. And so we work that India may once again interpret wisdom of the Higher Life to the world weary of the system and speculations of the past, yet waiting to give response to a Religion that speaks of the mystic mingling of God with Man and guards the sacred right of spiritual freedom — a Religion that is reverent at once of God and Humanity, that is, the Son of God.

The more I think of it the more I feel that the Message of the self-revealing Spirit is the need of western theology and western life. That there is a great need of reconstruction in Christian Theology is what few will deny. Years ago Carlyle raised the cry in his "Sartor Resartus". He pointed out that the old Hebrew clothes of Christian Theology were outworn and did not suit the age. Arnold, the apostle of sweetness and light, lamented that the old faith was gone. The Bishop of Winchester, speaking about two years ago to friends of the Pan-Anglican Congress, referred to the need of a reconstruction to avert the catastrophe of faith. Dr. Forsyth, a Congregational minister said about the same time that the conflict in the Church was more critical for Christianity than any that had arisen since the second century — that the issue in the Reformation was small beside this. "What was at stake was the whole historical character of Christianity." In a similiar strain spoke the Revd. Mr. Campbell, — "Every one knows that for the last twenty years, there has been considerable uneasiness in the churches, the lines of divergence between the old and the new go down and there is great cleavage."

From many quarters comes the cry that the need of reconstruction is urgent. The West, weary of the problems and world-puzzles of traditional and ecclesiastical Christianity, cries out with a piteous cry for some new word of power, some Gospel which, loyal at once to the law of Christ and the reflective consciousness of the New Age, may satisfy the soul of the West. And such a Word of Power does modern India

send to the nations of the West. The new idea of God I have set forth is needed for the reconstruction of the New Age. It will substitute 'consciousness'-theology for the traditional dogmatic theology of the Church; it will break the yoke of the letter, which has long stifled the higher thought of Europe; it will solve the problem of the new religious consciousness which is — in the words of Sir Oliver Lodge — the problem of "formulating the fundamentals or substance of religious faith in terms of 'Divine Immanence'." It will disclose the **inner meaning**, the true **inwardness** of the **natural**, which even a Tyndal, a Huxley and a Haeckel of the West have missed. It will indicate the unity of the Cosmic; it will show science to be a revelation of God and religion to be the science of God; it will consecrate culture to Faith and both to Truth; and by vindicating the divine interpretation of the Universe it will give a New **Synthesis** of civilization and religion for which the world has waited long.

Thus by assimilating science, by conciliating the claims of culture with the sanctions of Faith, by indicating the functions of God-discerning intuition — the new idea of God will give a re-interpretation of Christ.

For dear to us is the Law of Jesus; and we pray that swift and sure may come the day when the West may see his star and enter on a pilgrimage to him as did the Sages that went from the East two thousand years ago to meet the Infant Christ. But this can never be and the West shall not see the Master in his beauty so long as missionaries of the Christian Faith identify Christianity with "churchianity" setting up Christ as "very God of very God" and confounding the world with the world-puzzles of supernatural schemes of salvation.

The Spirit of Christ is immortal; and in sane calm moments fo higher life the suggestion has come that the Spirit of God is Christ waiting for some new Apostles who may call back his Church to the love it has so sadly veiled and the light it has obscured, — to call back the Church of Jesus to the God of Jesus, so that the Christian Church may be once again a power in the West and give to the nations of Europe the inspiration of faith, the energy of devout reason, the mystic wisdom of higher life. Such new Apostles of Christ have even in these days come from the East. Surely India is in a better position to appreciate the meaning of his life, the message of his death. India is still a gurdian of God's great truth to man — the Religion of Communion. In no other nation is the mystic sense of the Unseen kept alive to such an extent. India — the spiritual teacher of the East — is pre-eminently qualified to re-interpret the secret of him, the "Oriental Christ!" Has

not India offered such a re-interpretation through the 'apostles of the New Dispensation'?

Centuries of theological speculations had thrown veil after veil over the sacred personality of Christ and obscured the splendour of his spiritual teachings. In the East — woven still with nature wonders whereof Jesus loved to speak — in the East where nature still throws her spell of mountain mystery and awe, where men still feel the fascination of the most wonderful flora and fauna in the world, where life's dominant interest is centred still in God, not gleaming swords or gatling guns — in the East were born some whose privilege it was to lift the veils which obscured the glow of the gracious figure of Jesus Christ. Raja Rammohun Roy, Keshub Chandra Sen and Protab Chandra Mozoomdar spoke of the divine humanity of Christ, disengaging his teaching from the traditional tenets and showing that the secret of his fascination was not the supernatural but his intimacy with the natural and his insight into the human soul. The Church of the New Dispensation invites the attention of Europe to her interpretation of Christ. She interprets the person of Christ, not as the Messiah coming in clouds of glory to announce the awful day of the wrath of God, but as a Prophet of the Ideal shining not in splendid isolation but in the circle of other teachers of Religion; not as the mediator standing between the soul and the Father-soul, but as our Elder Brother, owning with us the authority of the Eternal and inviting us not to detain us with him, but to bear us company to the shrine of the Spirit and give worship with us to the One without a second.

Not as the second Person of a triune God but a man among man, not infallible but affected by limitations of his personal nature, his environment and his age, not the "Deity manifested as humanity and under the conditions of time" — as Dr. Fairbairn would ask us to think of him — but as a **yogi** who realised in his life the **man-idea**, a son of God because the son of Man, one with us in faith and hope and heart, one with us in nature, different from us in degree not in kind, greater than we but not supernatural, gracious in human sympathy, in forgiveness and love, in meekness and humility — a Seer of the secret self-revealed in the pure aspiring soul — the **Brother Christ**.

This Congress is, I take it, a witness to the coming of a new Renaissance of the Christian consciousness: to bring the new Renaissance to its full circle, Europe must take help of mystic India. The theology of Athanasius and Augustine, of the Reformers, the Methodists and the Oxford Movement have played out their parts. For a new enrichment of the Christian consciousness it is essential that the West should turn to India. The Christian Faith must make a return

movement to the East. The Hellenic, Roman, Teutonic and Celtic categories of thought have had their day. The West must now look for new contributions to India. India's is the rich inheritance of Faith in the Unseen; hers the royal legacy of a limitless aspiration for the Absolute, hers the gifts and graces of the mystic sense eager for a divine interpretation of history and the world. Not without reason does God call her to-day to the task of re-interpreting the message of Christ and so playing her part in the reconstructions of the New Age. In the day that message has its proper hearing in the West shall the Christian Faith come to its own again and go abroad upon its work in the world, rich in the resources of the Spirit and right in its discernment of the Faith and Mission of Brother Christ.

The second great Message of the New Dispensation is the synthesis of Religions.

The Church of the New Dispensation is not meant to be a Sect among other Sects. She strives after the supra-sectarian ideal. She seeks therefore, solidarity and communion with all working for the cause of spiritual progress. She maintains that Revelation is universal, and is confined to no particular clime, age or race. Man in all ages has sought the Lord; hence the essential, indestructible, inevitable nature of Religion. I recall the words of Réville: "Man's attempt to commune with Ideal Perfection is the fundamental truth of human nature."

The New Dispensation speaks of the organic unity of the **world's great religions**. If you identify a religion with its dogmas, it is true you will find it in conflict with other religions; but if you will determine the **interior principle** or **tendency** of a religion, you will find its harmony with other Faiths. The great religions of the world all issue from a **common principle** — in response to the Idea of God immanent in them; and all present a common spiritual attitude to life, its problems, its duties and its destiny. So that if you will but look beyond the morphological elements (the elements of creed and ceremony) to the essential and spiritual elements of religion, you will be struck with the presence and power of the **Unities** underlying all. "Dig deep down into the human and you will find the Divine." Our International Text Book in Morals and Religion—the **Sloka Samgraha** — is a record of some of these **Unities** of the great religions for the world. It is a wonderful record indicating how in all ages man has gravitated to God, thus supplying an inductive proof of our view concerning the essential nature of Religion. This is a subject so fascinating that I feel tempted to dwell on it, but time is travelling fast and I resist the temptation.

Let me but note in this connection that the New Dispensation is the Religion of Reconciliation. It recognizes the hidden harmonies

and spiritual affinities of religions; it reveres all prophets; it invites each seeker after God to assimilate the **character** and **ideals** of world-teachers; it proclaims the truth that the Spirit of God is immanent in all Faiths. The ancient doctrine of the Word is suggestive in this regard; for true it is that the One Logos-Light shines in all Religions, the One **Sabda Brahman**—to use the significant expression of Sri-Krishna—speaks in all Churches; and the One Religion which is Life in God differentiates itself in the diverse religions of the world.

The question arises: whence this diversity of religions? Eliminate the passing elements of form and fix your thoughts on the permanent elements of essence in Hinduism, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, Confucianism, Christianity and Islam, and you find that diversities are as conspicuous as the **Unities**. These diversities, indeed, give to each Religion its **distinctive features**; and the Church of the New Dispensation does not ignore them; how does she interpret them? Not as did the learned Orientalist—Sir Monier Williams—who contrasted “Hinduism”, “Buddhism” and “Islam” as the “three false religions” with one true religion, the Christianity of the Churches—Islam specially interpreted as due to the influence of Satan! We maintain that none of the great religions of the world is false. All rest upon the self-revelation of the Spirit of God. But this self-revelation is **not** a static deposit of words detained within the circle of tradition or scripture. The Spirit of God does not work by sounds or words. He acts on the soul by creating influences; and diversities set in accord as different souls respond to these **influences** of the Divine Spirit.

The great religions of the world are records of the responses of prophetic souls to the influences—illuminations and suggestions—of the Self-Revealing Spirit; they are the impressions—shall we use the poetic word “visions”—of the great religious geniuses as they have stood in the presence of the Supreme Mystery spelling out each according to his endowments—personal, racial, environmental—some meaning of the Message delivered within the circle of his soul-consciousness. Thus one spells the meaning of God’s Sovereign Unity; another of His Holiness, another of His Unswerving Law; another of His Immanence; another of His Beauty; another of His Fatherly Providence; and yet another of His Motherly Tenderness, Grace and Love. This is our view of the birth of the great religions of the world. None of them is miraculous or supernatural: each of them is **natural**, being a personal though partial response to the self-revelation of the Supreme; and in each we have an embodiment of some experience of the communion of Great Souls with God.

In order therefore to have a **collective experience** of man's communion with God we must have a synthesis of world-religions, their diversities being not discords or contradictory declarations but **supplementary** truths which must all be brought together in a synthesis. So it is that we speak of the New Dispensation as not alone the Religion of Reconciliation but also a Religion of Synthesis. We believe in the **mutual indispensability** of religions; each needs every other, none is a full-orbed final revelation: for each is but a partial reading or assimilation of the master-vision which great souls appropriate each according to its attainments, aspirations and inheritance.

Our position therefore must not be confounded with Syncretism which minimizes and ignores differences. We recognize differences. These indeed give to each religion its **distinctive specific** character; but we do not believe that these differences are contradictions. They are supplementary truths, and so must be brought together in a synthesis as different colours in the pure ray of white or as different notes in the rich symphony of an orchestra.

Each religion has thus something special to give; and we believe the time is come to gather together under the providence of God the contributions of each so that the life of the Race may be enriched.

The time is come, too, to have subjective fellowship with all founders of world-religions; for each is a prophet of the Ideal. So it is that every member of our Church is called upon to **assimilate** the characters and ideals of these world-teachers and of all inspired men who are shining witnesses to the progressive religious life of humanity. Synthesis is the note of the New Age; and the Religion of the future must be the organic **essimilation** of the characters and ideals of the great religious geniuses of East and West; it must be a synthesis of the mysticism and metaphysical insight of the East and the scientific temper and organising energy of the West. Urgent and imperative therefore is the need to-day of a Federation of Free Churches all over the world; and we have come from India to summon you—lovers of liberal religion! to summon you in the name of Your Father and Our Father to be co-workers with us in the sacred cause of the Free Catholic Church of the New Dispensation.

We stand in need of you; you stand in need of us; and we well may work together to prepare the people for the great Message of Truth and Freedom and Love. For one is the Father of us all — God Himself though called by various names; and one is the Church of us all — the Church of Humanity; and one our Law of Higher Life — the Law of Love.

In the day when you lovers of liberal Religion in the West, and we believers in God's New Dispensation of Grace in the East — in the day you and we gather together our diverse gifts and lay them all as

an offering, as a sacrifice on the Altar of the One Spirit — in that day shall the religious life of the West be renovated and the spiritual life of the East become dynamic, expansive, progressive, **ad majorem Dei gloriam!** There has, alas! been conflict in the religious world; mutual suspicions, mutual jealousies, mutual antagonism, ill-will and hatred of religions have marred their influence and supplied the sceptic with a strong weapon of attack against the Forces of Faith.

The time is come to unify our forces so that the Faiths of the World may work together, strengthening each others' strength and supplying each other's deficiencies.

The Religions of the World are not rivals but brothers. Why may they not come together and form one Family of Faith unto the glory of the Father, who works in all?

Sisters and Brothers! I dream of a day when the various world-religions will come together in one Church — the Free Catholic Church of Harmony — and each will sound a note in accents of love and with the emphasis of faith, concerning the One Spirit whom the sages call by various names. Hinduism shall sound the note of God's Immanence and Solidarity of Man; Christianity shall sound the note of God's Fatherhood and the way of the Cross; Islam shall sing of the Sovereignty and transcendent Unity of God; Buddhism shall sing of the ethical idealism and service of God in man; Zoroastrianism shall sing of purity — purity of thought, word and deed — which once attained will usher in the day of Ahura Mazda — the day of world-deliverance — the Day of Peace beyond the touch of Pain. And out of a commingling of these and other notes shall be evolved a New Symphony which the world needs but knows not of — a New Music which shall move to mighty deeds of Love the sons and daughters of East and West — a New Song which shall publish Peace abroad — even the Song of the New Dispensation.

The third great Message of the New Dispensation is Fellowship with Man. The New Dispensation, it must be remembered, is more than a New Theology; it is the New Gospel of Life; it is more than mere Gnosis; it is the vision of a New Kingdom to be established on earth. Out of the central truth of **solidarity of man with God** — the truth of the Self-revelation of God in Humanity — issues the truth of **Fellowship with Man**. Our Church has a **social** mission. We believe in **social** no less than in Personal Religion. God-vision is thus, at once communion with the Unseen and service of Man, at once worship and work, the harmony of meditation and action, of philanthropy and faith.

Indeed there is an organic connection between the social and the spiritual. Not without reason do the Germans call reality **Wirklichkeit**

i. e. effectiveness; effectiveness is the test of reality; and religion to be real must be effective; it must penetrate civilization and become a mighty motor of Life. The religious idea must become a social force; the sentiment of faith must incarnate itself in the institutions and appointments of society. The word must become flesh; and so the Christ prayed: — "I pray not that thou shouldst take them out of the world but that thou shouldst keep them from evil." Quietism is **not** the secret of higher life. Worship which will not be embodied in work is either unnatural ritualism or soft sentimentalism. Faith must enter the sphere of practical life.

The genius of the West, as you know better than I, is eminently practical; and I should be a renegade to God's Revelation in Modern Life did I even in thought deny that the East stands in urgent need of the West in the sphere of practical life. But won't you who have given me the privilege to address you in terms of mingled affection and esteem as Sisters and Brothers,—won't you permit me to add that within the same sphere—the practical sphere—the West also stands in need of the East? What the world needs to-day is neither **abstract** mysticism which is quietism nor extreme pragmatism which is utilitarianism but **practical mysticism** which is a harmony of communion and social service, of **yoga** and **karma**.

And so mystic India warns vigorous West against confounding the **practical** with the **material** of the **utilitarian**. The social must rest upon the spiritual basis of life; and the error of what is known in your literature as "Humanism"—a word made much of by that capricious English thinker F. C. S. Schiller—is just a denial of the spiritual foundations of society. Imagine the late Prof. Sidgwick writing in his "Method of Ethics" — "A new religion is going to arise; we are not to give up worshipping, we are going to transfer our worship from the gods to humanity." Thus, too, would an advocate of humanism speak to-day, forgetting that on this view we get not a new religion but at best **benevolent secularism**.

Comte's "Religion of Humanity" is open to the same charges; it ignores Faith in the Unseen. It is our daily deepening conviction that a spiritual interpretation of the life of humanity must take the place of the naturalistic view which seems to find favour in the West to-day. View the human race simply as a biological organism or as an assemblage of individuals born in time and perishing with the process of the suns and it will at best have claims on your social duty; it cannot inspire you with that **supreme devotion** which issues in self-sacrifice. On the other hand, view the human race as a **spiritual organism** whereof the controlling Principle is the Spirit of God and every finite member

immortal as the Love of God—then, ah then! you feel Humanity is well worth working for, suffering for, dying for! The truth is, social service must have its initial impulse and continued inspiration in the Love of God, for only thus is it possible to view each person as a child of God—as a soul—whose life will have its fruition in the life beyond this life and whose destiny points to the Eternal as its only adequate Environment, its one true Home. To serve man thus is to enter the service of the Spirit. The world stands, to-day, in need of men whose ideal is **God-service**—men who serve yet have their gaze fixed on the Unseen—men who carry to others the inspiration which comes of communion with God. These be the men who will be ready to walk the way of the Cross; they will be servants of Humanity, recognizing Humanity as the Son of God.

Social service without daily dependency on God will lack the larger enthusiasms awakened and sustained by meditations of the devout life. Not easy but sharp as the edge of a razor—to quote the words of Upanishads—is the path of service. Trials many and sufferings many must the servant of Humanity be ready to brave and to bear; he must be prepared for more than **stoic self-denial**; he must be ready to bear the Cross and be crucified that the Lord be glorified; and he will have the strength to suffer thus only as he looks up in the attitude of voluntary self-surrender to the spirit saying “All this—yea more—for thy dear sake, O Lord!”

The believer in the New Dispensation is therefore called upon to see that he has every day some time for communion with God. **Meditation** was the master-word of our great patriarch Maharshi Devendra Nath Tagore; and every member of our Samaj is called upon to make time for meditation. Nourished by the Grace of God in the hours of sanctified leisure, let him mingle with men and carry to others the inspiration of the devout life; “not burden-free but burden-strong”, let him play his part in carrying the Car of Progress to its God-appointed Goal—and so realize in his life the New Synthesis of the New Dispensation, becoming at once a servant of Humanity and an apostle of God.

Of such there never was greater need in the West, perhaps, than to-day. What is the situation of the civilized nations to-day? Let us hear a thoughtful Englishman. Mr. Hobhouse, in his book entitled “Democracy and Reaction,” has something to say on the subject. He regrets that “during some twenty or thirty years” there has set in a “reaction against humanitarianism”; “the large conception of right has lost its force”; “human wrongs and sufferings do not move as they did,” “the easy materialism of our time wants to hear no more of principles in politics and how they are endangered and how maintained;”

“the check on moral consciousness is paralysed;” “there is lust of Empire abroad and the vanity of racial domination;” — such the judgment of a sober English writer.

Indeed an Eastern lover of the West—and may I not claim the privilege of being one such myself? For Europe is to me the Western wing of our Heavenly Father’s many-mansioned Home—an Eastern lover of the West cannot help thinking that the wars of the West, the cut-throat competitions of nations for supremacy on the sea—“the love”, to quote the words of William Morris, “of the very skin and surface of this fair earth on which we dwell,” (unchristian practices) are a satire on the Christian professions of the West.

Shall it always be thus? Shall the Master be always wounded in the house of his disciples? We who believe in the New Dispensation cannot think so; and so it is that the Church of the New Dispensation has through good report and ill, always preached the doctrine of Brotherhood of Nations. We believe in the Brotherhood of Religions and the Brotherhood of Prophets; we believe also in the Brotherhood of Nations. The New Dispensation is not alone the reconciliation of Religions, not alone the harmony of science and faith, not alone the *Yoga* with world-prophets, not alone the synthesis of the social and spiritual—it is also meant to be the nexus of the nations of the world. Many are the wounds with which are wounded the nations of the world. All the more on this account must we work together to build a **brotherly civilization** to usher in the day when the great nations shall constitute a Parliament of Peace, consecrating strength to the service of the weak, guarding the freedom of the younger members of the world’s Body-Politic, developing the sentiment of world-patriotism, publishing faith in the solidarity of races and practising the Gospel of him whom the world has honoured as the Prince of Peace.

As an essential implication of the doctrine of the Brotherhood of Nations we have ever taught the truth concerning the **harmony of East and West**. There is so much—so very much to be said on this subject—and there is so little time left that I do but refer to it, leaving it to your discerning judgment to determine the significance of this idea. One thing only I shall say; it is that the Church of the New Dispensation believes the great event of the future to be the union of East and West.

Sisters and Brothers! We stand on the threshold of a New Age—an Age destined, under the Providence of God, to witness important reconstructions in world-relations. In these reconstructions the East and the West shall make their presence and power felt. The West shall

vindicate the value of personality, will show the importance of environment and the significance of personal effort. The East shall turn to the West to learn arts and science, to study the fundamental principles of her civilization and to assimilate the wisdom of her thinkers. Yes—but the West shall also turn to the hoary-headed East to learn her ancient wisdom, to develop the mystic sense, to recognize nature not alone as the laboratory of the scientist but as a sanctuary of the Spirit, to receive training in meditation, to catch the spirit of idealism and practice the presence of God in social life.

The world—believe me—stands in need of the ministry of the East and of the ministry of the West. And so we pray that the East and West be drawn closer and closer each to the other in spiritual fellowship! Let the West be loyal to her rich inheritance and her higher impulse; let the East retain her insight into the mysteries of higher life. Let each co-operate with the other, learning to give what God has given to be shared with all. And when the two are in harmony with each other, we shall have the music whose magic melody shall fill the world from end to end. And then?—what then? Then shall be realized the dream which we of the New Dispensation are dreaming; then shall be established the synthesis of human nature for which some devout souls in East and West alike have sighed over and over again. For that synthesis worked the great teacher Sri Keshub Chunder Sen; for that synthesis the Brahma Samaj of India still must work until His Kingdom come and His will be done on earth as it is in the mansions of the Blest!

Sisters and Brothers! my Message is delivered — the Message of Modern India which is the Message of the New Dispensation—a triple message of direct communion with the Self-Revealing Spirit, of synthesis of world-religions involving **yoga** or subjective fellowship with world-prophets, and of fellowship with Humanity interpreted as the Son of God.

It is a Message admirably suited to meet the needs of man. It satisfies the **mystical need**, for it calls man to direct communion with the Unseen, the Eternal. It satisfies the **rational need**, for it recognizes the claims of culture and accepts the verified conclusions of science and other deliverances of reflective consciousness. It satisfies the **moral need**, for it vindicates the veracity of moral consciousness and the obligatoriness of **dharmā**, the Law of Righteousness. It satisfies the **social need**, for it recognizes the vital value of the great secular movements of the age aiming at the social and political progress of the people and the state. It satisfies the deep **spiritual needs** for it gives a new synthesis of nature, man and God. It satisfies the **aesthetic** sense of harmony, for

it reconciles science and faith, work and worship, communion and action,—and all religions and all races and all scriptures and all prophets in the One whose vision is Beauty, Truth and Love.

The Message of the New Dispensation pleads trumpet-tongued for unity, peace, brotherhood, which selfish, commercial, aggressive civilizations miss to day, but which are discerned alone by the inward vision of mystical Faith and world-patriotism.

It has been said we live in an age of expectation. Maeterlinck wrote not long ago,—“We are in the magnificent state in which Michael Angelo painted the prophets and the just men of the Old Testament in that prodigious ceiling of the Sistine Chapel — we are living in expectation and perhaps in the last moments of expectation.” Yes; the world is in expectation of a new synthesis and more—a new Word of spiritual power—a New Gospel of Life.

Can that New Gospel be current Christianity? Can it be benevolent secularism? Can it be a mere creed of Culture? Can it be Comte’s “Positivism”? Can it be Haeckel’s ‘naturalism’ miscalled ‘Monism’? Can it be Clifford’s ‘creed of negation’ hinted at in those touching words heavy-laden with the heart’s unspoken grief,—“we have seen the spring sun shine out of an empty heaven upon a soulless earth, and we have felt with loneliness that the Great Companion was dead.” Can it be the cold Deism of which Renan spoke in such confident terms,—“Deism is the final term in the evolution of humanity”? The New Word of Spiritual power—the New Gospel—must come again from the world’s ancestral home of religious consciousness. The God of Nations calls India—the Mother of Religions—to send to the world to-day the Message of a Faith which is at once the mystical religion of Communion and the practical religion of character—the Message of the New Dispensation.

For this end India lives to-day—the first-born of the nations of the morn, while other ancient nations are gone. Rome—ancient Rome—dreamt the dream of dominion and conquest. Rome did her work, Rome is gone, India lives on. Greece the cradle of culture, the home of philosophy, the shrine of art, the school of sages, the land of liberty—Greece did her work in shaping the destinies of Europe; Greece is gone, India lives on. Carthage and Assyria, Babylonia and Egypt are but memories of the past; they did their work; they are gone; India lives on.

And wherefore does she live? On the soil of India converge the lines of religious thought and culture drawn from the various prophets

of the world. World-religions and world-ideals are brought into contact one with the other in India to-day as now here else. Modern India is a living Congress of Religions. And if India has survived the many storms of time, and if the history of man be not an aimless pursuit of shadow-shapes which come and go, but the very Bible of Humanity whereby God interprets His Will to man — then it seems to us the purpose is clear that Providence summons India out of her seclusion in order that she may stand before the world an interpreter of the New Dispensation of the Spirit, wherein are being reconciled and developed the destinies of the Religions of the World.

Years have past away since one of her beloved sons preached with power and wisdom the New Gospel. He was not great with pomp and power of the world; he was not a scholar gathering knowledge from books; he was not a philosopher; he was not a theologian; he was a **bhakta**, a devotee of the Lord; and so he became a seer, a **Rishi** of New India. The power of prayer was upon him; the Love of God filled his heart; and smitten with aspiration for the Eternal his mystical consciousness rose on the wings of true Faith to a vision of the New Synthesis of Nature, Man, and God. And so he saw into the meaning and message of the religious history of the Race. Through hatred and love, through evil report and good, in the hour of his exaltation, in the anguish of his isolation he was loyal to the Ideal; he died, as he lived, a witness to the New Dispensation of the Spirit. It was a wondrous message he delivered; and every year which has rolled by has brought with it for me confirmations of that teaching and that faith which I, unworthy to speak of it, have referred to, again and again, as the New Dispensation of the Spirit.

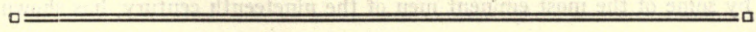
The world hardened by dogmatism, enfeebled by externalism, anxious for the **form**, indifferent to the **essence** of Faith does not yet see the deeper truths and values of this Religion. But we know the world stands in need of it; it is the World-Evangel, the New Gospel for the New Age. In the strength of that Faith have we come from distant India, and though without resources of money, without the supporting weight of position or influence in your midst; we mean in the strength of our faith to speak in the centres of your great civilizations during our sojourn in the West. For urgent and piteous, more than words may tell, is the need of the world; the heart of the world cries out for the Religion of the Spirit. We dream of the day when the nations of the West, discerning the nature of God's New Dispensation of Grace, shall be ready to accept this message—the Message of the One Religion in all religions, the One Logos in all Prophets, the One word in all Churches, the One Soul in all scriptures, the One Father

immanent and operant in Universal Humanity. In that day the pressing Problems of your great civilizations shall be solved, and a new creative epoch be opened in the history of the world.

Then—aye then—shall be renewed the benedictions which rest upon the Nations of the West; and the Orient and the Occident shall live in fraternal fellowship as members of one mystical Family in God. Then too shall be verified the vision of him who wrote the words which I am tempted to quote as I close: —

“And he that sat upon the throne said, Behold! I make all things new.”

CHRISTIANITY
BY PRABHU HERABHADRA MATHRA VEDY



CHRISTIANITY AND HINDUISM

BY PRINCIPAL HERAMBACHANDRA MAITRA, CALCUTTA.

Perhaps the most noteworthy feature of modern life and thought is that, in consequence of the increasing facilities of intercourse among different nations and countries and also owing to the operation of other causes there is a general tendency towards certain common ideals and aspirations. Those who formerly lived apart are coming into contact with and being influenced by one another. There is thus a movement of thought and sentiment in the direction of catholicity. What formerly belonged to one race or country is now becoming the property of many. The purposes of God are thus being served even by the selfish designs of men. A nation conquered by another is influenced by the life and thought of the ruling race. The most notable result of England's possession of India is the influence which the thoughts and aspirations of the English people have exercised upon the mind of India. And India has in her turn influenced European thought. There has thus come into existence the new and noble science of comparative theology. Rammohan Ray will ever be honoured as an early and notable contributor to this science. He studied the Bible like other scriptures, and he interpreted the teachings of Christ from the point of view of universal religion or the religion of the spirit. While he rejected the dogmas of Christianity, he loyally accepted the ethical and spiritual truths taught by Jesus, and he sought to inspire men with that love of righteousness which is the most essential element in the teachings of Jesus, towards whom his attitude was one of the deepest reverence. And the attitude of the Brahma Samaj today towards Christ and Christianity is essentially the same as that of Rammohan Ray. While the Brahma Samaj rejects the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, it accepts unreservedly in a most reverent spirit the lessons of prayer and repentance and obedience to the law of righteousness taught by Christ. While the Indian mind, as represented by the Brahma Samaj has represented Christianity from the point of view of universal religion, the Western mind, as represented by some of the most eminent men of the nineteenth century, has shown

a marked tendency towards a larger faith than popular Christianity. One prominent characteristic of writers like Carlyle, Emerson and Tennyson is a repugnance to dogma and a spirit of toleration. And what is still more notable is the stress laid by them as well as by Shelley and Wordsworth on spiritual truths which have pervaded Eastern thought from the most ancient times. Their deepest notes are inspired by the thought of the Infinite as immanent in the universe. In spite of the Ecclesiastical Sonnets, Wordsworth's power as a spiritual teacher will be felt to lie, not in his championship of Christian dogma, but in his awakening men to a sense of the Infinite in the finite and in his being a witness of the blessedness of communion. His influence will ever tend in the direction of aspirations and experiences which have attained the highest development in India and constitute the enduring elements of Hindu religious thought. It is worthy of note that when Emerson speaks of the Oversoul — and it is here that he reaches the climax of his power as a spiritual teacher — he really borrows a word from the East, "Oversoul" being the expression of an idea better expressed in Hindu theology, by the word **Paramatma**. We thus see how both in the East and in the West the minds of men have been expanding beyond the narrow limits of traditional faiths and tending towards broader, spiritual ideals. Rammohan Ray urged men to accept the sublime ethical teachings of Jesus, which he held to be the essence of Christianity, and at the same time he revived the spiritual Theism of ancient India. He appealed to his countrymen to discard idolatry and "to contemplate with true devotion the unity and omnipresence of Nature's God." The ideal he cherished was that of a universal Theism in which the service of humanity and the noblest ideals of righteousness should be united with contemplation and communion; and it was the great aim of his life to establish a religion in which the best teachings of the East and the West should be harmonised into a faith capable of satisfying the highest aspirations of man. A genuine universal Theism cannot be the product of eclecticism, and it is not by an effort to unite artificially the teachings of different faiths that the idea of a universal religion has been reached. It is dawning upon the world through the human mind having reached a higher stage of spiritual development and being inspired with larger aspirations than those of the past. And the longing for a common faith for all humanity is being strengthened by a growing spirit of catholicity as well as by the discovery of deep inner affinities among conflicting creeds. The faith of the Brahmo Samaj is a definite response to such a longing, and we believe it is destined to be the religion of the future. Its ideal is a harmonious development of heart and mind, a union of the freedom of thought and the unfettered exercise of reason

with a devout spirit, of work with worship, of righteous endeavour with communion. The Brahma Samaj claims no monopoly of truth. But it may justly claim to be a most complete and definite affirmation of universal Theism in which the essential truths of religion are presented in such a form as to satisfy the demands of reason as well as the deepest spiritual yearnings of human nature.

VI.
CLOSING SESSION.

L'ALLIANCE DES RELIGIONS

PAR HYACINTHE LOYSON.

Monsieur le Président,

Mesdames, Messieurs,

En gravissant l'escalier d'honneur de ce cercle militaire, mes regards se sont arrêtés sur des fresques célébrant les victoires allemandes de 1870, qui sont autant de défaites françaises. Vous comprendrez ce qu'un tel spectacle a de douloureux pour mon cœur. Cette guerre, du reste, ne fut pas seulement un désastre pour la France, mais pour l'Europe entière, car, dans ce que je ne crains pas d'appeler le plan providentiel, la France et l'Allemagne étaient les deux facteurs d'une même civilisation européenne et mondiale.

Je ne saurais oublier l'entrevue que j'eus avec le père de votre empereur actuel, le sage Frédéric III, alors prince impérial. Il avait bien voulu exprimer le désir de me voir, et ce fut à Versailles, le jour même où fut conclue la paix: „J'étais opposé à cette guerre, me dit-il, car je ne la croyais pas nécessaire; mais, obligé de combattre les Français, j'ai appris à les estimer davantage.“

Apprenons à nous estimer mutuellement, Messieurs, et nous comprendrons qu'il n'est pas si difficile de nous aimer et de travailler en commun.

Si le patriotisme a divisé les peuples, la religion les a-t-elle unis? L'affirmative paraît être l'enseignement de la Bible, lorsqu'elle nous présente, à l'origine des choses, une seule famille d'Adam unie dans le culte d'un seul Dieu. Mais l'histoire, aussi haut qu'elle remonte, nous met au contraire en présence de polythéismes divers en même temps que grossiers et cruels. La préhistoire apporte un témoignage analogue dans les débris qu'elle nous a laissés. Partout, c'est la guerre des hommes contre les hommes et des dieux contre les dieux.

La Genèse, dans ses premiers chapitres surtout, n'est pas un livre d'histoire, mais, comme la nommait excellemment Origène, „un océan de théologie“. Elle dit ce qui aurait du être, si le plan supérieur de Dieu sur ses créatures raisonnables n'avait été contrarié par des contingences physiques et morales, avec lesquelles le Créateur, dans sa sagesse et dans sa liberté, a voulu compter. Elle dit ce qui sera un jour, si l'idéal divin s'impose pleinement à la réalité résistante et vaincue; si le souffle de vie qui nous a tirés de la poussière de la terre, selon le symbole biblique, ou des entrailles de l'animal, selon l'hypothèse scientifique, achève entièrement son oeuvre. Fils de la boue ou fils de la brute, qu'importe, si nous devenons un jour fils de Dieu! „Il les créa male et femelle, il les créa à son image et à sa ressemblance.“ (Genèse.)

C'est ainsi que les premiers hommes, héritiers des anthropoïdes, dortaient déjà dans leur conscience, ou, comme on dit aujourd'hui, dans leur subconscience, les grandes lois, inconnues des êtres inférieurs, et qui feront la civilisation et la religion parfaites dans le plus lointain avenir. L'Adam et l'Eve préhistoriques ont été peut-être polythéistes et polygames, mais ils appartenaient à cette race qui a pour destinée ultérieure, humaine et surhumaine à la fois, l'adoration d'un seul Dieu dans le ciel et l'amour d'une seule femme sur la terre.

Le type de l'homme est dans l'animal, et le germe du surhomme est dans l'homme.

Quand la Bible cesse d'être un grand poème de philosophie divine pour devenir une histoire, ou, si vous l'aimez mieux, un embryon d'histoire, elle nous montre l'origine du monothéisme chez un petit peuple obscur et souvent méprisable dont Tacite a écrit qu'il avait „la haine du genre humain“ et dont un prophète a dit: „Ce peuple habitera à part et ne sera pas mis au nombre des nations.“ (Nombres, XXIII, 9.) Fixés sur un territoire de vingt lieues de large, emprisonnés dans une mentalité qui n'avait pas plus d'envergure, les Juifs, en dehors de leurs livres sacrés, n'ont connu ni les lettres, ni les arts, et quant à leur histoire politique, elle a été aussi médiocre, pour ne rien dire de plus, dans le royaume de Juda que dans celui d'Israël. Leur grandeur était dans leur monothéisme, étranger et supérieur au reste du monde, mais ce monothéisme ne leur était pas naturel. Renan a dit, avec cette beauté de style qui cache quelquefois la pauvreté de la pensée: „Le désert est monothéiste“; mais les vrais habitants du désert, où Israël n'a fait que passer, les Arabes adoraient dans la Caaba, avant que Mahomet l'eut purifiée, autant d'idoles qu'il y avait de jours dans leur année et de tribus dans leur race.

Un patriarce, un prophète nous apparaît dans le lointain des âges, peu importe son nom, la Bible l'appelle Abraham, c'est-à-dire le père

de beaucoup. Il arracha sa propre conscience, et sa descendance après lui, à l'idolâtrie commune à tous les Sémites. Il revait à la fois de religion et de paternité. Il avait reçu une de ces révélations en partie humaines, en partie divines qui font les inspirés: „Sors de ta patrie, et de ta famille, et de la maison de ton père, et viens dans la terre que je te montrerai. . . . Regarde les étoiles du ciel et compte-les, si tu peux: ainsi sera ta race.“

Admirable religion, qui se résume dans un dogme profond autant que simple, l'unité de Dieu, avec son corollaire l'unité des hommes, et qui pouvait devenir la religion du genre humain, si ses docteurs ne l'avaient rétrécie et comme emprisonnée dans plus de six cents préceptes, — les rabbins les ont comptés, — ce qui faisait dire aux premiers apôtres chrétiens, juifs d'origine: „C'est un joug que ni nous, ni nos pères n'avons pu porter! „La religion la plus simple était devenue la plus compliquée; le monothéisme le plus universel, le plus humanitaire, si je peux me servir de cette expression, s'était transformé dans le plus étroitement ethnique.

Honneur au Judaïsme réformateur, dont nous comptons parmi nous des représentants distingués, qui cherchent à rendre à leur religion sa signification primitive!

L'ancien Judaïsme avait conservé l'Unité de Dieu et la Loi de Justice et d'Amour dans un vase étroit et rugueux; le plus grand de ses prophètes, Jésus de Nazareth, brisa ce vase et en répandit le parfum dans le monde. On a nié quelquefois, et tout récemment encore, que Jésus ait réellement existé. On s'est efforcé du moins d'en faire un personnage en grande partie fabuleux, mais en vain. Le Christianisme appartient à l'histoire par ses origines, en plein siècle d'Auguste; il procède d'une personne, comme toute grande oeuvre, et cette personne, Renan, que je citais tout à l'heure, le reconnaît avec raison, n'est pas celle de Paul de Tarse, mais celle de Jésus de Nazareth.

Sans doute, par tout un côté de sa personne et de son oeuvre, Jésus relève de l'inconnu, peut-être même de l'inconnaissable. Dans ces régions inaccessibles, l'imagination a pu mêler ses fictions, tantôt sublimes et tantôt bizarres. C'est une loi des choses humaines contre laquelle il serait vain de lutter. Il n'y a pas de grand homme sans une légende, ni de grande religion sans une mythologie. Quand le soleil se couche derrière les montagnes ou dans les flots de la mer, il laisse après lui dans les nuages de longues traînées d'or, et de pourpre, et d'opale. Le crépuscule ne prouve pas contre le soleil, pas plus que la légende contre l'homme ou la mythologie contre la religion.

Qui discernera, dans ces splendeurs posthumes, ce qui est une transformation de l'histoire de ce qui n'est qu'une création de la poésie? J'en retiens peut-être davantage que plusieurs d'entre vous, pour mon

coeur ou même pour ma raison mystique, mais je ne fais pas consister l'évangile dans les récits, d'ailleurs si beaux, de l'enfantement virginal ou de la résurrection corporelle: je le cherche et le trouve dans le caractère étrange et surhumain de la vie et de la mort du Christ, dans le sermon sur la montagne et dans les paraboles galiléennes, dont celles, par exemple, de l'Enfant prodigue et du bon Samaritain, qui renferment, à elles seules, l'esprit qui a renouvelé le monde.

Comment Jésus-Christ a-t-il donné au monde la religion universelle et définitive? Est-ce en y fondant une Eglise destinée à remplacer la Synagogue et, avec elle, toutes les autres sociétés religieuses? S'il est aujourd'hui un point acquis à l'histoire, c'est que Jésus-Christ n'a fondé aucune Eglise au sens propre du mot. Saintement absorbé par la vision finale et pour lui prochaine de la religion parfaite, qui ne revêtirait aucune des formes propres aux générations successives, il condensait en une seule ces générations sans nombre et leur faisait entendre cette magnifique promesse: „Cette génération ne passera pas que toutes ces choses ne soient accomplies.“ L'homme ne quittera pas cette terre sans avoir vu de ses yeux et, pour ainsi dire, touché de ses mains l'idéal toujours poursuivi et jamais atteint, le grand idéal du monde de vérité, de justice et de bonheur, qui est le Royaume de Dieu et qui fut l'objet de la prédication du Christ. Le Christ n'a pas fondé l'Eglise, il a annoncé et préparé le Royaume: il l'a annoncé par sa prédication, il l'a préparé par son esprit, et c'est là précisément ce qui fait la grandeur et l'originalité de son oeuvre.

Du reste, il fut fidèle à l'institution particulière dans laquelle il était né et il ne songea jamais à lui en substituer une autre. Il était venu non pour détruire la loi, mais pour l'accomplir, et depuis la circoncision qui ensanglanta ses langes jusqu'aux aromates qui embaumèrent son linceul, „selon la coutume des Juifs“, remarque l'évangéliste, il a pu dire en toute vérité: „Je n'ai été envoyé qu'aux brebis perdues de la maison d'Israel.“ Quand certains théologiens nous exhortent à retourner au culte institué par le Christ, ils ne savent guère ce qu'ils nous conseillent, car le culte qu'il a pratiqué, et ses premiers disciples après lui, fut le culte mosaïque, y compris l'effusion du sang des animaux que répandaient les prêtres.

Jésus pratiquait ce culte, mais il ne l'imposait pas à ceux qui venaient à lui d'entre les païens, pas plus qu'il n'en créait un autre à leur usage. Quand il eut guéri le serviteur du centurion romain, qui avait construit de ses deniers une synagogue pour les Juifs qu'il aimait, sans partager leurs pratiques, Jésus ne lui dit pas: „Entres-y toi-même, deviens prosélyte et fais-toi circoncire.“ Il se contenta de dire: „Je n'ai pas trouvé autant de foi en Israel!“

Et quand il eut guéri la fille de la Chananéenne, qu'il rangeait tout d'abord, parlant le dur langage des zélateurs d'Israel, parmi les chiens auxquels il n'est pas permis de donner le pain des enfants, il ne lui recommanda pas de se faire baptiser par ses propres disciples: „O femme, s'écria-t-il, ta foi est grande!“ Et ce fut tout.

Et enfin, quand il fut interrogé directement par la Samaritaine sur le lieu et la forme du culte agréable à Dieu: „Femme, lui répondit-il, ce n'est ni sur cette montagne, ni à Jérusalem que vous adorez le Père; Dieu est Esprit et il faut que ceux qui l'adorent, l'adorent en esprit et en vérité.“

Loin de moi la pensée de contester l'utilité ou plutôt la nécessité d'une Eglise positive, puisque la fin du monde présent n'arrivait pas aussi vite qu'on l'avait cru et que la parole de l'apôtre Paul et le glaive du César Titus avaient consommé la rupture des Juifs et des Chrétiens. L'Eglise fut l'oeuvre des Apôtres par la force des choses et sous l'inspiration de l'Esprit, qui ne réproûve la lettre que lorsque la lettre asservit et tue.

Aujourd'hui encore, malgré tout ce qu'elles peuvent avoir de déflectueux, les Eglises traditionnelles sont les auxiliaires et au besoin les suppléantes du foyer domestique, dans un état de choses où ce foyer n'est pas toujours propice à l'instruction religieuse et à l'éducation morale. N'en déplaise au rêveur génial et généreux qui a nom Tolstoï, quel déchet dans le monde le jour où les ministres de l'Evangile viendraient à manquer, les chaires à se taire, les temples à se fermer!

Nul ne ressent plus que moi la douceur exprimée par ce prêtre japonais qui, assis au pied d'un autel dont il ignorait l'histoire, disait: „Je ne sais qui habite ici, mais je m'y sens heureux et je suis prêt à y verser des larmes!“

Et Jésus n'a-t-il pas dit lui-même: „Là où vous serez deux ou trois réunis en mon nom, j'y suis au milieu de vous.“

Aucune des sociétés qui portent le nom de chrétiennes n'ayant été fondée par le Christ, s'il est bon de vivre dans l'une d'entre elles, dans celle surtout où la Providence nous a fait naître, à moins que nous n'ayons une raison puissante de nous en séparer, il n'existe pas, à cet égard, d'obligation générale. Aucune Eglise n'a le droit de dire: **Hors de moi, point de salut!** et si elle le fait, elle n'est plus une Eglise, mais une secte. Si grande que soit une Eglise, renfermat elle des millions d'adhérents, réels ou fictifs, elle n'est plus qu'une secte quand elle anathématise ceux qui ne croient pas et ne prient pas comme elle et quand elle divise l'humanité en deux tronçons inégaux, l'un qu'elle livre à Satan, l'autre qu'elle accapare après avoir accaparé Dieu lui-même. Il faut faire cesser ce schisme épouvantable, le plus funeste de tous.

Ce sera, en partie, l'oeuvre du Modernisme, s'il est conservateur en même temps que libéral, fidèle à ce que la tradition a de légitime et de nécessaire, mais réformateur, ou plutôt destructeur des erreurs et des abus qui l'ont défigurée.

Et quand je parle du Modernisme, je n'entends pas celui qui porte un double masque: au dehors, soumission; au dedans, révolte. J'entends celui des sincères et des forts, et pour n'en nommer que deux, un Murri qu'une excommunication sans valeur n'a pas empêché de siéger, de parler et d'être applaudi parmi nous; un Tyrrell plus éloquent et plus pissant sur son lit de mort que tous les apôtres vivants.

Ce Modernisme-là est le seul qui méritel es sympathies des Français fidèles aux qualités de leur race, la logique des idées et la loyauté des sentiments. J'en dirai autant des Allemands. „L'Allemand, disait Charles -Quint, est un animal docile qui porte tout, excepté ce qui pèse sur sa conscience“. Je tiens ces paroles d'un illustre historien, Guizot, qui me les rappelait à moi-même à l'époque du concile du Vatican. Elles s'appliquent à Döllinger, dont le nom vénéré ne doit pas être oublié ici et qui restera devant l'histoire ce qu'il fut en effet, le premier des modernistes. C'est lui qui, le premier en face du concile des infailibilistes, trop grand pour être effrayé par l'anathème ou tenté pour la compromission, a nettement affirmé le catholicisme de l'Eglise contre le papisme du Vatican. La marche des événements et des idées nous a conduits à élargier son programme, mais sans l'abandonner. Nous rêvions avec lui l'union des Eglises chrétiennes, nous cherchons maintenant, avec plus de sagesse pratique, le rapprochement et l'alliance de toutes les religions dignes de ce nom — „Nous sommes chrétiens“, disons-nous en modifiant la parole ancienne, „nous sommes chrétiens, rien de ce qui est religieux ne nous est étranger“.

La véritable Eglise renferme tous les hommes. C'est d'elle que Jésus-Christ a dit: „Il en viendra beaucoup de l'Orient et de l'Occident, du Nord et du Midi, et ils s'assoieront avec les patriarches et les prophètes dans le royaume de Dieu“. Ceux-là seuls s'en excluent eux-mêmes qui se refusent à l'accomplissement de ces deux commandements où sont résumés la loi et les prophètes: „Tu aimeras le Seigneur ton Dieu de tout ton coeur, de toute ton âme et de toute ta pensée, et tu aimeras tes frères comme toi-même.“

J'irai plus loin. La véritable Eglise renferme tous les mondes. Voltaire qu'on peut citer après l'Evangile, quand sa plume ironique et légère laisse échapper des paroles profondes, Voltaire dit quelque part que, s'il est un habitant de Sirius qui pèche contre la loi morale, il pèche contre l'univers. Je dirai à mon tour que s'il est dans Sirius ou dans quelque autre région stellaire, des êtres doués d'intelligence, de liberté,

d'amour, ils sont de la même religion que nous, ils appartiennent à la même Eglise, et c'est pour eux comme pour nous que Jésus a dit: Fils de l'Esprit, vous adorerez l'Esprit parfait à l'image duquel vous avez été faits, et vous aimerez dans toute l'étendue de l'espace et du temps les esprits créés, quels qu'ils soient, qui portent avec vous sa ressemblance.

En terminant, vous me permettrez un souvenir qui me revient toujours quand je songe à l'unité religieuse, et qui m'émeut d'autant plus aujourd'hui qu'il me rappelle celle qui m'avait été donnée d'en haut pour être la compagne, non pas seulement de ma vie domestique — cela ne saurait suffire à un prêtre — mais de ma vie religieuse. Nous avons fait ensemble, et par deux fois, le voyage, je dirai le pèlerinage de Jérusalem.*) Ce que nous y visitâmes de préférence, ce ne fut pas le Saint-Sépulcre profané par les divisions et par les superstitions des chrétiens, ce fut le temple de Salomon sur les ruines duquel s'élève la magnifique mosquée d'Omar. Nous étions chrétiens et voulions rester tels, moins les schismes et les idolâtries, mais nous n'en regardions pas moins l'Islamisme comme l'organisation la plus simple et la plus grandiose du monothéisme parmi les hommes.

Et, sur le seuil du temple, la compagne de ma route s'écria: „C'est ici le centre du monde; tant que la foi au Dieu unique sera affirmée dans ce temple, le monde ne sera point ébranlé!“ Nous entrâmes, et nous entendîmes l'une des plus grandes paroles religieuses qui, à ma connaissance, aient été prononcées de nos jours. Elle ne venait pas d'un représentant des Eglises ou des Universités de l'Europe, mais du vieux cheik qui nous montrait le lieu saint: „Moïse, Jésus, Mahomet; trois grands prophètes, mais Dieu seul est Dieu!“

Sans doute, je ne mets pas Jésus sur la même ligne que Moïse et Mahomes, et je lui réserve les noms qu'il s'est donnés lui-même, le Fils de l'Homme et le Fils de Dieu; mais je n'en dis pas moins énergiquement avec l'arabe et avec Jésus lui-même: Dieu seul est Dieu!

*) A cet endroit de son discours qui, tel que nous le donnons ici, n'est qu'un résumé de son improvisation, l'orateur rappela le généreux éloge de l'Islam prononcé par M. Edouard Montet, recteur de l'Université de Genève, à une précédente séance du Congrès.

CLOSING ADDRESS

BY THE PRESIDENT, KARL SCHRADER.

We all, who have taken part in this Congress, shall be agreed that our expectations have been more than realised in every respect. It has been a grand religious demonstration, such as perhaps there has never been before, at any rate in Germany. Grand already in the number of those taking part. We have entered 2087 names on the membership lists, and they were all names of those who actually took part. There are usually at Congresses a considerable number of people, who do not join for the sake of the actual purpose of the congress, but because of the entertainments and such things, associated with it. Such members we have not had. Our members all came for the thing itself. Our gatherings have borne witness that they were in earnest about this matter, often, Ladies and Gentlemen, with so much zeal, that we could not find rooms big enough for the many who wished to hear.

But that is not all. No Congress, I suppose, has had among its speakers so great a number of the most distinguished men from many lands, as we have had. What has been spoken here has been with authority, such as must be acknowledged by all, even by those who hold a different opinion.

In a whole series of gatherings we have listened to these gentlemen, and the uniform experience has been that among us, though we represent the most diverse religious views, it has been possible for each one to speak his whole mind with perfect openness. That also is an experience seldom met with.

And in all our gatherings, no one who has spoken here has had to complain that he was not heard with complete impartiality. Yes, Ladies and Gentlemen, there was one and another undoubtedly, who was greeted with applause, not because of what he said, but simply because he came, to speak to us (Applause). For what was said was not always welcome to the great majority. But the fact was welcome, that it was said, and we were thankful to those who said it, that they had come among us.

Our Congress, however, is something much greater than these numbers of the members indicate, for apart from the actual congress we had beforehand four other gatherings on Social Questions, to which the entrance was free; and further, we had three great popular meetings. Three or four thousand people we may fairly add to the number of the members entered in the lists, so that we may perhaps reckon that from six to seven thousand people took part in the Congress.

That is a great thing, but the greatest is that in our work together we were of one mind in the whole congress. Of one mind! Above all differences of religious conceptions we were lifted by one fact: **We all wanted religion**, our thoughts all turned to God, and through this one thought we were able to bear the differences of conception, even when we did not approve. That is a great step forward, now made perhaps for the first time, in our religious development — this entirely unpartisan, friendly treatment of opponents. We have in this taken a step which, I hope, will be of lasting significance. We have demonstrated something — I add, we have demonstrated it in Germany — which after all may be for our time the beginning of a new development. I emphasize in **Germany** because here, we have to admit, there is not the same freedom of view as in many other lands. Here especially it was worth while to show that men and women could come together from all parts of the world, impelled by the most earnest, but also the freest religious thought, which they openly proclaimed, and for which they are ready still further to work.

The impression left by this Congress as a whole must be, that we have experienced something we had not experienced before, the like of which some, I might perhaps say many of you, will not experience again. Such a thing does not often come about.

The thoughts that have been given us, we shall carry home. And assuredly much instruction! But I hope also the conviction, that what we have learnt, that which has been made living within us, will compel us to stand up for it, not merely for ourselves personally, but so to stand up for it, that what we have learnt and uttered here may become a reality. Each one in his own place! If we do not do this, — I say it with all respect, Ladies and Gentlemen — then the whole Congress has been nothing worth, for it was not called that we might listen to beautiful words and enjoy interesting entertainment, but that it might have effect upon us and upon our lives, such effect that we may take what we have experienced here and make it a reality in the world.

And this request shall be my last word, that you will suffer the influences we have here experienced to remain in us a living thing. Let us hold together as brothers, let us work together where we can, so that

what has been kindled to life within us here may become reality, not for us alone, but for all to whom we can carry it.

And now let us bid one another farewell; farewell, but, as I hope, to meet again. Not indeed for many of us, for only a few of us, I suppose, will be able to go to Paris. But I think we shall all hold this time in remembrance. We shall all cherish in our memories friendship and brotherly love.

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GENERAL SECRETARY DR. WENDTE.

Mr. President! It has been proposed that in the spirit of these proceedings, and of your closing words, we should all join together in the Lord's Prayer, each in his own tongue.

(The assembly, led by Pastor Dr. Max Fischer, joined together in the Lord's Prayer.)

VII.

RELIGION AND THE SOCIAL
QUESTION

Addresses at Four Preliminary Meetings.

1. RELIGION AND SOCIALISM.

QUELLES EXPÉRIENCES CHRÉTIENNES MÈNENT À L'ACTION SOCIALE? *)

PAR ELIE GOUNELLE,
DIRECTEUR DE LA REVUE DU CHRISTIANISME SOCIAL.

Mesdames et messieurs!

Avant de donner mon humble témoignage de chrétien social, voire de socialiste chrétien sur les expériences religieuses qui mènent à l'action sociale, je désire payer une dette de reconnaissance et exprimer un vœu. La dette d'abord: vis-à-vis de tous les nobles pionniers du Mouvement chrétien social allemand, aussi bien ceux de droite qui marchent sur les traces de Stöcker que ceux de gauche qui poursuivent le sillon lumineux de Naumann: les Traub, les Pfannkuche, les Lieber, les Schneemelcher etc. . . . Nous suivons, en France, vos travaux, les brillants débats de vos congrès sociaux, vos rencontres avec les matérialistes révolutionnaires, avec une vive admiration, et bien que les problèmes se posent tout autrement chez nous, avec un réel profit. Le Christianisme social français a son originalité propre, mais il doit beaucoup aux frères du dehors, principalement à ceux de l'Allemagne, de l'Angleterre et de Etats-Unis. Il nous paraît utile, nécessaire même d'affirmer et de souligner cette parenté spirituelle des chrétiens sociaux du monde entier. — Et voici mon regret: c'est que les chrétiens sociaux et les socialistes chrétiens du monde ne se rencontrent pas, ne savent pas encore se concerter pour profiter les uns des autres et pour intensifier leur action! Nous souffrons de notre isolement. Nous possédons des trésors et le gardons jalousement pour nous-mêmes, en deçà des frontières nationales. N'est-il pas temps que des relations internationales se créent entre chrétiens sociaux et socialistes chrétiens de

*) Allocution prononcée le 6 Août 1910 au Weltkongress du Christianisme libre et progressif, à Berlin.

tout peuple, de toute langue, de toutes dénominations? C'est la question qui a été posée, le 16 Juin dernier, à la **Conférence internationale du Christianisme social**, réunie à **Besançon**, et qui a été résolue favorablement. Nous avons essayé de préparer les bases d'une Entente chrétienne sociale internationale: les deux groupements **Evangelisch-social** et **Kirchlich-Sozial** de l'Allemagne protestante y avaient été invités et n'ont malheureusement pas pu y être représentés: mais la partie n'est que remise, car après avoir discuté et voté une **Déclaration de principes** capable de rallier tous les membres présents, l'Assemblée de Besançon (qui comptait des représentants de toute la Suisse et de toute la France chrétiennes-sociales, de la Belgique, de l'Angleterre, de l'Italie) a résolu d'organiser en 1912, à Bâle si possible, un grand **Congrès constituant du Christianisme social**, où nous fixerons le programme d'action et les bases définitives d'une Fédération universelle, et si j'ose ainsi l'appeler, d'une sorte d'Internationale chrétienne-sociale! Chers et honorés frères d'Allemagne, vous nous aiderez à réaliser ce projet, qui serait bien téméraire si tous ceux que la vision évangélique d'une société nouvelle enthousiasme n'y mettaient pas la main! . . . C'est surtout pour faire cette communication importante à tous les chrétiens libres ici réunis que je suis à ce Congrès . . . Me sera-t-il permis d'ajouter, comme français, qu'un **Weltkongress** ne serait pas un **Weltkongress** si chrétiens allemands et chrétiens français n'y fraternisaient pas dans la foi qui leur est commune et dans l'immense attente du Royaume de Dieu, cette espérance qui se rapproche de nous comme en aucun autre siècle, qui fait palpiter nos cœurs et seule est capable de fondre toutes les haines nationales et internationales, de rapprocher les classes et d'associer dans la justice nos grandes patries — ces sœurs immortelles qui ont pu se quereller jadis, mais que le Christ finira bien par réconcilier définitivement pour le salut et le bonheur du monde et pour la gloire de Dieu.

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Quelles sont les expériences religieuses qui mènent à l'action sociale? Je n'ai que quelques minutes pour dire cela. A peine puis-je poser le problème, dont vous saisissez tous l'importance, et caractériser l'expérience centrale qui peut faire de tout chrétien libre un ouvrier de la rénovation sociale.

I

Le chrétien se sent poussé à l'action sociale par deux sortes d'arguments, auxquels on peut donner une forme expérimentale très frappante: 1^o) pas des raisons d'opportunité, d'intérêt soit ecclésiastique, soit social,

soit personnel; 2^o) par des raisons plus profondes, tirées à la fois de l'histoire du Christianisme et de l'expérience spirituelle bien comprise et bien vivante . . .

On fait le plus souvent valoir les premières, en montrant que le Christianisme s'en va de l'Europe, que les hommes désertent le culte au point que presque partout, le problème de « ceux qui ne vont plus à l'église » devient une question de vie et de mort pour les confessions religieuses; bien plus, on soutient que la civilisation, la haute culture, les conquêtes spirituelles sont menacées par la poussée révolutionnaire et par la barbarie croissante d'une partie de la population, principalement dans les bas-fonds de nos cités. L'avouerai-je? ces arguments dont je ne conteste pas la valeur, bien que souvent employés dans notre littérature chrétienne-sociale, bien qu'étayés par des faits et des statistiques, m'ont toujours paru insuffisants et impuissants, en raison même de leur caractère utilitaire, à déterminer une action sociale durable et décisive.

La peur inspire non l'action, mais la réaction. Leur utilitarisme nous rend un peu suspects ces raisonnements, non seulement parce qu'ils exploitent des mobiles assez inférieurs (la crainte, l'intérêt confessionnel, la conservation à tout prix de la paix sociale), mais surtout parce qu'ils paraissent contenir je ne sais quelle défiance blessante ou quelle calomnie sournoise à l'égard du prolétariat — qu'il ne faut jamais confondre avec les éléments dévoyés des bas-fonds. . . Non, nous n'avons pas le droit de traiter le prolétariat, même révolutionnaire, comme s'il constituait en bloc le péril de demain, comme si c'était lui qui préparait à l'intérieur de nos civilisations une sorte de nouvelle invasion des barbares! Non, la haute culture et la vraie piété ne seraient pas en péril, si le peuple venait à triompher: c'est lui, au contraire, qui sauverait l'Eglise, la Civilisation, la vie spirituelle, de la malédiction du Mammonisme, et qui ensuite, grâce à son robuste bon sens, les aiderait à sortir du formalisme, du dogmatisme, du rationalisme, du cléricalisme et autres sépulcres blanchis! . . .

Le chrétien a besoin, pour agir socialement, pour combattre avec persévérance les maux de la société, d'arguments plus intimes, plus spirituels, de motifs qui se confondent avec les mobiles eux-mêmes de la vie intérieure. Ces motifs existent. Ils se dégagent de l'évolution historique du Christianisme et des expériences les plus certaines et les plus caractéristiques de la vie chrétienne.

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§ 1. Premièrement, les chrétiens sociaux, qui sont en même temps des croyants modernes, vont à l'action au nom d'une sorte de

nécessité historique: *) nous pouvons condenser les raisons historiques qui nous font agir dans ce que nous appellerons « la loi des trois étapes de l'évolution religieuse et du Christianisme. »

Le Christianisme a une histoire et ses formes doivent évoluer, comme toutes les choses vivantes, attendu que « **vivre, c'est s'adapter** ». L'âme du Christianisme, sa puissance interne, est toujours identique à elle-même: mais à travers les siècles et dans ses manifestations extérieures, elle obéit aux lois générales de l'évolution religieuse. Cette évolution des religions historiques, après la grande période créatrice, toute spontanée et intuitive passe (sans qu'il y ait là rien de fatal et de continu) par trois étapes principales: 1^o) **l'étape communautaire ou autoritaire** (la religion s'appuie sur les groupes, la tribu, les pouvoirs publics); la religion est alors **affaire sociale**, mais sociale d'une manière instinctive et encore grossière; le principe d'autorité s'incarne dans un pouvoir central et dans une hiérarchie: le catholicisme romain et certaines fractions du protestantisme représentent encore cette première étape du Christianisme; 2e) **l'étape individualiste ou libérale**, qui est celle de la décentralisation; la religion est alors surtout affaire personnelle, privée; le principe de liberté et d'examen triomphe dans l'individu et par lui dans la société: il amène peu à peu et logiquement le principe d'égalité, donc la répudiation des privilèges de caste, de sang, de rang, etc.; le protestantisme libéré des autorités extérieures, c'est le christianisme à cette deuxième étape; — 3^o) enfin, **l'étape solidariste ou socialiste**, à la fois libérale et sociale, mais cette fois au sens supérieur de ces mots qui ne s'opposent plus dans une synthèse consciente et voulue de tous. C'est par une crise longue et douloureuse, dont les réformations et les révolutions historiques ne donnent qu'une faible idée, que les chrétiens et les églises réaliseront bon gré mal gré ce troisième stade. La religion tend à être à la fois affaire individuelle et affaire sociale, et s'incarne dans la personne du Christ Vivant et dans l'idée du Royaume de Dieu. Le Christianisme social, c'est le Christianisme à cette troisième étape.

Après un Christianisme essentiellement ecclésiastique (et par conséquent dogmatique) dont le principe directeur était et est encore l'autorité souveraine de l'Eglise incarnée dans la tradition et la papauté, — après un Christianisme essentiellement individualiste ou particulariste, dont les principes fondamentaux étaient et sont encore l'autorité souveraine des Saintes Ecritures et la justification par la foi (principe formel et principe matériel de la Réforme) — il semble que le Christianisme entre peu à peu, dans tous les pays de haute culture, dans une

*) Cf. pour le développement de ces idées notre Travail: « Pourquoi sommes-nous chrétiens sociaux? » (Foyer solidariste, St. Blaise.)

phase toute nouvelle, synthétique et vivante, où pourront se concilier les vieux principes antithétiques de la liberté et de la solidarité, de l'individu et de la société, de la foi personnelle et de l'action sociale, dans l'idée directrice du Royaume de Dieu. C'est le christianisme de cette dernière phase, fortement enraciné dans le passé prophétique et apostolique, et plein de promesses radieuses pour l'avenir, que nous appelons provisoirement et faute de meilleures qualifications, **solidariste, messianiste, social.**

Nous sommes entraînés, ou le voit, par un immense mouvement de réforme qui se manifeste, surtout depuis un demi-siècle, presque en même temps, sans entente préalable, comme tous les grands mouvements rénovateurs, dans tous les pays de civilisation chrétienne.

2. — Nous devons aller à l'action sociale, en second lieu, par une sorte de **nécessité psychologique**, et pour des raisons d'ordre spirituel : à cause même de nos expériences religieuses les plus positives, les plus personnelles, celles de la conversion, de la communion avec Christ, et de la sanctification. Seulement, il y a une manière de les comprendre qui ne mène qu'à la contemplation mystique de Dieu ou aux seules pratiques du culte ; et il y a une manière, — à la fois la plus moderne et la plus antique de les interpréter et de les vivre qui mène directement, infailliblement, à l'Action sociale. Permettez-moi de dire que si bien des croyants libres — dont je suis — participent joyeusement à ce Congrès mondial, où on leur a fait l'honneur de les inviter, ce n'est pas **quoique**, mais **parce qu'ils** sont chrétiens évangéliques et positifs. Et de même si nous sommes à la fois croyants libres et socialistes chrétiens, ce n'est pas seulement parce que la culture moderne nous y amène, ou parce que l'intérêt bien entendu de la chrétienté nous le suggère, mais c'est avant tout parce que l'Évangile, compris dans et par une piété vivante, l'exige impérieusement de nous tous, au siècle de la question sociale. La foi d'autorité s'écroule partout, et il est de plus en plus évident que la société ne peut devenir chrétienne que par la voie des expériences libres ; de même, l'Église ne peut plus être sauvée et redevenir le grand fait social, comme à l'aube des civilisations, que quand elle reposera sur le plein épanouissement de la personnalité et de la solidarité, c'est-à-dire sur l'amour et la liberté.

* * *

Si nous nous élevons au-dessus de toutes les déterminations particulières, extérieures, contingentes du fait chrétien, au-dessus des cadres ecclésiastiques, dogmatiques, historiques même, qui le conditionnent pratiquement, mais qui ne font pas partie de son essence, et si nous

recherchons ce qui constitue le chrétien, — d'après Jésus et d'après l'expérience religieuse universellement contrôlée et contrôlable, nous découvrons ceci : c'est que la conversion résume et contient, à elle seule, tout l'Évangile. Il faut naître de nouveau pour entrer dans le Royaume de Dieu : voilà tout le christianisme authentique. Jésus n'a jamais demandé que cela — non des croyances correctes, non des œuvres méritoires, non des cérémonies ecclésiastiques, — mais cela, c'est-à-dire la foi, la repentance, l'humilité d'un cœur pur, la recherche loyale du Royaume de Dieu et de la justice de Dieu.

« Conversion, régénération, voilà le cœur de l'Évangile, a écrit Charles Secrétan, que la théologie systématique a singulièrement perdu de vue. Le monde, lui, ne s'y trompe pas, c'est pourquoi l'Évangile est l'objet de sa haine. Le christianisme ne consiste pas non plus en doctrines . . . Ce que le christianisme exige, ce qui en fait l'essence, c'est un changement radical de direction, d'orientation et de mobiles, une véritable conversion, notre langue ne possède aucun mot plus précis ni mieux frappé que ce mot-là. » *)

Dans son beau livre, « Esquisse d'une Philosophie de la religion, » notre grand théologien Auguste Sabatier, cherchant le critère au nom duquel doit se faire la critique des dogmes, dit que ce critère ne peut être que le principe même du Christianisme, antérieur aux dogmes eux-mêmes. Et ce principe, quel est-il ? Ce n'est certes pas une doctrine théorique. . . . « C'est une expérience religieuse, l'expérience qui s'est faite un jour dans la conscience du Christ, et, depuis lors, n'a pas cessé de se répéter dans celle de ses disciples. C'est l'Évangile du salut par la foi du cœur, la révélation d'un rapport normal, d'un rapport nouveau, du rapport filial créé et réalisé entre l'homme pécheur et perdu et le Père qui l'appelle et qui lui pardonne. Tel est le germe initial d'où tout le développement chrétien est sorti. » **)

En des termes différents, nos deux plus grands penseurs chrétiens de langue française, l'un en moraliste, l'autre en théologien, ont exprimé la même pensée : à savoir que ce qui fait l'essence du christianisme, ce qui en est le principe vivant, organique, c'est l'expérience de la conversion, c'est l'Évangile du salut.***)

Telle est bien la grande exigence chrétienne. Et je conclus cette première partie en disant avec Carlyle que la réforme de l'être intérieur est aussi la grande exigence moderne et qu'il faut l'opposer au principe

*) *Ch. Secrétan. Civilisation et croyance, p. 370 et s.*

**) *A. Sabatier. Esquisse, p. 345.*

***) Des déclarations analogues fourmillent chez les moralistes chrétiens et chez les théologiens du monde entier : nous avons pris chez nous, dans nos pays de langue française, deux témoignages-types.

régnant de l'Economie politique. «Si tu insistes en demandant: que faut-il faire? laisse-moi te répondre: pour le présent à peu près rien Il faut descendre dans le fond de ton être et voir s'il y reste encore quelque vestige d'une âme. Alors nous discernons non pas une seule chose à faire, mais, d'une façon plus ou moins claire ou trouble, toute une légion innombrable de choses qui peuvent être faites. Fais d'abord la première.»*)

Cherchons premièrement l'expérience religieuse centrale et normative, et l'action sociale arrivera par surcroît.

II

Croyez-vous à la conversion, à la naissance de l'homme à la vie de l'Esprit? **Et comment y croyez-vous?** Dites-moi comment vous vous convertissez au Père céleste et je vous dirai quel Homme social vous êtes et quelle action sociale vous faites.

Les formes historiques de la conversion ont pu suivre les stades de l'évolution religieuse, comme toutes les autres expériences. Mais sous la diversité de ses manifestations historiques, la conversion est restée toujours identique à elle-même en son fond intime, à son point de naissance qui est la grâce souveraine de Dieu, en ses conditions essentielles qui sont la repentance et la foi, en sa nature caractéristique qui s'est toujours exprimée dans des termes de mouvement: conversion, orientation nouvelle, régénération, révolution intérieure, passage des ténèbres à la lumière, résurrection d'entre les morts etc.

Rien en apparence de plus strictement individuel que ce fait, subjectif au suprême degré, de la conversion: et l'individualisme croit trouver sa forteresse inexpugnable dans cette expérience des expériences: Dieu saisissant l'âme et la transformant par un des innombrables moyens de réveil dont il dispose et que l'histoire des variétés de l'expérience religieuse n'épuise jamais; Dieu s'installant au centre même de la personnalité, en ce point mystérieux de l'être qui est l'élément original, volontaire, irréductible, unique au monde, et que précisément à cause de cela, on appelle **la personne!** Y a-t-il place pour des considérations sociales dans l'étude d'un phénomène aussi parfaitement individualiste? Le grand Vinet a mis en relief ce caractère individualiste de la conversion dans une page célèbre: «L'Évangile s'adresse aux individus. Ce n'est pas à un homme abstrait, négatif, neutralisé par les idées de tous qu'il jette sa parole; c'est à vous, c'est à moi, c'est à lui, c'est à chacun, tel que la nature le fait et le donne. C'est à chaque homme,

*) Past and Present, Intr. ch. VIII.

immédiatement, que Dieu dit dans l'Évangile: « Venez, et débattons nos droits! » Chaque homme est pris à partie dans ce qu'il a de propre et d'exclusif; **aucun être collectif ne s'interpose** entre lui et Dieu; aucune idée nationale ou séculaire ne répond en son nom au divin interrogatoire; c'est de lui-même et de lui seul qu'il est question, **comme s'il était seul au monde**, comme s'il était toute l'humanité . . .*) Oui, Vinet a été jusque là! Et nous aussi, songeant à toutes les autorités extérieures, à tous les obstacles à la profession personnelle de la foi libre que les Eglises, les Etats, les clergés, les routines, ont amassés entre Dieu et la conscience humaine, nous aussi nous allons jusque là! Nous sommes subjugués par cette éloquence de Vinet qui remet sur le trône l'individualité proscrite et qui écarte toute autorité, toute influence extérieure, tout indiscret intermédiaire pour placer l'âme libre et majeure en face d'un Dieu sauveur. Allons jusque là, pour que l'adhésion personnelle à l'Évangile soit libre, soit une adhérence parfaite d'âme à âme, un contact de personne à personne, l'union vivante d'une conscience vivante avec le Dieu vivant! Mais cela dit, tout n'est pas dit. L'individualisme est la moitié de la vérité: le socialisme ou le solidarisme est l'autre moitié. L'individu n'est pas un tout. Il ne se suffit pas. Il s'en faut de beaucoup qu'il puisse traiter avec Dieu comme s'il était seul au monde! Les paradoxes de la raison sont les grandes vérités de la vie. Rien n'est plus individuel et rien n'est plus social que l'expérience religieuse qui transforme une âme, et qui est le véritable point-limite où un monde finit et où un monde commence! Notre âme moderne, saturée de solidarisme, est apte à comprendre, aussi bien ou même mieux que les prophètes hébreux d'il y a 25 à 30 siècles, la conversion sociale dont les conversions individuelles sont les conditions et les symboles. Dans le moi le plus individuel, en outre, nous faisons la découverte d'un moi social, d'hérités, de tendances, d'influences du milieu, de la race, de l'éducation etc. Le moi est légion jusque dans son subconscient, et toute la société s'y reflète, bonne ou mauvaise, pour s'y perdre ou pour s'y régénérer!

L'homme moderne qui se réveille, qui se repent, qui croit, ne sépare plus, ne peut plus séparer dans ces actes religieux, — l'individuel du social, le social de l'individuel. La grâce divine, pour l'individualiste traditionnel, émergeait du fonds obscur des consciences pour jaillir en repentirs personnels, en croyances personnelles, en actes personnels, exclusivement. Et ce n'était qu'ensuite, presque incidemment, longtemps après les effusions individualistes, que les œuvres religieuses, philanthropiques ou autres, suivaient. Nous rejetons cet individualisme

*) Vinet. Mélanges, p. 100.

exclusif, qui n'a rien de commun avec celui de Vinet. A l'école de la solidarité, le bon individualisme s'élargit, s'approfondit, se régénère sans cesse. Dès sa source, des son jaillissement du gouffre de la subconscience, l'expérience religieuse nous apparaît sociale autant qu'individuelle: au moment même, moment à jamais sacré, où elle affleure à la surface divinement ensoleillée de la conscience, si le nouveau converti savait voir, savait observer, il constaterait que dans son humblé personnalité, c'est la société tout entière que Dieu appelle à la vie, comme si l'humanité était toute là, présente, comme si elle se condensait, en ce drame rédempteur, dans un pauvre pécheur qui se repent! Nous ne contredisons pas, nous complétons, nous élargissons la pensée de Vinet.

* * *

La relation de l'âme à Dieu, c'est déjà un fait social, le fait social le plus nécessaire, le plus riche en obligations et en conséquences de toutes sortes. Les facteurs en présence sont: un Père qui se révèle Père de tous et qui, d'ailleurs, n'a pu être introduit dans l'histoire et manifesté à l'âme humaine, en sa souveraineté juste et bonne, que par un tiers, Jésus-Christ; et d'autre part, une âme d'homme, pécheresse, solidaire de toute sa race au point qu'elle ne peut rien décider, rien faire — même quand elle se croit seule au monde, sans que l'humanité soit plus ou moins modifiée.

* * *

La relation de l'âme à Christ, qui exprime — depuis l'Eglise primitive jusqu'à nos jours, — la piété la plus intime, la vie intérieure la plus cachée, celle qui se définit dans les épîtres de Paul en termes tendres, profonds et mystiques (« vie en Christ », crucifiés avec Christ », « ressuscités avec lui » etc.) est aussi un fait social de la plus haute importance. Communier avec un Christ qui s'est identifié avec les pauvres, les prisonniers, les affamés, les moindres de la famille humaine, c'est ne plus pouvoir séparer la question du salut personnel de la question sociale. Par exemple, c'est traiter le prolétariat, comme on traiterait Jésus en personne (Ce que vous avez fait au moindre de ces frères, c'est à moi, que vous l'avez fait!) — C'est avoir pitié de ce peuple dont Christ dit: Il est moi-même! C'est aller vers lui, comme Christ, au nom de la pitié, au nom du droit, pour qu'il ne soit pas seul à lutter pour la justice sociale, pour le repos normal, pour le salaire minimum, pour le pain quotidien, pour la liberté! C'est le comprendre, c'est l'excuser en tous cas quand il exprime en termes farouches et sauvages l'abandon lâche dans lequel les classes favorisées et les églises bourgeoises l'ont laissé: s'il parle tant

aujourd'hui de « conscience de classe », de « lutte de classes », « d'Etat de classe », à qui la faute? Qu'y a-t-il dans ce brutal langage sinon la constatation douloureuse du fait qu'il se sent, à tort ou à raison, seul pour souffrir, seul pour vivre, pour lutter, pour mourir! Or, tous les éducateurs ayant quelque expérience le savent bien, ce sont les enfants les plus fiers, les plus vaillants qui veulent faire leurs propres affaires et qui savent, dans l'adversité, être les seuls artisans de leur destinée. Le prolétariat ne se conduit pas autrement, quand il parle de lutte nécessaire de classes et quand, après des siècles d'oppression et d'attente, il déclare que le salut du prolétariat sera l'œuvre du prolétariat lui-même. Faut-il croire à cette prophétie sous cette forme exclusive? L'avenir le dira: si, avec le socialisme, nous pensons qu'il n'est pas d'exemple historique qu'une classe se soit dépouillée pour une autre, avec le savant économiste Ch. Gide, nous pensons aussi qu'il n'est pas davantage d'exemple historique qu'une classe opprimée ou trop inférieure se soit émancipée toute seule, sans le concours de dirigeants intellectuels ou spirituels, de meneurs, de Moïses élevés supérieurement, et capables d'organiser la grève et l'exode de tout un peuple. . . .

Convertissons-nous au peuple par le même acte qui nous convertit à Dieu. Communions, malgré les énormes difficultés, avec le prolétariat, au nom du Christ et comme s'il était Christ lui-même, sachant qu'une seconde de réflexion peut ramener le fils prodigue, voire même révolutionnaire, dans la maison du Père! Comprendons que toutes les possibilités d'action sociale et de rénovation économique, sont impliquées, dans la minute éternelle où notre âme rencontre son Sauveur! Foi implique action. La piété vraie, c'est de l'action sociale en puissance. En dehors de l'action sociale entendue de la manière la plus étendue, il n'y a pas de « religion pure et sans tâche », il n'y a pas, il ne peut pas y avoir une relation normale de l'âme à Dieu, ni une relation légitimement et historiquement évangélique de l'âme à Christ, ni par conséquent de conversion et de sanctification authentiques et valables.

On peut distinguer trois moments successifs (dont la piété normale ferait des actes **simultanés**) dans toute conversion complète: le moment où l'homme devient **membre de Christ, chrétien** au sens vivant et organique; le moment où il se reconnaît **membre du Corps de Christ** (expression de l'apôtre Paul) c'est-à-dire de l'organisme à la fois spirituel et social constitué par tous les vrais chrétiens, et dont les églises ne sont que d'imparfaites ébauches; et enfin le moment où il se reconnaît **membre solidaire et responsable de toute l'humanité**. On l'est, membre solidaire, qu'on le reconnaisse ou non: mais dès que, sous la haute inspiration du Christ Vivant (cette solidarité faite chair et faite Esprit) on prend conscience, non pas théoriquement, mais en fait, de cette solidarité,

il se passe quelque chose de nouveau et de divin qu'on peut appeler **la conversion sociale de l'individu** ou la **régénération sociale de l'âme chrétienne!** Quand le Soleil donne à la cime l'ineffable baiser du matin, la terre entière se réveille, frémit et s'éclaire: et quand la gloire de Dieu touche pour la première fois une âme l'humanité tout entière participe mystérieusement à cette aurore et sent passer en elle, parfois malgré elle, comme un frisson d'amour.

* * *

Le Christianisme ainsi compris et vécu redeviendrait bien vite une puissance irrésistible qui rénoverait progressivement et profondément tout, les âmes, les églises, la société entière, par le moyen de ces deux forces: l'Esprit du Christ, le Royaume de Dieu.

Ce Christianisme social est du reste déjà en train, dans le monde entier, de créer ce que notre ami, M. le professeur Rauschenbusch (que nous sommes si heureux de rencontrer à ce Congrès) a appelé « **un nouveau type de chrétien.** » Ce type nouveau du chrétien, cet homme social, dont nous saluons avec émotion l'apparition, c'est l'homme dont l'individualité est convertie, par le même acte d'Amour infini, au Père céleste et aux frères; c'est l'homme qui ne peut plus et ne veut plus jamais séparer son salut personnel du salut de l'ensemble et qui réinterprète du point de vue solidariste, ou pour mieux dire, à la lumière du Royaume de Dieu, toutes les expériences religieuses sans exception: grâce, repentance, foi, sanctification, évangélisation, — leur découvrant ainsi une saveur nouvelle, une beauté enthousiasmante, une portée sociale illimitée; c'est l'homme dont toutes les facultés, dont toutes les énergies physiques, intellectuelles, spirituelles, peuvent librement, après les humiliations et les renoncements nécessaires, s'épanouir et s'employer pour l'humanité souffrante et pécheresse; c'est enfin et pour tout dire l'homme qui, sous l'inspiration du Christ vivant, prend conscience de sa vocation, de ses dons, de ses devoirs, de sa capacité de sacrifice, et consacre joyeusement au service de Dieu et au service des hommes, tout ce qu'il a et tout ce qu'il est.

Etre chrétien de cette manière, et y arriver par la seule voie qui rend fort, par la voie de la liberté, c'est être à la fois une **force spirituelle** et une **force économique**, à l'instar de Jésus de Nazareth qui est devenu, à tous les points de vue, le Sauveur du monde. Etre cela, autant que possible, avec une intelligence toujours plus claire des milieux modernes, voilà le devoir social de chaque chrétien. Et former des chrétiens de ce type nouveau, en grand nombre, voilà la tâche la plus urgente de nos églises!

Il s'agit aujourd'hui de tirer des profondeurs de la conscience chrétienne non-seulement l'inspiration d'une vie sainte, mais le secret d'une société sainte; et plus encore que l'assurance d'un salut personnel, l'espérance d'un salut social. — J'espère qu'on nous comprend: nous ne demandons pas à l'enseignement littéral de l'Évangile, ni même à l'exemple historique de Jésus, si émouvant, si parfait qu'il ait été au premier siècle, des solutions techniques et toutes faites de la question sociale telle qu'elle se pose au XXe siècle. Les solutions de détails varient avec les données des problèmes, à chaque moment et dans chaque peuple, — et dépendent de facteurs infiniment complexes (la science, l'avènement de la démocratie, le progrès de la technique, la division du travail, la législation etc.) Nous obéissons librement non à la lettre de l'Évangile, mais à son esprit, ou mieux encore à l'Esprit du Christ, tel qu'il est historiquement caractérisé et si j'ose dire identifié par l'ensemble des relations scripturaires, et tel qu'il est psychologiquement déterminé par l'expérience religieuse des chrétiens de tous les siècles. Ce que nous pouvons obtenir de cet Esprit du Christ, c'est l'inspiration générale, c'est l'orientation sûre vers la justice et la sainteté, ce sont les directions morales qui aboutissent, c'est aussi l'énergie rénovatrice et c'est surtout cette puissance du sacrifice qui nous permettra, quand nous aimerons assez et quand nous le voudrons bien, de **faire Christ roi dans la société** comme dans nos âmes.

Ce que nous voulons, et je crois exprimer ici le programme de tous les mouvements chrétiens sociaux du monde entier (américain, anglais, allemand, suisse, français, etc.) c'est **la rénovation sociale par l'inspiration chrétienne**. Et si nous avons à exprimer d'une manière un peu précise les exigences de cette inspiration chrétienne et en quelque sorte le secret d'un monde nouveau, nous en emprunterions la formule admirable à Josiah Strong, l'un des leaders du Christianisme social américain: « le service inspiré par l'amour et donnant toute sa mesure dans le sacrifice. »

THE SOCIAL AWAKENING IN THE CHURCHES OF AMERICA

BY PROFESSOR RAUSCHENBUSCH, D. D., ROCHESTER, NEW YORK.*

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The best and most important thing that I can tell you about America is that at the present time there is a great social awakening throughout the Churches of that country. The people in religious circles are taking hold of social questions in an altogether new and splendid way and are thus widening the whole horizon of their religious thinking. This fact is of the highest significance for the future of the social movement in America, and marks at the same time a new epoch in the development of religious life and thought.

This awakening has come quite suddenly. It is only during the last five years that it has attained to national proportions. Until recently ours was a land devoted to agriculture, whereas the modern social question becomes an actuality only under capitalistic conditions. Hitherto we could say with Tell: "Inoffensive and in peace I lived, my arrows aimed only at the wild creatures of the woods." Now we have rapidly become an industrial people. The unsettled land, which formerly served as a safety-valve for the working classes, is now for the most part occupied. Great masses of emigrants from the southern countries of Europe, used to lower wages and a lower standard of living, are crowded together in the great towns. The concentration of capital advances more rapidly with us than elsewhere. Land, mines, the means of communication, ready money, all are in the hands of fewer and ever fewer men, who have it in their power at any time to tie up the great arteries of the social body. Like a huge living Laocoon our people is struggling in the meshes of the great capitalists. And this has all come about in the course of a few years; and not with a slavish people, accustomed for centuries to servitude, but with a people strong, intelligent and inspired by an ardent love of freedom.

*) It should be noted that Professor Rauschenbusch has not had an opportunity of revising this translation of his address, which was given in German.

Against this state of things the social movement in America is directed, with ever increasing force. The new social interest in the churches is simply the co-operation of religious circles in this national movement. The important thing is that the churches are actually moving and taking their part in this great revolution.

You know how conservative on the whole the Church has been. The spirit of Christ is the most untiring force of progress in human history. The Christian Church, on the other hand, is the most conservative of all human forces. In the older countries the national Churches have opposed a constant resistance to the movements of the people towards emancipation, although the people were in the right. The democratic movement, which, since the French Revolution, has penetrated the civilised nations of the West, and no less the later Socialistic movement of the industrial worker in all the countries of Europe, has had to make its way against the resistance of the Churches. If then, in this cause, at the very beginning of our social movement, the American churches are placing their great moral forces at the disposal of the people, and are not opponents but allies of the new endeavour, we have here something new in history, of the greatest significance for the future.

When in the last quarter of the eighteenth century the American Colonies broke away from England and in accordance with the spirit of freedom then dominant constituted themselves as a Republic, the American Churches, with quite insignificant exceptions, were enthusiastically on the side of the revolution; and it was so easily accomplished, and without reaction, just because that organised moral force stood at the back of the statesmen. In Central and South America, on the other hand, that same movement of emancipation came into collision with the mighty institution of the Catholic Church, which on principle and from a thousand selfish interests set itself against the revolution. Consequently, the Spanish-American peoples have had to work for nearly a century at the creation of free institutions for themselves, which in North America were so easily attained. But now, if in the new social revolution, which has just begun, the Churches again stand on the side of the people and of freedom, we may hope that once more America will accomplish the transition to the new time more quickly and more easily than was possible in lands where the Church is a reactionary force.

Let me recount to you certain facts, which testify to the social awakening of the Churches. In the year 1892, one of the most noted labour leaders in America, Terence V. Powderly, said that he could count on the fingers of one hand the preachers who were genuinely friends of labour. Mr. W. D. P. Bliss, editor of the Christian-social paper, "The Dawn", thereupon counted up for him 123 names of such

preachers. I consider it one of my chief titles to honour, that I was then already among the number of those chosen ones. But even Bliss, who had the most extensive personal knowledge, could at that time only total a few more than a hundred names. Today one may say that almost all the really leading spirits, especially among the younger pastors, have a living interest in social questions. Not a few of the younger men are turning away from the traditional work of the ministry, because it does not offer them enough opportunity for social work. Ministers' Conferences are often engaged, sometimes in a systematic manner, on social questions. In more than a hundred towns those Conferences have exchanged delegates with the central organisation of the trades-unions.

In the separate congregations the men's unions and adult classes like best to take up social questions from the moral and religious point of view. Dr. Josiah Strong has been editing for the last year and a half a monthly magazine "The Gospel of the Kingdom", which furnishes material for such instruction in a consecutive form. Even in the first year an edition of 6000 was issued, and was used as material for instruction at about 500 centres. There is a great demand for Christian-social addresses, often from quite unexpected quarters. I have, for instance, already given a course of social lectures at a Methodist "Camp meeting". But what interests me most is the complete change of attitude in the hearers. Formerly one was often conscious of a cold breath of mistrust. Now almost everywhere one is carried along by the enthusiastic interest of one's hearers.

This new social interest has not remained the affair of individuals or of the local congregations, but for the past five years the great Churches in their national organizations have on occasion been occupied with it, have passed resolutions in a sense friendly towards labour, and in some cases have appointed standing Committees, to further the co-operation of the Church in the solution of current questions. In 1908, the Methodist bishops, perhaps the most capable body of Church leaders in America, addressed an earnest exhortation to their Church, and a kind of social confession of faith was adopted. In the same year, at the meeting of the General assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Kansas city, a popular meeting was held on the subject of labour, attended by 12 000 people, the greatest gathering in the history of that most important body. In the late autumn of 1908, the "Federal Council of Churches" met for the first time in Philadelphia, as a first step towards the federation of all Protestant Churches. 33 Protestant bodies were represented. And there also earnest resolutions on social questions were passed, and no other subject was taken up with so much enthusiasm.

A few years ago, the Congregationalists, the "United Brethren" and the "Methodist Protestants" took preliminary steps towards a union of their Churches. To that end a short Confession of Faith in five articles was adopted. Of those five, one was concerned exclusively with the social duty of the Church. Imagine a fifth part of the Augsburg or the Tridentine Confession of Faith dealing with the social convictions of the Church! Twenty years ago, so far as I am aware, Andover was the only theological College which had lectures on social ethics. Now there are few theological faculties of the first rank, that would not be found to have a special professorship for the treatment of social questions from the Christian point of view.

I have cited these facts to you as signs of the constantly increasing force of the social movement within the Church. It is still naturally all like the must of new wine, turbid and in a ferment. On the whole one may say that an idealistic Socialism is taking shape. In any case, the movement is away from the formerly dominant Manchester School of Economics. There is a greater leaning towards State interference for the protection of the worker, and altogether a readiness to extend the functions of the State.

To many people Socialism has already become a clear and ruling ideal, which coalesces, without any great conflict, with their Christianity. Here in Germany, as I see quite well, the monarchical principle and the habituation to a firmly established grading of society have kept many away from social democracy. For us these two grounds of objection do not exist. The democratic attitude is part of our political orthodoxy, and you will hardly find anyone, who would dare openly to maintain a doctrine of rigid class distinctions. With us it is chiefly the anti-religious attitude, which is the constant reproach directed against social democracy, and which frightens away the Christian masses. The policy of opposition to Church and religion, which Social democracy has imported from European countries, is in America one of the great obstacles to its free progress.

I am far from thinking that the Church is already completely won over to the social idea, or that it can take its stand completely and without opposition on the side of the people. There will still be strong reactions. But that we are in the midst of a great, enduring and epoch-making religious movement, is to me unquestionable. How it was possible for the American Churches so quickly and so joyfully to fall into step with the present social advance of the people, I cannot here explain. The whole historical past and peculiarity of our Church life has been a potent influence, and this would offer a highly interesting subject for historical investigation.

In the past, the American Church has taken various social questions in hand, and has in large part solved them, or at any rate has given powerful assistance. Slavery was abolished, before it had outlived its economic use; lotteries, which in European countries are still state institutions, and a charming source of public income, are with us so strictly forbidden by law, that no one, under penalty of imprisonment, may use the post for the sending of lottery tickets or advertisements. The woman question we have so far solved, that woman stands as equal by the side of man. That is one of our most important and far-reaching social achievements! The movement against alcohol is with us sixty years in advance of that on the continent of Europe. Everyone acquainted with American life will admit that these social movements were maintained and carried through chiefly by the forces of the Church, and if on such points we are in advance, that is due to the peculiar character of our religious and church life.

If now, in the new social movement, the American churches throw even a part of their mighty moral forces into the scale, it will be, as I have said, of the utmost significance for the future of the land. All reactionary forces would thereby be weakened and deprived of their moral self-confidence. On the other hand the new creative forces would be immeasurably strengthened through the liberated moral and religious inspiration and the bringing in of idealistic spirits. The growth of the new life would be simpler in its process, more gradual, and freer from revolutionary catastrophe. We might hope that the dreadful cleavage between the Church and labour, between religion and the demand for freedom, would not take place in America as in Europe, and that the movement towards Socialism, which must be recognised as historically inevitable, might be not a class movement, but a movement of the people.

Simply and without pains, I repeat, the movement will not be accomplished. With us the most brutal self-seeking and the loftiest moral devotion are found side by side. But the social awakening in the churches of America during the last five years is something so wonderful, so far surpassing all my boldest hopes, that I dare to cherish these hopes. Follow, I beg you, the steps of progress in America with love and with attention. We have still an immense amount to learn from Germany; but the Christian-Social spirit now flaming up over there, will, I believe, kindle a fire from which the Christian-Social movement in Germany also may be able to kindle its torch anew.

OUR PRESENT SOCIAL DUTY.

By PFARRER GOTTFRIED TRAUB, DORTMUND.

My task at the close of this evening is not an easy one. One expects from the closing address something comprehensive and decisive.

But just because my inmost feelings always drive me back to the social question, I know that the emphasising of its difficulties is for my feelings no mere figure of speech.

When I chose as a theme "Our present Social Duty" I had the idea of giving an answer to the question which is lurking in all hearts: "What are we to do?". We who are met together here differ greatly in views and temperament, but one thing unites us. We are all here for the sake of religion; this point of departure is common to all. The difficult question is: Is there, or is there not a way, direct or indirect, from religion to the discussion of the social question? If there is such a way in religious conviction, how can we learn to distinguish it clearly and to tread it. To assist in the answering of this question I request your attention.

When occupying ourselves with the social question we must avoid any idea of making it a substitute for our religious work. It might sometimes appear as if the power of religious conviction had become so weak, that one must look around for other means to cover or hide this want. If we come in this way to the discussion of the social question, then both are lost — the religion that requires crutches because it has become lame, and the social question which does not touch our hearts of itself and for its own sake, and therefore suffers the more.

Further, as religious men we must avoid doing anything in the social question for the sake of a by-end. He who would work socially in order thereby to strengthen his congregation, his society, or his party is widely separated from the social work itself. This latter must be done either for its own sake or not at all. It is just the number of these so-called helpers which offends the earnest man. Very many of them have no desire to help really, but desire through their help to acquire a private advantage for some particular sect or party. Such help has its reward.

We must also avoid the opinion that because one is a good Christian, or is convinced of one's religion, one is sufficiently qualified to give advice and meddle in social matters. The complete social economic conditions of a people are so extensive, and present such a delicate web, that one dare not give an opinion as to this or that question of social economic life until after the most careful study of the matter. Purely sentimental considerations may damage rather than help the cause. No reform is of any value unless it is founded in the matter itself.

And furthermore, and not least important, we theologians by profession must avoid the opinion that the social economic activity of a merchant, contractor, or banker is in itself more morally dangerous than other professions. It is a mistake to suppose that the life of a merchant implies a severer moral conflict for a tender conscience, than that of the peasant, the clergyman, or the judge. The hypocrisy which the clerical profession entails; the injustice which the official judge must commit for the sake of the law, are not one jot easier to justify than an unjust rise in the price of goods. I do not know which is graver, a risky speculation on the stock exchange, or the empty pathos of a funeral sermon. Perhaps the result will be even worse for the life of the people if the sense of truth is set aside by bare tradition, or decided by injurious prescriptions than when a trust puts too high a price on a ton of coals. Not indeed that one sin may be covered with another! I simply mean, that it is often forgotten, how every actual calling, and every social office, carries with it its own definite dangers for moral conduct, and the conflicts of conscience depend not on the material on which one works, but on the sensitiveness of the conscience with which one works.

Finally we must not remain silent in this assembly of earnest men, as to the fact that each of us finds in his domestic circle and his work many inducements to social activity, and these are not the less important because they seem so small. There is always an incongruity which invariably revenges itself, when social activity ventures into strange territory to order and to arrange, but is found wanting in its own domain. I do not think merely of the servants, the choice of a profession for the children, but also of the arrangement of money matters in private households. Here, it is true, we observe how the individual, whether he will or not, is enmeshed in a wide net of almost incalculable relations, and how apparently all personal judgment as to these questions is taken out of his hands. And just for this reason the religious man feels the discovery of discord so painful.

Is there then a way which leads from religion to the social question? — I speak of the Christian religion. Many refer to the history of Christianity

and establish their position on proofs from the Gospel and Apostolic Epistles. Now it may certainly lead to an individual decision if we learn what the original congregation of Jerusalem did, or how the Apostle Paul thought about matrimony and profession, what position Luther took in the peasant war, and how Wilberforce acted in the question of the freeing of the slaves. But at once in all these references we realise our dependence on historical knowledge. The directness of the decision is and remains burdened with the disagreeable question: "Supposing it was not so?" Certainly this question is asked more frequently by the layman than by the man of science, who has examined the sources of history and can judge fairly. But for that reason one cannot expect the layman to make the basis of his own actions dependent on the truth of historical writings. And further, from many addresses to laymen I have gained the experience that they listen with entire attention when a hero of history or a period of historical development is clearly and vividly pictured before their eyes, but that they mostly go home dissatisfied if they learn nothing about the questions of to-day and to-morrow, of practical action and the necessary sentiments for to-day. Their instinct thus arrives at something certain. We often run the danger of hiding ourselves behind history with its strength and its weakness, and employ all our skill to make it speak for us, but afterwards find we have lost power when we wish to begin forming our own lives. Therefore in my opinion the historic way is of less use than one often thinks it to be.

I feel, for instance, thoroughly convinced that according to historical proofs the "kingdom of Heaven", as it had been seen and expected by Jesus, bore essentially the features of a communion of social justice and social peace; not, I must agree, in the form of a civilised community produced by men's labour, but as a gift of God. It is for this reason that, with our present moral feeling, it loses worth. For, since Kant and Carlyle, we are too strongly imbued with the idea of work, to be able to banish it from our moral thinking. Let us take the type of the early community of Jerusalem. Supposing form and contents to be completely certain, nevertheless it would not have an immediate effect on our present-day economic conduct. I hate all intellectual dishonesty which, for certain religious advantages, moves history nearer to our time than the facts will warrant. Even the glow of feeling, by which Jesus healed and gave health to bodies and souls alike, can be imparted to us only indirectly. It is true, the holy passion to help, to do good to everyone, without distinction of nation or rank, to transform religious worship into service and pity for one's neighbour, will not, and must not die out so long as any one shall call himself a Christian.

It remains the title of honour for Christian conduct in all times. But the direction of this help, and, with this, its character will change. In one word, I should like to say: the sentiment of miserableness, which we find in early Christianity, will and must change. For, otherwise Christian faith would only have something real to say either to those circles which now rise as the fifth estate behind the fourth, or to those which will do so as the sixth some decades hence. It would only come and belong to those who are the victims of their own or an inherited fate. And though here a constant proof of the strength of Christian helping love will still be necessary for a long time, Christianity means to be valid for all times, consequently also for those times when it need no longer take care of miserable people. For this reason the character of this help must be able to change. Christianity must rejoice at the increase of self-help, even insist on it. A picture, however, of a resolute movement of workmen, or of a rising women's rights movement, such as we now see before us, bursts asunder the historical frame of the portrait of Jesus. We do not exaggerate here; this may be proved by the difficulty which many members of the Christian church have in coming to an understanding with Social Democracy. To blame it for its atheism is no longer a tenable attitude. For atheism is no privilege of the working class, it may even spring from religious reasons, when it does not fight against God, but against a particular ecclesiastical God. To fight against Social Democracy for its political attitude, may be defended; I, too, fight against it for that reason. But this has nothing to do with Christianity itself (which is not bound to any theory of the State), and this combat is to be fought by political means and must not be confounded with religious motives. No, the new thing is, that a class of society, hitherto subordinate, displays in itself the resolute will of gaining a "place near the sun", and of obtaining its share of social power and this the Christian judgment of many circles meets with a decided negative. Those Christians can do good, indeed, to all that are in need of their help; but they see themselves confronted, in their own world of ideas, with new, almost offensive demands, by people who renounce their help, not from rudeness, but from moral strength.

Here we touch on the most difficult point of the problem. The world of social activity is unthinkable without economic power. The social moralist must give the first place in his considerations to this idea of the greatest efficiency. The most efficient working, the most efficient undertaking has his full sympathy. I add in passing that this use of the term efficiency of course implies the best paid and best trained work, with the most humane treatment, and a constitutionally ordered undertaking in accordance with agreement. These points of view are

deduced, however, from real economic history itself, from the fact that in the long run only that undertaking and that people obtain the victory in an economic sense where the "man" as working factor is trained in the most healthy, moral, physical and mental culture. These points of view consequently arise from the consideration of political economy and its own laws and not from a particular moral theory. It is, however, just in Christian circles that people shrink from the thought of economic power and its development. That for instance certain forms of hand-work will be done away with or have to be reformed, that certain circles of retail business when looked at from an economic standpoint have no right to existence, that the nobility has lost its right to be when it ceases to be an economic working member, these are trains of thought which are far removed from the old frame of mind of the religious. Strength is so easily condemned as brutality and the thought of economic power often appears only in the guise of temptation to excess. Whatever, also, is completely associated with finance, is hardly estimated at its true worth on the side of productive work. Appreciation for undertakings of the great modern kind is too remote from the Christian. For Calvin perhaps excepted, his heroes Luther, Zwingli and Jesus himself are of purely peasant, mechanic or retail-dealing middle class origin. There is no question here of incontinently taking part with one form of economy against the other. But there is danger that because the classical period of religious development coincided with the earlier economic stage, this latter and the mood which springs from it may unconsciously be made the standard in Economics. The dominant thought in the social world, marked by the words "Independence" and "Solidarity" is derived from other than ancient religious ground, nor is the conception of "Brotherhood" in the sense of Christ's community directly related to it. And so there is a quietist religiosity, which wants to stand aloof from the great conflict between Capital and Labour. Not because it sides with wealth, or against the poor. No: but it feels its impotence over these questions, and deliberately cultivates other portions of Man's spiritual life. Often they are not the worst, who recoil thus and choose to perish in their own particular religious world. I for my part think more historically. In protestantism we possess a certain heritage and this heritage demands that we cultivate it.// From the beginning of protestantism another kind of piety entered into the world than that of the church of former time. It freed much of the activity of the human mind from the rule of the church. Science was to go its own way. The state should become sovereign. Schools should be appointed by the public authorities. Marriage appeared to be a secular thing and the Church should have nothing more to say

in all civic monetary affairs. Since those days ethics too have become an independent power and social ethics follow their own definite course. It thus appears as if piety all the more might retire into itself and all social development be left to itself. But it only appears so. For Christian piety has debts to pay incurred during a former and not so long distant period of Christianity when the people were comforted with thoughts of heaven and the poor were needed in order that heaven might be earned in common. Now it has to demonstrate that it is ready to help the new ordering of economic affairs, to be present at it, so as not to break down under the weight of those old reproaches. It is for the church itself also a wholesome disposition of the world's history. It is now subjected to a test of strength greater than any previous one. For now the question is of a crisis in religion itself. In social ethics there are such inspiring values, so many demands for the cultivation of feeling, power and love, there is so much in life itself full of charm and joyousness, full of earnestness and strength that it may well fill a life-time. To create a realm of justice and truth in brotherly love and social order — that is an idea so full of heavenly striving that it cannot be resisted. And in my opinion piety, as far as it is Protestant, is bound to go through this ordeal. In other words: Religion must take off its Sunday coat and must be thoroughly plunged into these social ethical modes of thought in which a part of God's Being reveals itself. For He certainly is present where humanity rises a step higher. He is there certainly where material conditions are made more secure for the growth of mental culture. The task of the time is the social regeneration and reforming of the nations. Religion may not shrink from this question. It must "lose" itself and its life in order to "gain" it again. It is even being so led by God himself as to forget heaven itself in the strenuous endeavour of all hearts to see if, and how far, heaven on earth may be made. It must not go on living in the midst of social want if it is to maintain its existence. In such social enthusiasm I recognise once more something of the holy passion of all the great Christians who went over the world. This holy passion for waging war in grim earnest against everything rotten and corrupt, for helping every ascent, this contempt for unearned attainment and esteem for all real work must be rekindled among us. There is so little enthusiasm here! We have indeed found the power for a national collective will, but have not yet attained to a social economic collective will. This aim must stand clearly and brightly before us and some generations will fade before it is attained. What does it matter? The times of sacrifice have always borne the richest fruit. Religion must be ready to inspire its best men and most pious women to make this sacrifice, for it not only owes it to the past

but also to the future so that one may see whether it is really a lasting necessity for the human soul. We must therefore strive to-day towards human culture in the culture of things, for the care of men as an economic possession, for frankness of economic dealing in all transactions, for the responsibility of individuals and the classes, for productive power as the supreme standard of all earnings, so that the first question will not be: "What do I earn?" but: "What do I produce?" for the predominance of producers over consumers, for the broadening out of economic enterprise into social economy, for the transition from capitalism to collectivism, for the formation of a mighty union of mankind, consequently for the extension of all technical culture without which this cannot be possible, and of all moral culture to confirm it (fight against prostitution, alcohol, bad housing, over-crowded schools and the like). These are only some of the leading thoughts. They may however suffice.

And then? What will the human world resolve itself into when all this is attained? It is possible that the souls of coming generations will be different from ours, and, saturated with all greatness and goodness will feel no such religious needs as we. I opine that with regard to this we must guard ourselves against dogmatic assertion of every kind. As far however as I can now see I believe that this will be the very moment when religion will reap its golden harvest. For not the cripples, the weaklings and sick people are in a position really to speak for what religion means. It is the healthy man above all who is sensible of the insufficiency of all doings and happenings, the higher he looks up and the deeper his soul breathes. And amid the hundred and thousand intricacies and relations of the future the need will make itself felt for immediate relation with the One who is above all and in all. For the higher man rises the higher is his God. Finally it will be just in the time of an earthly Paradise that the brevity of human life and death will appear as a still greater problem than it is to-day, and the question of a sense of the Whole is only postponed and not answered. Religion will remain and find ever new opportunity for work. We must not therefore deprive the strongest combatants in the social strife of their religious longing nor hinder them in their striving for religious peace. The best possessions of the human soul lie indeed in these ultimate questions. In them we find our sustenance. The soul of mankind in answer to its questioning "I" is ever waiting for One who shall answer with a liberating "Thou".

2. RELIGION AND TEMPERANCE.

ALCOHOL AND NATIONAL DEGENERATION.

BY DR. R. HERCOD, DIRECTOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL BUREAU
FOR COMBATTING ALCOHOLISM (LAUSANNE).

Ladies and Gentlemen!

As the representative of the French-speaking community, I am delighted to be allowed to convey its hearty greetings to the International meeting, although perhaps couched in broken German. Despite the numerous prejudices that still exist between Germans and Frenchmen, the number of those persons — among whom I class myself — is constantly increasing, who admire the powerful development of Germany during the last hundred years and who are thankful to Germany for its great contributions to the progress of mankind. The German scientific method dominates the whole sphere of learning, Germany's social activity serves us in many respects as a pattern, and — last not least — the rapid progress made in anti-alcohol work in the German Empire must stimulate us to imitation. It is a point of honour to declare this openly here.

Whenever we express our fears that increasing, or at least not diminishing, alcoholism must lead to the wholesale degeneration of the European countries, we encounter laughing scepticism. How is it possible, it is said, to speak of degeneration when the magnificent development in our civilised countries is taken into account. Is Germany, with its flourishing trade, its magnificent industry, its powerful army, its celebrated scientists and prominent artists degenerating? Is a race degenerate that is no longer content to rule the earth, but that venturesomely dares to conquer the air and to sail in its airships through the endless ether?

Those who argue in this manner allow themselves to be blinded by the external splendour of our present-day civilisation. Admitted!

Our streets are wider and our houses better fitted up than the streets and houses in the time of Dante; our technology is far more developed, and our numerous requirements far more easily satisfied. This, however, is not the question. All these achievements of modern civilisation have only been won by the slow preparations made for them by our ancestors. We are their happy heirs who reap sometimes where they, and not we, have sown. Are we, however, on an average healthier and stronger than our forefathers? is our capacity for thought greater, our power of resistance against moral evils growing? Who can assert this?

On the contrary, a comparison between to-day and the past is disadvantageous to the present day in many respects. For instance, how small are our artistic efforts as compared to the flourishing period at Florence during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; to the majestic French literature of the XVII century, to the epoch that welcomed the first appearance of the works of a Goethe, a Schiller, a Lessing? Great things have been achieved during our era. This confession, however, does not prevent us perceiving in alcohol a threatening source of degeneration.

We do not want to be pessimists, and fortunately the craze for alcohol is not the sole factor that determines the fate of nations. Other, favourable factors may in a great measure compensate for the pernicious influence of alcohol and they are doing so. That, however, the customary drinking habits of our nations are an obstacle to their moral, intellectual and physical development, that unless they are vigorously opposed they will gain the upper hand and can destroy these favourable features of civilisation, is a firmly established fact to every unprejudiced observer. I should like to prove this in a few short words.

A nation is a conglomerate of individuals. If a number of these individuals degenerate the whole nation is affected. We know, however, that it is not only the outspoken abuse of alcohol, but the customary daily so-called "moderate" use of alcohol that, although less perceptibly, exerts an influence on our descendants. The striking degeneration of posterity caused by intemperance is known to us by numerous proofs furnished by physicians for mental diseases and by the directors of idiot or epileptic asylums. I may refer for instance to the instructive comparisons that have been made by the Berne children's doctor, Prof. Demme, between the offspring of 10 sober families and 10 addicted to drink.

We owe the first experiments and observations made on an extensive scale regarding the degenerating influence of the so-called "moderate" use of alcohol to the Finnish investigator Laitinen. I shall not emphasise specially his animal experiments, as the results cannot be applied

to men without reserve, but I shall discuss the report that he made at the London International Congress concerning Alcoholism in July 1909.

He compared the children of 840 abstainers, of 823 moderate drinkers and of 682 intemperate parents. While 27.5 children of the abstainers had no teeth at the age of 8 months, this was the case with 33.9 of the children of moderate drinkers, and 42.3 children of intemperate parents.

The average number of teeth that the children had at the age of eight months was as follows: children of abstainers: 2.5, children of moderate drinkers: 2.1, children of intemperate parents: 1.5.

The average age at which the first tooth appeared was: children of abstainers: 4.1 months, children of moderate drinkers: 4.9 months, children of intemperate parents: after 6 months. Further investigations concerning 5845 families showed that the average weight of the children of abstainers at their birth was always greater than that of the children of moderate drinkers and of intemperate parents.

The mortality among 3695 children of abstainers was 13.45 %, that of 6673 children of moderate drinkers 23.17 % and that among 2461 children of drinkers was 32.02 %. In regard to abortions the figures were 1.07 %, 5.26 % and 7.11 % respectively.

This seems to prove beyond doubt that it is not only the outspoken alcoholism of the parents that has such degenerating results on the offspring, but the supposedly innocent, customary "moderate" indulgence in alcohol.

Another investigation, that has attracted a great deal of attention and which is the theme of lively discussion at present, is that conducted by Dr. Bunge, the Basle professor.

Starting from the well-known fact that children suckled by their mothers, or by wet nurses, possess much more vitality and powers of resistance than those brought up artificially, Bunge undertook to investigate the reasons of the increasing incapacity of women to suckle their children.

He sent enquiry forms to all the medical men in Germany, Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, and obtained complete details regarding the cases of women incapable of suckling their children, together with full information regarding their progenitors and especially the drinking-habits of their progenitors. He was enabled to prove in a startling manner that the incapacity of a woman to suckle her child was constantly connected with the indulgence in alcohol of her parents.

Bunge distinguished 4 divisions: 1. the non-habitual drinker. 2. the habitual (drinking less than a litre of wine or two litres of beer daily).

3. the habitual, immoderate, those that drink in excess of this amount.
4. the pronounced drunkard.

He arrived at the following conclusions concerning the incapacity of women to suckle their children for the normal time:

In those families in which daughters and mothers were able to suckle completely, the fathers could be divided as follows: 58.7 % occasional and not habitual drinkers, 34.7 % habitual moderate drinkers, 6.8 % habitual immoderate drinkers, 1.8 % drunkards.

In most cases where the daughter, like her mother, was capable of suckling her children she came from abstemious or very moderate drinking families.

In the families, however, where the mother suckled her children but the daughter had lost the capacity of doing so, Bunge's enquiries yielded the following results: in 10.7 % of the cases alcohol was only consumed occasionally; in 18.3 % cases a moderate consumption of alcohol took place; in 33.1 % excessive quantities of alcohol were consumed; in 39.9 % cases the father of the daughters incapable of suckling was a drunkard.

In the majority of cases a father addicted to alcohol was the reason of the incapacity. However critical one may be, it seems impossible to deny that drinking is a main reason of the incapacity of women to suckle their children.

Further, Bunge's investigations showed that the greater the quantity of alcohol consumed by the fathers the more frequent were illnesses among the children. Take tuberculosis for instance. Tuberculosis was found in families divided into the four different divisions in the following ratio: families of fathers that were abstainers, or only occasional drinkers 8.4 %; in cases where the fathers drank moderately 9.4 %, fathers that drank in excess 17.1 %, fathers that were drunkards 24.2 %.

The figures for neuropathic children were 4.2 %, 7.8 %, 11.8 % and 22.2 % respectively.

Patients afflicted with psychopathic, tuberculose, neurasthenic complaints, live a sombre life full of pain. Who can witness their sufferings without doing something to help them. It is good and Christian-like to alleviate the lot of such unhappy beings, but it is far more Christian-like and much better to do away with the cause of the evil, namely our drinking habits.

Further: These degenerate persons are not only degenerate physically. Ask the prison doctors. They will inform you that most of the criminals are abnormal men. It is true that they are guilty, and I do not want to shift their responsibility entirely on to other shoulders, but they are also the victims of the bad habits of their forefathers. And

in addition to the prisons how much moral evil is caused by people who show undoubted symptoms of degeneracy, and frequently of alcoholic degeneracy?

Up to the present I have only spoken about degeneracy in the strictly scientific sense of the word; I should like to look at it from another point of view and show how drinking habits not only lead to the brutalising of the drinker, but affect his children likewise, thus depressing the level of our culture in a twofold manner.

In our countries drinking is inseparable from public houses. Countless times it has been stated that the public house brutalises its customers. It does the same indirectly to the child of the drinker. Public house life kills family life, the latter being the most powerful support of the moral development of our race. We may have good schools, conscientious and self-sacrificing pastors, but if they do not support family life their efforts are in vain; they will be able to do away with some excrescences, but nothing more.

The child, not only of the drunkard, but of the "moderate" drinker, who spends his evening daily in the drinking saloon, is morally neglected; this is more especially the case in workmen's families where the mother, bowed down by the cares of the household, is powerless against the older children. The latter not meeting any obstacles are able to develop dangerous germs in their characters. We, fathers of families, who bring up our children with the greatest care, are frequently grieved to see the difficulty they have to master, their small or great faults, such as laziness, carelessness, lying habits, etc. How bad are matters, however, where the education of the children is neglected by the father. I don't call it training to stay by chance for an hour at home in order to grumble roughly at the children and their mother, or to flog them because they are not as quiet as mice in the presence of their strict tyrant.

And it is not only the children of the drinker but the children of his children that suffer by his fatal mania. The wild child becomes a frivolous lad who probably as a father will follow in the footsteps of his own father, if other moral influences are not brought to bear on him in order to put him on the right path. Thus, the neglect of duty on the part of a forefather can injure many generations. A terrible responsibility!

A nation is composed of single individuals, was the statement that I made at the beginning of my lecture; the general degeneracy of the single individual caused by the habit of drinking cannot possibly remain without influence on the whole nation.

Those persons are right who say that a nation that lends itself to alcoholism runs the greatest dangers.

History, past and present, gives us the most striking examples of this. I will not investigate the statement of some people that ancient Greece and Imperial Rome fell to pieces in consequence of alcoholism. Symptoms of degeneration are surely met with in the history of both nations which correspond exactly to the symptoms of alcoholic degeneracy. The love of pleasure, an attendant phenomenon of alcoholism, was the same; but other causes have contributed towards the decay of great nations. I prefer to quote an example from the present.

There is a French province that has a brilliant past. Its inhabitants conquered England 9 centuries ago; later on it furnished France with great men, among them being the father of French classical tragedy, the noble Corneille. Now the province has become the shadow of its former self. I mean Normandy. Alcoholism has devastated it for a century. Its population is rapidly decreasing and those that remain are degenerate. In certain districts 75—80 % of the young men are incapable of bearing arms in the defence of their Fatherland; the number of the demented is constantly growing; although poor in large towns, Normandy abounds in criminals. The drunken workmen in the factories have to be replaced by foreign hands. What a hundred years ago was rich, prosperous Normandy is now termed "unhappy Normandy". And alcohol is the root of the whole evil.

Discerning Frenchmen have endeavoured of late to combat this plague and we follow their efforts with the best wishes for their success.

For we do not regard the Future with discouragement. The history of some nations, especially of the Scandinavian countries, teaches us that alcoholism can be overpowered. Let us take Norway for an example.

In 1833 the amount of spirits consumed amounted to 18 litres per head and the consumption of beer was not inconsiderable. To-day in consequence of the combined work of the Anti-alcohol societies, the consumption of spirits has sunk to 3.1 litres and the 14.2 litres of beer drunk per head annually is insignificant as compared to the consumption in Switzerland, Germany and Belgium.

With the decrease of alcoholism the symptoms of degeneracy have grown rarer. The number of deaths in which alcohol is stated to be the direct cause, which amounted during 1856 to 1860 to 3.3 %, has sunk to 0.75 %. The total number of deaths in consequence of alcoholism in Norway is about the same as the total number among the women of the Danish towns, although in general Denmark shows the same or better conditions than Norway, with the exception that

alcoholism is not so vigorously combatted there as in other countries. The number of suicides in Norway is only 8.5 per 100,000 as compared to 22.7 in Denmark, 20.7 in Germany and 21.9 in Switzerland. Alcoholic psychosis is proportionately rare in this happy country, in our country it constitutes about a fourth part of all psychosis. The bodily height of the soldiers in Norway, amounting to 171,24 cms, is the highest in the world. Despite the very unfavourable climatic and living conditions, Norway's mortality is lower than that of Sweden, Germany, France and Switzerland. The number of prison inmates per 10,000 inhabitants has decreased considerably of late years.

According to all this our task is: to work and not despair. Yes, let us all work, no matter to what political or religious camp we belong, for the total abolition of the greatest enemy to present-day civilisation; against the greatest factor of degeneration. And may the Church lend us to a greater extent than has been hitherto the case its unconditional, active and invaluable aid in the struggle.

THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT POSITION AND OUTLOOK IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

BY MR. H. G. CHANCELLOR, M. P., LONDON.

Of all the physical causes that produce moral effects the consumption of alcohol is the most widespread and the most disastrous. In all periods of history and among all races of men where alcohol in any of its forms has been produced and has passed into consumption, it has had the same effect, mitigated by climate or by the prohibitions and regulations of religion and by other causes, but in spite of these, capturing and subduing men's will, breaking down self-restraint, and producing physical and moral degradation.

For centuries the common sale of intoxicants in the United Kingdom has been subjected to legislative restrictions and regulations which have not been found necessary for any other trade, and which are represented in our statute books by hundreds of Acts of Parliament.

One fact which has emerged from the study of the problem is that the general use of alcohol as an article of diet makes inevitable a certain amount of drunkenness, and that what is called moderate drinking is a real source of danger which can only be avoided by total abstinence.

The Temperance Movement in England began as a protest against the use of ardent spirits. As an organised movement it took form between 1830 and 1840.

But the early reformers soon realised that the danger lay not in the particular kind of alcohol consumed but in drinking alcohol in any form.

As a result, the Movement has evolved into one for the total elimination from the dietary of alcoholic drinks, whether they are the products of distillation or of fermentation.

It is true that one or two Temperance Societies have a dual basis of membership, viz., moderate drinking and total abstinence. This is notably the case in the Church of England Temperance Society. But

the total abstainers furnish the working force, so much so that in England Temperance as applied to drink has come to mean total abstinence.

When the Movement began there were ranged against it not only financial interests, custom, social habits, and the liking for alcohol, but most of those forces from which it might have expected help, such as medical opinion and practice, and even the churches.

To-day these forces have ranged themselves on our side. No large organised denomination but has its Temperance Association. The activities of individual congregations are seldom complete without a Temperance Society or Band of Hope, which is generally federated to the denominational association or union. One by one the claims of alcohol, its necessity, its value as a food, its usefulness as a medicine, its strengthening and sustaining properties, have been challenged and overthrown, whilst its baneful effects, physical, moral and social, are the subject of thousands of addresses weekly in the lecture room, the religious assembly, the public hall and the political gathering. The medical profession, the minister of religion, the statesman, judge and social reformer, and most hopeful of all the school teachers are enlisting in ever increasing numbers to impress these results on the public mind.

In many of our public elementary schools the teaching of Temperance now forms part of the regular curriculum, and local education authorities are encouraged by our Government to adopt a most useful syllabus which has been issued by the education department.

But after all, physical science and sociology have only come in to verify the findings and enforce the teachings of religion. From the first, even when most of the churches were as yet hostile, the Temperance Movement with us has been a religious movement, deriving its power from a strong faith in God and the belief that the movement was fulfilling His purpose in the moral upbuilding of His children and the removal from their path of avoidable temptation.

It is well that such a conference as this should take stock of the position, and, as religious reformers, thank God and take courage.

Besides the Associations connected with the churches we have in England, Scotland and Ireland great national unsectarian propagandist leagues, bodies like the Independent Order of Good Templars, and Associations devoted to Sectional Temperance work, amongst women, the army, the navy, the legal profession, commercial travellers etc. We have also others combining Friendly Society benefits with the Temperance pledge e. g. Rechabites, Sons of the Phoenix, Sons of Temperance, etc. Above all we have our great United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, in whose affiliated Bands of Hope are no less than

3,600,000 children, all pledged to total abstinence and growing up without a taste for alcohol.

The results of all this effort are now making themselves manifest. Nobody in our country now justifies drunkenness. Few even excuse it. Although still so prevalent as to be our greatest curse, the unblushing exhibition of drunkenness in our streets is becoming less and less prevalent.

Our public holidays, which were formerly the occasions of great excess and filled our police courts with drunk and disorderly charges, now scarcely increase their normal cases.

The volume of public opinion in favour of our principles grows year by year, and slowly but surely a change for the better is taking place in our social customs, which are becoming less and less associated with the consumption of intoxicants. At public dinners it is by no means rare for more than half the guests to refrain from taking wine. No apology is now necessary for abstaining, which excites neither surprise nor regret, except in the minds of those who sell strong drink.

Besides the millions in our Bands of Hope and Juvenile Temperance Societies, hundreds of thousands of our adult population are pledged abstainers.

A generation has arisen which knows not the taste of alcohol.

The figures of our drink bill for the last decade are strong evidence of a real and permanent change in the drinking habits of our people.

In 1889 the drink bill in Great Britain and Ireland amounted to £151,064,038 or £4 1s. 3¼d. per head of the population. During the next ten years there was rapid increase, until in 1899 it had reached the enormous total of £185,927,227, which after allowing for increase of population, represented £4 11s. 8d. per head. But since 1899 although our population and wealth continue to increase there has been a gradual reduction in the total, until in 1909 it had dropped to £155,162,485, whilst the per capita consumption last year was only £3 8s. 11½d., or one-fourth less than at the commencement of the decade.

Of this reduction in ten years of £30,000,000 per annum in the money wasted on drink, the most hopeful feature is that with one exception, 1906, the consumption per head has been less each year than in the previous year, showing a gradual progressive improvement likely to be permanent.

It now remains to accelerate that improvement not only by continuing our appeal for personal abstinence, and for reducing the occasions when alcohol is consumed in social life, but by organising the great

volume of public opinion for political action in controlling the traffic and reducing the facilities which lead to drinking and drunkenness.

For centuries our licensing system placed in the hands of magistrates on behalf of the public the right to grant or to refuse licenses on the ground that they were or were not needed by the public. In course of time it became customary, when an annual license had once been granted, to grant it afresh year by year, unless refused through misconduct on the part of the holder. Then, as the evils of excessive facilities were brought home to them, the magistrates took steps to reduce the number and refused grants to old license holders solely on the ground that the license was not required. In other words they exercised the power of control which had been conferred on them for the protection, not of the license, but of the public. Their refusal on the one ground of public need was strictly legal and was so declared by our courts of justice.

But no sooner had they begun to perform their duty by refusing licenses on that ground, than the Trade, organised for political purposes as no other trade in our country is, demanded and obtained from the Government the Act of 1904. This Act practically gave the license holder a right of renewal and destroyed the most effective weapon by means of which the public had, through the magistrates, been able to control the trade and mitigate its evils. This surrender to a trade of public rights created great indignation and was an important factor in destroying the Government of 1906 and replacing it with one pledged to restore those rights. That Government passed through the House of Commons the Licensing Bill of 1908 by enormous majorities. But it was rejected by the House of Lords, the last entrenchment in our country of every privilege, monopoly and abuse. The Bill, had it become law, would within 14 years have reduced the number of licensed houses by one-third, and after that time restored to the public complete control over the issue or refusal of licenses of which they were deprived by the Act of 1904. But it would have restored that power in a form more real and more direct, by making the reduction or abolition of licenses in given areas subject to local veto, i. e. instead of leaving the matter to the discretion of licensing magistrates it would have left it to the judgment and option of the local voters themselves, expressed by plebiscite, whose mandate the authority would have had to carry out.

Rejected by the House of Lords ostensibly on the ground of its injustice, but really in the hope that it was unpopular, the people in January again elected a Parliament pledged to the policy of its predecessor.

During this session a Bill for Local option in Scotland, where there is no vested interest to block the way like that set up in England by the Act of 1904, has passed second reading by a majority of 165 to 52, and is now in Committee with a good chance of becoming law unless thrown out by the House of Lords.

Moreover, by the passing this year of the 1909 Budget, which imposes a heavier scale of License Duties and of Duties on Spirits, thus increasing the price to the consumer the tendency to drink less has been reinforced and accelerated. The real reduction last year represented at the old prices no less than £11,147,997 as compared with 1908. Twenty-two per cent of this decrease is attributed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the new duties. This effect of higher taxation affords a valuable lesson which Temperance Reformers will do well to ponder.

There is also now greater difficulty in obtaining the sanction of magistrates to the issue of new licenses, whilst the evils of the 1904 Act were mitigated by two valuable provisions. One was the legal recognition of the fact that a new license conferred a monopoly, and as such had a value for which a considerable sum has to be paid when issued. This must prevent many new applications.

The other was the compulsory levy on all existing licensees of a compensation fund to be used for extinguishing licenses considered unnecessary. This fund has enabled many to be extinguished, although it has prevented the closing of many unnecessary drink-shops that, but for the Act of 1904, might have been closed without compensation. By its means the number of public houses was reduced by over 5000 between 1905 and 1909. But at the end of 1909, after allowing for the new licenses added during that period, we still have in England and Wales no less than 118,781 houses licensed to sell intoxicants for consumption either on or off the premises.

This side of the work has received valuable aid from the Temperance Councils. These Councils, which are formed for each County and Federated in the National United Temperance Council, collect and present to the Magistrates at their Annual Licensing Sessions evidence against the issue or reissue of licenses which they oppose, and their work has been an important factor in the reduction that has taken place.

Fewer facilities mean less consumption, and this in turn diminishes drunkenness, disease and crime.

But of all the organisations warring against drink on the political side the most important and effective is the United Kingdom Alliance. Founded in 1853 this "People's League" has never wavered in its original purpose, which is "the suppression of the Liquor Traffic by the will of the people."

Whilst co-operating with all other Temperance Bodies in their propaganda, whether religious, educational, social or scientific, its specific work is "the directing of an awakened and enlightened civic opinion to obtain from Parliament the right of self-protection for communities against the issue of licenses within their borders by any licensing authority, however constituted."

By educating, directing and concentrating public opinion on this object it is able to influence the selection of candidates and election of Members of Parliament, thus forcing Governments to deal with this question and preparing the people to demand, and when secured, to exercise control over the drink trade for the protection of their homes and their children from the innumerable temptations of this ubiquitous evil.

Encouraged by the example of our Colonies and Foreign countries, especially our kinsmen in the United States of America, the Temperance Workers of the United Kingdom, working along all lines, and united to secure laws that will establish public control and in time suppression of the drink traffic, face the future with hope and confidence that in the final triumph of the Cause will be found the salvation of their country.

Temperance work is practical Christianity. No other phase of Christian work is so immediately effective on life and character, so helpful in removing temptation, in developing self-control and thus preparing the soul for the deeper religious experiences.

Hitherto our Unitarian Churches, active, as they have been in other social reforms, have been strangely lacking in efforts to promote total abstinence. Individual ministers, like the late Revs. R. A. Armstrong and S. A. Steinthal and not a few living ministers and laymen, have been active and eager in temperance propaganda. The National Unitarian Temperance Association has been at work for seventeen years stimulating the work amongst the churches and each year new Societies and Bands of Hope are being started, though even yet many of our earnest workers have to find their chief opportunity outside the churches.

But all forces making for righteousness must combine to defeat the huge and unprincipled financial interests which are organised in self-defence. In this Temperance work all the churches, none more than those represented in this conference, are called to increased effort, if they are to share in the glory of purifying and uplifting the peoples of the world by empowering and then inducing them to deliver themselves from the greatest evil that hinders the coming of the Kingdom of God.

THE MOVEMENT AGAINST ALCOHOLISM IN AMERICA

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America is a young nation, and in many things she is still a learner in the family of nations. But in the great effort of the civilized peoples to throw off the hereditary curse of alcoholism, America can claim to be a pioneer. In no other country did the movement begin so early; in none has it advanced more persistently and victoriously.

This fact is due chiefly to the type of religion and to the efficiency of the churches of America. They have throughout furnished the chief forces and resources. The contest against alcoholism is one of the most important chapters in the Church History of America. On other moral questions the Churches have been halting and divided; on the liquor question they have really been on the firing line.

To a casual observer the situation seems immensely complex. Forty-seven sovereign States legislate for themselves, and no two legislate alike. Moreover most of them have granted either their counties or their townships the right to act for themselves on the toleration or abolition of the liquor traffic, and there are thus thousands of legislative units in the United States. Moreover the movement advances and retreats; States adopt prohibition, repeal it, and adopt it again.

Yet there has been a vast and steady historical progress. The apparent retreats are only like the doublings of a river that seeks its way among the hills, but still gathers volume and always obeys the law of gravitation.

During the colonial era, before 1776, the population was mainly agricultural. Cider and home-brewed beer were commonly used. Wine had to be imported and was dear. The colonial legislatures passed laws against drunkenness and against selling liquor to the Indians. But there was little religious or moral sentiment against the moderate use of wine and beer.

A new situation was created when distilled liquors became common and cheap. Drunkenness then became an appalling characteristic of American life. The influence of the Revolutionary War (1776—83) was disastrous. The importation of wine ceased and distilled liquor took its place. The soldiers received a gill of rum or whiskey for their daily ration, and the sailors half a pint. After the war they carried their habits through the country. From 1792—1811 the distilleries are said to have increased from 2,579 to 14,191. After the War began the wonderful westward march of the people to settle the continent. The pioneers were cut off from the moral restraints of their home communities. Homeless men predominated in the frontier settlements. The saloon was often the only social institution. The American saloon received its peculiar character from the coarse, free-handed, passionate life of raw civilization.

The alarming increase of drunkenness at last aroused anxiety and protest. In 1804 Dr. Benjamin Rush published an essay on "the Effect of Ardent Spirits on the Human Mind and Body", which was for a long time the most influential warning of medical science and moral insight. In 1805 and 1808 we learn of the first local temperance societies. In 1829 Dr. Lyman Beecher the father of Henry Ward Beecher, preached six sermons which had a profound effect. By 1829 there were about a thousand local temperance societies. By 1833 about six thousand. Thus the movement was gaining force.

But as yet it was directed chiefly against distilled liquors. The early pledges called for abstinence only from brandy and whiskey. Temperate use of beer and wine was supposed to be salutary or even necessary. In 1833 the general temperance society voted down the demand for abstinence from all intoxicants. But by 1836 the same demand was adopted.

The spreading popular conviction burst into flame in the so-called Washingtonian Movement of 1840—41. It was a great moral revival movement to save the drunkards, and reformed drunkards were its chief preachers. It was estimated that 150,000 drunkards took the pledge, and half a million others. The movement was transient, but it stirred the emotions of pity and anger profoundly. Nations, like individuals, come to their worst and their best resolutions only under deep emotions. This movement was a kind of national conversion. Henceforth drunkenness, which is still respectable and even honorable in some other civilized nations, became disreputable in the moral communities of America. The drinking customs in social life were broken and lost much of their social obligation. Total abstinence began to be the mark of a moral and Christian character. Two of the great institutions of society, the

home and the Church, were now in principle purged of alcoholism, and became increasingly declared enemies of it.

When the excitement of the Washingtonian Movement ebbed away, the pathetic fact impressed the nation that a large proportion of the drunkards who had signed the pledge, were drawn back into their old habits. This turned public effort from mere personal appeal and pledge-signing into two new directions. First, to give abstainers the support of fellowship, large temperance organizations were created, adopting the general plan and method of the Masonic Order. Second, the attempt was made to eliminate the sources of temptation which created and made those to fall who were trying to escape.

Since 1845 a number of the States passed laws prohibiting the sale of liquor throughout their extent. It is a very instructive fact that in the great majority of them the prohibitory law was sooner or later repealed. When Vermont and New Hampshire substituted local option for state-wide prohibition in 1903, prohibition remained in effect only in Maine, Kansas, and North Dakota. This has been interpreted as a verdict of history against prohibition. I think in the light of recent developments it proves only that prohibition was then premature. It was a sort of first spurt of the moral forces, such as we find in all great forward movements in history. Such swift, sweeping, revolutionary movements are always beaten back when the first moral impetus tires and the endangered interests rally, but if the movement is really strong and natural, it will then move forward again by slower and more permanent methods. It is significant that prohibition endured longest in the agricultural States with a homogeneous and native American population. The immense immigration 1840—1900 constantly replenished and re-enforced the demand for liquor, especially in the cities, and paralyzed law enforcement by political corruption. If emigration had ceased in 1860, it is safe to say that national abstinence would be much farther advanced by this time. The Civil War, 1861—65, was another chief hindrance to the steady advance of the movement. It demoralized thousands of individuals. It used up the moral energy and enthusiasm of the country for other purposes. It compelled the Federal Government to impose heavy taxes on the liquor trade in order to raise money for the war, and this Internal Revenue proved so steady a source of income that it has been continued to this day, and to some degree has made the national government cool toward any effort to abolish the trade.

But the moral development of a nation is not to be measured only by its legislation. Even when prohibitory laws were being repealed, the Cause was moving on. In 1873—74 the country was startled by a

new outburst of strong emotion. "The Temperance Crusade" is said to have swept the liquor traffic out of 250 towns and villages in fifty days. But a far more important fact was that it stirred the women of the country deeply, and led to the organization of the Women's Christian Temperance Union in 1874, which now numbers about 350,000 members and has become the great reform organization of the women of America. The American temperance movement would have been impossible without the American woman, intelligent, capable, self-reliant, taught by the necessities of life in a young civilization to act as the equal partner of her husband, taught by the American type of church life to organize and act in common. The movement against alcoholism is the class movement of women, and American women have become class-conscious in it and through it. The economic interests of the saloon and the home are directly antagonistic. The misery created by alcohol has to be borne by the women, and they know it and hate it. The fact that in the American type of church life women are granted a degree of freedom and influence unknown in the State Churches of Europe, has been one chief cause for the enthusiasm and persistence of the Churches in their fight against the liquor traffic.

The Women's Christian Temperance Union was the chief agent in securing organized instruction in the public schools on the physiological effects of alcohol. All our States now have a mandatory law to that effect. The influence of this has been incalculable. The swift advance of legislation in recent years is possible because we can now bank on the personal convictions stored in the younger generation by this instruction. The school was thus added to the home and the church as an institutional power opposing alcoholism.

The religious conviction of the churches was steadily rising and intensifying through the second half of the nineteenth century. This progress can be traced, for instance, in the advancing legislation of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, which has always embodied a very large share of the intellect, the wealth, the piety, and the conservatism of the country. In 1834 it declared against the traffic in "ardent spirits", that is, whiskey and brandy. In 1865 it resolved that all who made or sold liquor were to be excluded from the membership of the churches. In 1869 it recommended total abstinence for its members. In 1890 it recommended prohibition for the nation. In the same way the Methodist Church in 1812 was not ready to adopt a law forfeiting the ministerial character of its lay preachers if they retailed liquor. But by 1840 the same Church forbade even its lay members to buy, sell, or drink intoxicating beverages. In 1888 its bishops advised the General Conference that any licensing of the liquor traffic by the State

is a compromise with sin. This uncompromising hostility which refuses to give quarter or to receive money from the liquor trade has become characteristic of large sections of the American churches.

In general a church historian may say that those denominations which are most indigenous to the American soil have been most radical in their opposition to alcoholism. The Methodists and Baptists, with scarcely any resources furnished by immigration, have become the largest Protestant denominations, comprising, with their kindred bodies, almost thirteen million out of the twenty million Protestant communicants, and both have been persistent foes of alcoholism. Especially the Methodist Church has been the great total abstinence society and the prayerful fighting army in the cause. The fact that these two denominations dominate the religious life of the South is one cause for the fact that the Southern States are leading in the new local option and prohibition movement.

On the other hand the denominations which are most European in their origin and traditions have been most conservative. Thus the "Church Temperance Society" of the Episcopal Church was not founded till 1881, tries to secure a union on equal terms between the temperate and the abstainers, recognizes temperance as the law of the gospel, and only advises total abstinence as necessary in some cases and highly desirable in others. The Roman Catholic Church was deeply stirred by the movement led by Father Mathew in 1849, but it was not till 1872 that the Catholic Total Abstinence Union was formed, and in 1891 it had only 53,000 members, and has now about 100,000 among its twelve million members. The Catholic and some Lutheran Churches are handicapped by the fact that they permit brewers and saloon keepers to remain members of the church. This makes outspoken action by the ministers very difficult. The exclusion of liquor dealers from most of the denominations has been a chief means of setting the churches free for aggressive action.

It has been no slight thing for the churches to arrive at their militant attitude. American religious life has long rested solidly on the authority of the Bible. But the Bible can be marshalled most effectively on the side of moderate drinking. Thus the ethical impulse had to overcome the handicap of religious authority. Most of the churches probably now use unfermented wine in the communion in order to remove all temptation. If we consider the historical conservatism of the Church in regard to its ritual observances, this too is significant.

The failure of State-wide prohibition, to which I have referred, was always due to its failure in the cities. The cities present the chief obstacle to the political suppression of the liquor traffic. The foreign

immigrants are massed there. The industrial working class, which has been far less affected by temperance ideas than the farmers and the middle class, are most numerous in the cities. The cities are the centres of a transient population which is always somewhat loose in its habits. The home life is weaker there, and outside pleasures are more insistent and near. The churches have relatively less power. And the corruption of politics is greatest in the cities and most apt to frustrate the moral sentiment of the community in the interests of a baser group.

The strategic task of the leaders has been to adjust political action to the diversities of rural and city life.

Since about 1881 the tendency has been to impose a high license fee, usually ranging from 100 dollars in small cities to 1000 dollars in large cities, in order to restrict the number of saloons and to force low saloons out of business. Important restrictive regulations are often connected with the license, and these restrictive elements have often worked well. On the other hand the large income which the cities have long drawn from the liquor traffic is now a chief hindrance to the suppression of the saloons. For instance the city of St. Louis draws an annual income of 1,250,000 dollars from its 2300 saloons, and the State of Missouri gets an additional 690,000 dollars. Chicago draws about 7,000,000 dollars a year from its 7000 saloons. If a city goes dry, it surrenders this steady income on which the city finances are built up. It requires real faith and conviction to believe that the moral health and economic prosperity of a sober community will ultimately offset this immediate loss. The more radical temperance reformers are completely opposed to the license system, because it makes the community a partner in iniquity, gives public officers an interest in continuing the traffic, gives the saloon a legal standing, and gives the liquor dealers self-assurance and political influence.

While high license was devised especially for city needs another movement sprang up almost simultaneously, which has met the needs of country communities. I refer to the local option movement. The States, which hold sovereign legislative power, grant to the citizens of some smaller administrative unit, a township, a county, or a municipality, the right to decide by a popular vote whether they will grant licenses or not. According to this decision that little section then goes dry or remains wet. By petition or other device the issue can be raised anew at a subsequent election. A township which voted wet can repent and vote dry; a dry township can backslide and vote wet.

The great advantage of this plan is that it gives every community a chance to decide the matter for itself; thus prohibition will be imposed on no community unless a majority are in its favor and will furnish the local sentiment to enforce the decision.

The local option movement has followed the line of least resistance with beautiful simplicity. It was first adopted in rural districts where the population was fairly homogeneous, Americanized, and Christian. The cross-roads saloons disappeared. The example proved contagious and the plan worked well. Next came townships containing villages, and there are now about 18,000 villages in the United States that are dry. Twelve States have thus granted their townships the right of deciding this important question for themselves, and while there are always some townships slipping back into the wet column, the general tendency is steadily forward, until in some States only the townships containing large cities are still wet.

Sixteen States have granted local option to their counties. The American county is a larger division, containing a number of townships. There are only 2,885 counties in all the United States. Now, if a county is simply rural or has only small villages, the situation is the same as in township local option. But if a county contains a number of rural townships and one city, the situation becomes changed and risky. The rural vote may then force prohibition on an unwilling majority in the city, who resent the outside interference and coercion, and take no interest in seeing the law enforced. Yet the principle is the same, that the majority decides. The temperance people cannot forego the opportunity to close the saloons of the urban centres, for as the country dries up, the cities get wetter and swampy. The traffic concentrates there with all its demoralization. When farmers come to town for business, or when the young people seek employment there, they are exposed to the temptation.

Twenty States also grant their municipalities local option. It is only very recently that the local option movement has begun to make headway in the smaller cities, but by 1909 539 cities ranging from 5,000 to 175,000 had gone dry. Two States also grant single wards or precincts of a city the right to banish saloons. The residence districts, especially those of the wealthier classes, will be eager to take advantage of this, for saloons are undesirable neighbors and depreciate property. But the saloons are thereby concentrated in the business districts and the poorer wards, and the people of the residence districts are apt to be content with the selfish advantage they have gained.

This then is the system of local option, under which the fight against alcoholism has advanced so victoriously in recent years. There are only five States in the Union which do not grant some form of local option, and of these Pennsylvania and New Jersey are the only States of importance. Under this system Illinois in 1908 in one day voted 1,053 townships dry. In 1909 more than 12,000 saloons were denied the legal right of existence.

The amazing success of recent years, by which more than forty-one millions of an estimated population of eighty-eight millions in the United States are now living on "dry" territory, is largely due to the leadership of the Anti-Saloon League. This League, organized in 1895, proposes to be a League of churches and temperance organizations. "It is the federated church in action against the saloon". It is officered by ministers and church members. The peculiarity by which it differs from the older Prohibition Party is the union of radical conviction and of political opportunism. It never loses sight of the ultimate purpose of destroying the saloon entirely, but it seizes any immediate advantage obtainable. It begins with township local option, and then asks for county local option. As a State dries up in smaller sections and State prohibition becomes practicable, it works for that. It is constantly arousing and marshalling the churches. It has its representatives watching Congress and the Legislatures. Its political cleverness excites the surprise and indignation of the liquor interests, who think that good people ought to be stupid. It goes into battles cheerfully knowing that it will be defeated, but knowing also that a number of such defeats lead up to ultimate victory. Under this leadership the vast fighting forces of the churches have been organized, and have doubled their effectiveness.

Local Option has really accomplished far more than was expected of it. Moderate reformers considered it a satisfactory method of securing prohibition where public sentiment would really enforce it. Even politicians and liquor dealers at first regarded it as a sop thrown to the reform sentiment. But experience has shown that it steadily leads to prohibition in larger areas. It cuts down and localizes the economic interests supporting the traffic and opposing prohibition. By its intense local agitations it educates the people, and by the constant possibility of reversing the decision, it keeps them from going to sleep in security. It produces large bodies of young people who have never become hardened to the ugliness of alcoholism by the open saloon.

A number of States have gradually extended the prohibition area within them until only the largest cities are left wet. The question then is whether these States will permit their large cities to be centres of demoralization and contamination for all the State. For the liquor interests are not passive or quiescent. They constantly invade dry territory and ship their goods in defiance of law. No State would allow a city to make itself a centre of infection with small-pox or cholera. Thus State-wide prohibition is the inevitable next step when local option has narrowed down the wet area. In 1907 there was a sudden forward break of State-wide prohibition. Alabama, Georgia, Missouri, North Carolina, and practically Tennessee enacted laws covering the whole State. In

other States the same point will soon be reached, for instance in Missouri, Arkansas and Texas.

Thus we now have a new prohibition movement, similar to that in the middle of the 19th century, but with greater guarantees of permanence. But we should cherish no illusions. Some of the States now adopting prohibition may surrender it again. If the government of the cities is corrupt and allows the law to be evaded and nullified, if the saloon is allowed to continue in underground and more vicious form, if the liquor traffic creeps into the homes and creates the vices of secret drinking, then even abstainers will feel that regulation in the open is preferable to this illegal and secret drinking and a portion of the moral community will join with the liquor interests in rescinding the prohibitory laws. But this too will not be permanent. As soon as the saloon is once more legally permitted it will forget its repentant promises; it will evade the restrictions imposed on it, become once more the ally of crime and vice and the agent of political corruption, until the moral community will once more be at one in holding that the only good saloon is a dead saloon.

Such oscillations must be expected wherever there are many centres of political initiative. But with all this backward and forward movement, the main drift is overwhelmingly toward the suppression of alcoholism. Whenever the people in America get a new chance to express their will freely, they use it against the liquor traffic. The friends of liquor claim to defend personal liberty and self-government. A local association of saloon-keepers calls itself "the Knights of Liberty". In Chicago the organization of liquor interests is called "the United Societies for Local Self-Government". But in reality they deny the people the right to decide one of the most important questions of popular welfare for themselves. They oppose direct primaries, the initiative, the referendum, and every device for the extension of true democracy, and are the most powerful supporters of bossism, for they know they can manipulate a corrupt clique better than the people.

The political methods of the liquor interests are so corrupting and dangerous that many men who are not abstainers favor local option and prohibition in order to cleanse political life from this brutalizing power. The execution of the laws in the cities is not paralyzed so much by the desire to drink liquor as by the desire to sell liquor and make money. Mr. William J. Bryan, the eminent leader of the Democratic Party, in an outspoken editorial in the Commoner (Feb. 18, 1910) said: "The saloon is constantly used to debauch politics, and to prevent the intelligent consideration of political questions. The liquor interests interfere in all matters that may even remotely affect their interests".

He adds that the old-fashioned saloon-keeper is disappearing; the great brewery corporations control the local saloons. Thus the trust evil is added to the liquor evil, and these corporations can exert a more intense and intelligent pressure in politics than associations of small saloon keepers. President Kunde of the Illinois State Liquor Dealers' Protective Association in his annual address, 1910, reviewed "the slain", giving a long list of governors, senators, and congressmen, who failed of re-election because they had offended the liquor interests. Among these were some of the most valuable champions of purer politics in recent years.

Till very recently the main force behind the movement against alcoholism was the Christian Church. The movement relied almost wholly on moral and religious arguments and motives. It is amazing how much this alone has been able to accomplish against the solid economic interests arrayed against it. The movement in America has been weak on the scientific side. The movement in Germany, young as it is, has done more for the scientific comprehension of alcoholism than a century of agitation in America. But the point has now been reached with us where a higher plane of scientific argument can be used, and especially where the economic arguments are gaining in strength. Enlightened selfishness is lumbering up to aid religious morality.

Nearly all the railroads of America expressly forbid their employers to use intoxicants at all during working hours or to frequent saloons. Some demand total abstinence, and all favor it. (See *Anti-Saloon Year Book*, 1910, p. 220—23.) Life insurance societies always inquire if the applicant uses liquor and consider this in accepting or refusing a risk. In times past commercial travellers were often men of easy habits who thought it necessary to drink with prospective buyers to secure their trade. Few business houses would care now to be represented by that class of men. The pace of business life is exceedingly fast and exhausting. There is an increase of what may be called industrial drunkenness; men use stimulants to meet the pressure of competitive demands. On the other hand many more for the same reason give up even moderate drinking, because they realize that they need full possession of their faculties.

The highly developed newspaper interests of America are financially based on advertising. Few newspapers could live by their subscriptions and sales. Most daily newspapers receive liquor advertisements, and the liquor interests use this source of income to influence the policy of the newspapers. This fact must never be forgotten in scanning the newspapers to gauge public opinion. Now that the liquor interests find themselves threatened on all hands, they are spending increasing sums to influence public opinion. The great Anheuser-Busch Brewing Company of St. Louis in 1909 filled two store-houses with bar fixtures

shipped back from its controlled saloons which prohibition had closed up. Early in 1909 it placed a whole page of display advertising with nearly every large newspaper in the country, praising beer as a beverage. (See Collier's Weekly, March 13, 1909.) The liquor interests subsidize newspapers in districts threatened by local option. They are willing to pay large sums for material furnished by them, but inserted as editorial or news matter. Under these circumstances it is a striking fact that a long list of the most reputable weekly and monthly magazines of the country refuse entirely to accept liquor advertisements. (See Anti-Saloon Year Book, 1910, p. 236.) The magazines of America occupy an immensely influential place in our current literature. Some of them have circulations ranging from 250,000 to 1,500,000. These periodicals therefore are now in the same position as the religious denominations, excluding liquor dealers from their membership, and some of them are hitting hard.

One of the decisive questions for the future is the attitude of the industrial working class, for they hold the key to the situation in the cities. Foreign immigrants and their descendants are most numerous among them. Drinking habits are quite common. The saloon is their club. Many trades unions meet in rooms connected with saloons, and the men feel in honor bound to compensate the saloon-keeper by taking a drink. But there are signs of a new attitude. Samuel Gompers, the President of the great National Federation of Labor, in several annual messages has insisted that the labor unions must build labor temples or secure permission to meet in the public school buildings. "The time has come when the saloon and the labor movement must be divorced." At the last annual meeting of the Federation, which was held at Toronto, 1909, a great meeting of 4000 men was held on Sunday afternoon, at which labor leaders, who were not known as temperance orators, made ringing speeches. Thomas L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers, said: "In our constitution we have a clause which forbids any member to sell intoxicants, even at a picnic. That's what we think of the liquor traffic". This meeting awakened the greatest interest throughout the country and intense antagonism among the supporters of the liquor trades. Organized labor has taken a suspicious attitude toward local option and prohibition, because they fear that it will throw great numbers of workers out of employment, unsettle the labor market, and cause an industrial crisis. The liquor interests appeal to this fear by magnifying the number of men employed by them and the amount of capital invested in their industries.

The question is sometimes raised by interested foreign observers, whether we hope ultimately to abolish the liquor traffic completely in

America. I should reply that neither Christianity nor civilization can ever be content or complete until we do. But whatever our laws may be, it is certain that neither the use nor the trade will cease in America, as long as hundreds of thousands of emigrants are coming to us annually from European countries in which the liquor customs remain unbroken. We can not rise unless you also rise; we can not be completely free, unless you become free with us. It is also certain that the liquor traffic will never cease as long as industry is carried on for private profit by capital. It is too profitable a trade. The liquor trade is simply exploiting capitalism in one of its worst manifestations.

On the other hand it is also certain that the present process of narrowing down the traffic is bound to go on. Increasing scientific knowledge will strip it of every pretence of usefulness and make it hideous. Capital and labor will recognize alcohol as their great common foe. Even now the liquor interests are everywhere on the retreat, and are fighting with the foul weapons of desperation. On the other hand the moral and religious convictions condemning it are stronger than ever, and there is no indication that the churches of America will weaken in their implacable antagonism to this great foe of all the higher life of humanity.

I have tried to bring before you a great movement in America, extending over a hundred years. I have tried to show you that it originated in religious and moral motives, and has drawn its chief strength to this day from the organized religious life of our country. The secret of our early and persistent espousal of a great cause which is only recently beginning to enlist the interest of continental Europe, must be sought in the freedom and democracy of our churches, and in the vital, emotional, and ethical character of our Christianity. That type of religion which dominates the religious life of America, numerically and spiritually, originated in the revolutionary religious parties of the continental and English Reformation and have carried their revolutionary impulses of democracy and morality with them to the new soil of America. Our churches are churches of the people, for the people, and by the people, free from the restraining influences of the State, free to utter the moral convictions of the common people. The immense ethical force developed by the American churches in this long conflict is proof of the power latent in a warm and pulsating religious life when at last it is set free from the external authorities that restrain it, and can get at its real mission, to destroy both the effects and the causes of sin, and to transform the life of humanity into the Kingdom of God.

RELIGION AND WOMAN.

RELIGIOUS TEACHING AND WOMEN

By Dr. ADA WEINEL, JENA.

The desire for a "Freer Christianity and Religious Progress" is apparent in the universal demand for reform in the religious instruction given in schools. The demand appears, at first sight, little calculated to excite the interest of women. It is, however, remarkable that women have taken the initiative with regard to reform in a very special way. There are also organisations and societies which plead for a reform in religious teaching and in these too we find women-members with a right to vote.

The orthodox women-teachers have formed an association which they call "Conference of Women engaged in Religious Teaching." The women who are in sympathy with so-called "modern theology" have started the "Society for Religious Instruction." This latter was not to remain a woman's society; the membership has been extended to men, but women-members are still in the majority.

These associations may be considered as a proof that under present circumstances at least, if not altogether, women as women do take special interest in religious instruction.

When we examine matters more closely we find this interest a natural consequence of the present position of women. Thinking women of our days are characterised by a desire for independence, both outwardly and inwardly; they would fain have a higher and more thorough education, they will play their part in the business of life. The justice of these claims is now ungrudgingly acknowledged. We note this in a greater or less degree in the re-organisation of the girls' schools, in the continuation schools for girls; we find professional schools for women, they are admitted to the universities, they may enter for academical and State examinations.

If we consider the tendency of reform in girls' schools we shall discover that not only more and other subjects are taught, but that also the method of teaching — in principle at least — has undergone a change.

The pupils are no longer just to learn, to learn by heart, to take in the subjects placed before them. They are to acquire their knowledge by independent work. They are to study the sources, to combine and compare till they have an opinion of their own. Their knowledge is then valuable as being the result of their own work. It is, in a way, an endeavour to introduce a scientific procedure into the schools, at least into the upper classes. Women are especially in favour of this side of the re-organisation which tends to further independent thought and work. They know full well that it is the first step towards the fulfilment of all their other wishes.

The first condition for co-operation in social work is a thorough and general education. Now this education is not a mere amassing of knowledge, but an understanding of the conditions of life about us; a consciousness that the present is an outcome of and conditioned by the impelling powers of historical development; we learn to appreciate and value these powers.

Religion is incontestably one of the powers which, in the present and past, have most strongly influenced the development of political and economic life, of art and of science. We need only think of papacy, monasticism, the Reformation, the religious sects, rationalism, the significance of the Catholic party in the German Parliament, the influence of the confessional both in private and in public life. Added to this, theological science, in the same way as natural science, now permits the community at large to participate more in its work than was formerly the case. We need insight into the questions of the day before taking any part in discussions concerning them.

But we women are not interested in religious instruction solely for the education it will give us. We must demand more from religious teaching than the acquirement of mere knowledge and culture. More is necessary now-a-days, and especially for our growing girls to whom so many occupations and so many paths of knowledge are opening up.

There is a certain danger in the introduction of the historical method of considering things, of learning that every event, every personality, is conditioned by the circumstances of the epoch. A cool and critical attitude of mind is apt to be induced, the precepts of morality and religion, and the claims of custom are likely to be looked upon with

doubt or rejected altogether. Absolute truths too, will, in this state of mind, fail to be recognised. Egoism alone is by no means the cause of such views, nor is it the desire of liberty which will permit of no check or restraint. Rather is it love for others, the wish to help others which has strengthened such movements as the so-called "new ethics". The pupils in our scholastic institutions (Studienanstalten), and the women-students up for their first term are frequently full of enthusiasm for the new ethics. It is often quite touching to meet girls full of the most glowing idealism and then to hear they are followers of Nietzsche and Social Democracy. Any and every criticism of present conditions is received enthusiastically and unreservedly.

We must of course not attribute these signs of the times altogether to inefficient religious teaching, nor must we say that it has failed to arm the girls against the charm of the idealism undoubtedly to be found in these anti-religious currents. But it is also certain that there are great sins of omission in the method and manner of imparting religious instruction in our schools. Young people must first of all learn that we cannot take part in the business of life without observing the laws and without setting up a type which we make the model of our own conduct. They must also learn that their ideals, those laws which speak to them from within and to which they give willing obedience, are far more powerful than any laws affecting their outward life. Then they must be shown the highest ideal of mankind, the ideal of Christianity, the ideal of the purest, highest, all-embracing love. The aim of religious teaching must be to ensure to young souls the possession of this ideal which will prove a safeguard and shelter in the battle of life.

Voices are indeed raised — and just in those circles desirous of more vital and efficacious religious instruction — to warn against aiming too high and expecting too much from religious teaching. It is out of the question, they say, for "religious and moral character to be formed by any teaching whatever, it is not possible to impart dogmatic religion." It may then seem presumption, when we expect religious instruction to give the pupils an ideal for life. We do not mean by this, that, under all circumstances and conditions, their will is to be given the right bent for their whole life. But there is one thing that can be done. The Christian ideal can be presented clearly and in all its purity. It can be contrasted with the other recognised ideals of the day, with, perhaps, the ideal of family love, the civic virtues, high-mindedness. The teacher can show how infinitely greater the Christian ideal is, how much more elevated and all-embracing. He can make clear to the pupils that Christian love, humility, gentleness, purity, goodness are not weakness,

but strength. The champions of these ideals can be so clearly presented that they are unforgettable, whether their example be followed or not. In short, religious teaching must and can bring home to the pupils that Christianity and its claims is a great cause, a vital power which cannot be ignored. They must learn that their refusal or acceptance of the Christian ideal is decisive for their whole life. //

For our young girls, it is most important — more so than with any other subject — that religious instruction should be imparted in the right way. It seems to me that the greatest personal reserve is advisable. There must be no attempt at direct influence on the part of the teacher. He may not bring forward his own religious experiences, but must place the great cause in the foreground. It is not the teacher who will make a great cause of Christianity; it bears its everlasting strength in itself. The pupil will soon find out for himself that Christianity is a matter of deep and personal interest to the teacher. //

Our growing girls, nowadays, are so extremely independent that the greatest tact is necessary. The teacher who tampers with their independence in any way, however unintentionally, will only obtain negative results.

But there is another danger religious instruction has to contend with; particularly with regard to the girls of our time. Girls' feelings are so easily excited, their delight in what is beautiful is so great that they are inclined to put the cult of art and of beauty in the place of religion. How often do we meet educated women of the upper classes who believe that they can satisfy the cravings of their soul with art, and particularly with music!

Religious instruction can, however, prevent this danger. No other subject is so well adapted to still the longings of a girl's soul, her desire to enhance her individuality by means of her enthusiasm and her emotional life. The highest ideal is placed before her and also the great figures in the history of religion. She learns to understand the events in which she sees man striving after and winning a full knowledge of God, and in so doing developing his personality and exerting his powers to the utmost. The way is thus prepared for the pupil to follow.

These are the reasons which lead us women to take an interest in religious teaching. We desire it to be thorough and comprehensive, calculated to bring girls to think for themselves. Our opinions are therefore the same as those who desire reform. When we examine proposals made with regard to reform, whether they have to do with curriculum or time-table, with the method of the teacher, his qualifications

or his position, we find they are all unanimous on one point. Religious instruction is not to present something dead and gone and foreign to our present way of thinking and feeling. The pupil should be stimulated to make that his own which is the best of all times and which will be of the utmost value for his own life. The aim of religious teaching will be higher or lower according to the standard of the school and the kind of school in which such teaching is given.

Our wishes then have not exclusively to do with women, or even with women of the educated classes. What we do ask is that women shall be permitted to share in the work of religious teaching as well as in the good gifts of intellectual life.

But this does not exhaust the interest of women in religious instruction. The wish of all women is that the education of girls shall not be entrusted solely to men, in religion as well as in other subjects. I venture to say that our male colleagues will not be hurt at our requiring that this subject shall be left principally to women-teachers. I do not mean by this that a man cannot give as good religious instruction at a girls' school as a woman. But there is much in favour of women doing this work.

In religious teaching it is more necessary than with any other subject that school and home work hand in hand. When they are at variance they can then, at least, show tact and consideration for one another. A link must be formed between these two factors in religious education. In most cases religious education at home is in the hands of the mother. It will therefore be easier and simpler for a woman-teacher than for a man to come to an understanding with the home about these questions. A woman too will generally speak more openly to another woman about questions affecting her inner life.

There is more to be said. In the years when young girls become aware of the great questions affecting human life, and, at the same time, have to struggle with all the inner and outer difficulties of this transition period, this borderland, they are more easily understood by their own sex, and, in most cases, speak out more unreservedly to women-teachers than to men. We are therefore justified in asking that instruction in the so-called ethical subjects: religion, German, and history, shall be, as much as possible, and more than has been, or could be the case, in the hands of women.

Here we touch upon a great difficulty. A theological training is absolutely necessary for the religious teaching we require, at least in the upper classes of girls' high schools. The Training Colleges for Women Teachers make no provision for this. The many means of deepening

and widening one's education: the lectures, vacation courses, the mass of good and popular literature on the subject, are only supplementary, only make-shifts; they do not take the place of theological training. The teacher must not only be acquainted with the results of modern scientific work; he must know the work itself and the methods. He must be thoroughly and scientifically equipped to parry the attacks made in our time upon Christianity. A superficial knowledge of primitive Christianity and of Church history — acquired from second-hand sources — is at the bottom of these attacks, but they excite and disquiet our girls who hear of them through the books they read or the talk of the home. After having prepared himself for the work by a course of systematic, exegetic and historical study, the teacher must make himself acquainted with the different theological movements of the time. He must have a firm and sure standpoint of his own and not be without understanding for those who differ from him. Children are quick to notice injustice and one-sidedness; it robs them of their confidence. And how often do the children come from a home where they hear quite contrary opinions!

Till now, theology has been a branch of study which has been neglected by women. In many South German states there is no mention of this subject in the regulations for the "Oberlehrer" (master in a higher school) examination. The clergyman gives religious instruction in the higher schools. Women are excluded here by the organisation. But in Prussia too only a small percentage of women-students choose theology, although it is an examination subject *pro fac. doc.* The regulations issued 15th of June 1900 for the examination of "Oberlehrerinnen" (first grade women-teachers in higher schools) also assume theology as one of the subjects.

Want of interest is not the cause of this. I know many women who have given up the idea of studying theology on account of the attendant difficulties. It is one of the most comprehensive subjects, the pupil must come to it doubly equipped and prepared. It is too much work for those women-teachers, who keep their post in the school while preparing for the university, to learn Greek and perhaps Hebrew, as well as Latin. Most "Studienanstalten" (scholastic institutions) prepare for the "Real-Abitur" which qualifies for every branch of study. But here too Greek is not given, and for the study of history and theology Greek is absolutely necessary. We know that the university jurisprudence courses do not go far enough for theologians. What is required is the following: there must be Greek courses in the Prussian university towns for women-teachers who are permitted by the regulations of 1907 to pass their examination *pro fac. doc.* These Greek courses

will also enable those who have passed the "Real-Abitur" to acquire the language necessary for the study of theology.

But men and women are more important than regulations or statutes. And therefore I appeal to the idealism of those women who are studying with a view to becoming teachers. Do not be alarmed by the difficulties in your way! Follow your own inclination when it leads you to study theology. There are high tasks awaiting women in the field of religious teaching. Her work can be to help the rising generation of women to find in religion that strength and power for their life's work which will be their possession to their life's end.

WOMEN IN THE MINISTRY.

BY EFFIE McCOLLUM JONES, D. D., WATERLOO, IOWA.

Madam Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, Members of the Congress, Friends. —

As a representative of the Women's Missionary Association of the Universalist Church in America it gives me deep pleasure, not only to greet you in this Congress, but to bring you the story of the modern expression of women's spiritual enthusiasm—their entrance into the full activity of the Christian ministry.

Women's desire to work for their religion is no new thing. Every form of faith has had its devoted daughters, and in Christianity we never forget that women as well as men were constant and loyal disciples of the Master during his earthly ministry, and that they were beside him in his agony and earliest to pay reverent attention to his memory. Since his preaching had done so much to exalt womanhood by teaching the worth and dignity of each human soul, it was only natural that the service of women to the Church he founded should be hearty and unflagging. The form of this service, as time passed, has been determined, of course, by the conditions of each age. They have been in the humblest positions always zealous in whatever their hands found to do. It is a romantic story, for the recital of which I cannot pause, this story of sacrifice of women's dearest hopes and ties at the behest of religion; this setting of hands, often feeble and untrained, to bearing the toils and burdens of the consecrated life. It has remained for our own age to open doors of larger usefulness to us, the descendants of a long line of pious women, and to welcome those who are moved to undertake it into the clerical labor hitherto belonging exclusively to men.

When I speak of the woman ministry, it is of America only that I can speak, as this youngest of the peoples is the pioneer in this direction. As I talk to you it is as one of these whose experience has been long in comparison with the whole period covered by what has ceased to be an experiment. The first woman to be ordained in our country, and

thus the first woman minister in the sense in which we are now discussing the matter — was Lydia Sexton, who was ordained in 1851, so that the history of the movement goes back scarcely sixty years. My own ministry covers about twenty years, or fully a third of the period in which women have been giving themselves to this form of Christian service. Many of those who preceded me have to tell stories of prejudice, bigotry and opposition, so that theirs was in some ways a martyr's path. The rapid disappearance of such unfavorable conditions makes it possible for us younger women to tell another story — of hearty fellowship and co-operation received from our brother ministers, of pulpits open to us as rapidly as we can fill them, and of an increasing joy and prosperity in our ministry.

It is always the desire of those to whom this departure in women's religious service is a new idea, to know what were the impelling reasons that led us into it, and what are our answers to the world-old objections made to every advance step on our part.

For the first — our reasons are like men's reasons for attempting the same work. Love of the Church and its teachings; a burning desire to do more for these and for humanity than seems possible in any other relation; the inner compulsion of the message that clamors to be spoken; are not these the actuating motives that impel to high service in every life? Let them be the answer to the query as to why women also enter the work of the ministry.

As for the objections to our participation in the full activities of this most beautiful and most arduous profession, — in meeting them I shall be able to say something positive as well about this form of women's work, I hope.

The first who rises to object to women in the ministry is likely to say that it will lead to the feminization of religion — a catastrophe which no one of us wants to bring about, for religion should never be presented in terms of sex, but in terms of human need and Divine answer. As a matter of fact it is a fashion to cry out that religion has already become feminized, and that thus is the indifference of multitudes of men to the Church explained. Surely, the handful of women ministers, the most liberal estimate of our numbers not exceeding two thousand in all denominations — and these at work for little more than half a century, can scarcely be given credit, or blame, for so rapidly transforming the spirit of a teaching that has been exclusively masculine for nineteen hundred years. It were a greater claim than any of us would dream of making for the extent and power of our influence. No, if the religion of today has become feminized, it has done so under a predominantly masculine ministry, and the antidote would seem

to be in a mixed ministry, that the two points of view may come more nearly to giving a focused vision of the Truth as it is in Christ Jesus. If the heroic element has been lost out of religion while men have been teaching it, perhaps we, making in some ways our larger sacrifices in order to proclaim the Gospel message, may succeed in restoring it.

Another objection urged against every widening of women's activities is that we may crowd out the men. I have myself heard men allege this fear as their one thought as to the inadvisability of free entrance being accorded us into the ministerial profession. To this there is at hand one unanswerable response. In every denomination the cry goes up that the supply of ministers is altogether unequal to the need. We simply cannot man our churches today, and church extension is largely forbidden, since none can hear without a preacher, and there are no unemployed preachers to be sent. In many states in America, the keeping alive of numbers of churches has been made possible only by drafting into pastoral service women partly trained as deaconesses and Sunday School workers. If men thus leave the work inadequately done, it is only fair that women should be allowed without opposition to fill the vacant places. Besides, the fear that women will crowd out men from this profession, which has been theirs exclusively always before, implies a certain sense of inadequacy on their own part, which no woman would be so impolite as even to suggest. Thus far we have not enough ministers of both sexes, so this objection may safely be set aside.

Then, salary cuts are feared. This is an unworthy and groundless fear, for if men are worth more than we they will get it. It does not often happen that a pastorate goes to the lowest bidder. Excellence of work is the factor that decides gradations in payment, and we women are receiving, everywhere so far as I can discover, as large salaries as men have been given for work in the same places, and I could recite conspicuous instances where women, in open competition with men for the same place, have been chosen at an increase of salary over any ever paid by the same church to any man minister. All professional women are fully committed to the principle of equal pay for equal work, and free competition should develop individual worth and value. As a matter of fact, we woman have more faith in men than some of the timid ones seem to have in themselves, for we believe that merit is bound to hold its ground, and all we ask is a fair field and no favors.

But now some one arises to say that the churches do not want women in their pulpits. My own experience of a twenty year pastorate, spent almost entirely in two important churches, does not bear out this contention, for I have been preceded in both pastorates by men, followed by a man in the church I left, and entered my present pastorate without

candidating, over several brother candidates. The proportion of women constantly employed is as great as that of men. There are both men and women ministers who cannot hold or get steady employment. It is a case of the survival of the fittest. As a matter of fact, in my service as a Convention official, I have found some churches that ask for women ministers in preference to men, some that would not consider them, and others that simply ask for the most effective pastor. The assumption to speak for Providence and to say beforehand what will inevitably fail is not argument, and seems to imply a conscious weakness in logic. If churches do not want us, let us find it out for ourselves. That is all we ask or would accept.

Really, however, the heart of this whole matter is found in the world's need of ministry. Sin, suffering and doubt abound. To comfort the sad, to teach the ignorant, to restrain the wayward, to confirm the wavering — there are not hands enough for all these tasks. While in any place unrighteousness prevails because there are no counsellors to holiness, where communities languish in darkness and children are not led into the path of purity, where any human need waits for ministration, there is our unanswerable argument for the full and unhindered entrance of women into pastoral activity. Some forms of church work may always need to be done mostly by men, but some other forms men can scarcely do at all. I am not pleading for an exclusive or even a predominant woman ministry. We have tried for nineteen hundred years with but partial success to evangelize the world with a one-sided ministry. Let us have henceforth holy men and women, dedicated to the service of God and man, and let us glorify the one and help the other without envy and according to our several ability. The passion for social service has been given to us irrespective of sex. Let its action be also untrammelled.

Sometimes men say to me, "We agree with you in all this, but we should not feel justified in urging young women to enter upon the work of the ministry." I can only reply, that the shores of the sea of life are strewn with the wrecks of men and churches, dead through the mistakes made in urging young men to undertake a work for which they were not fitted. What we need to do is to get to applying the test to which St. Paul subjected himself, so that he was able to exclaim "Woe is me if I preach not the Gospel." Those of us who find our ministry a joy began it, not because we were urged by some friend to do so, but because the inner compulsion of the spirit was irresistible. A ministry undertaken from outward compulsion is foredoomed to failure, but there should be but one attitude toward all those who feel that they can pass St. Paul's test. Is there not grave danger in hindering

any from the fullest expression of that which is spoken to them by the voice of God himself?

The joys of a life devoted to the Christian ministry are deeper than any other calling can give. Those who enter into its work from the promptings of the spirit find their reward in the doing the day's work. And those who have thus found a full and abundant life for themselves should be the last to put any obstacle in the way of others similarly led. It is an old prophecy that is now for the first time being really fulfilled, "And your sons and your daughters shall prophesy." For all such obedience to the leadings of the spirit of God may we learn to have the fullest sympathy and appreciation, until every voice that seeks to lift itself in praise and admonition shall be reverently and fairly heard.

REMARKS

OF MRS. CLARA T. GUILD, PRINCIPAL OF THE TUCKERMAN SCHOOL,
BOSTON.

Madam President and Friends of the Congress, — It would be almost unpardonable at this hour of the night to tax you with an address of any length; but there are two things which I would like very briefly to say. First although the thanks of members of our party for all we have received here have been expressed and will be expressed many times more, I want to say a word of appreciation for the women who are here. From the time of our landing in Liverpool, when we were greeted with a reception, and entertained in private homes, on through Oxford with its reception, and London with the Laymen's Club Dinner, up through Holland and here in Germany, we have received the most generous hospitality. From the time of our arrival in Germany through all the days we have been here, whether on the Rhine or here in Berlin at the meetings, we have felt the kind welcome, and we thank you for it.

Now about the Training School for Parish Assistants. The preceding speaker has alluded to the need of preparation for the work which she has outlined, and I am pleased to tell you that she has described in part the work of a school already established in Boston for preparing students for work as parish assistants or for superintendents or teachers in Sunday Schools. The Tuckerman School was named after Rev. Dr. Joseph Tuckerman, the eminent social worker, who was known not only in America but in Europe also, and it was established three years ago through the foresight and initiative of Dr. Samuel A. Eliot, President of the American Unitarian Association. Recognizing that the work of the church is not confined to preaching, and that there are many human needs that must be met outside the pulpit — on week-days as well as on Sundays — it became plain that the demand for this added work could be best satisfied by an assistant working with and under direction of the minister. The service of the church to human needs could thus be extended and the regular attendance at church services increased.

The parish assistant will have as many varieties of work as the conditions of the particular parish demand. There will be the visiting, the philanthropies, the clubs and organizations that will claim the attention of such an assistant, and the minister will always have his own plans for extending and intensifying his work.

Then there is the Sunday School. Parents desire today, as they have always desired, that their children shall receive religious instruction; but it is difficult in our country to find teachers who are willing to devote their time to Sunday classes even if they are qualified to do so. It is difficult to find superintendents who shall organize and successfully manage our Sunday Schools, conduct teachers' meetings, and attend to the numberless details. All this is important work. It calls for time and thought. Is it not just as important that the religious training of our young people shall be in the hands of specially qualified persons, as that in day-schools they shall receive their secular education under the direction of experts? Is it not very important that the short time given to religious training be most carefully and wisely spent? Why should not a teacher and a superintendent in the Sunday School be specially fitted to do their work and be paid for the time spent in doing it?

The Tuckerman School aims to give the needed training to students who shall undertake these lines of work. I need not give you details of the school. It has made a start. It has, with its President, Dr. Eliot, a board of managers and a faculty, and recently there has been formed a Tuckerman School Association for the purpose of binding more closely the past and present members of the school. For further spreading of liberal thought through its graduates as they take positions and for increasing the usefulness of the church, the establishment of the school marks an important progressive movement.

WOMEN AND RELIGIOUS WORK.

BY MRS. C. HERBERT SMITH, LONDON.

The Secretary of the International Congress has done me the very great honour of inviting me to give an address on "What women have done, and might do, in furtherance of the principles, ideals, and work of a liberal and progressive religious faith." Though I cannot lay claim to speak with any authority on this matter, I am able, perhaps, to give some help based upon the experience I have had in connection with certain English societies, the two most important of which are the British League of Unitarian Women, and the Central Postal Mission. May I begin by reminding you of the close connection which has always existed between women and religious work?

It was a woman who was "last at the Cross and earliest at the grave." It is quite in keeping with the best traditions of women that they should work in furtherance of the ideals of a liberal religious faith. A great difficulty exists in this, that the more progressive this faith becomes, the wider grow its scope and aim. Indeed, many women (and men also) seem to believe that it is inconsistent with the possession of a really liberal and progressive form of faith to work for any definite religious teaching. It is thus that many truly pious people devote themselves to social reforms, and absolutely decline to be connected with any church or association having for its aim the furtherance of the principles of a particular faith, however wide it may be. The so-called "Gospel of Humanity" of necessity conflicts with the possession of a definite set of religious beliefs. Though this is an intelligible attitude, it is an obviously dangerous position to adopt, as it sometimes leads to a complete absence of religious faith, and to my mind deprives its holder of one of the strongest incentives to good work. Whilst I have little sympathy with mere dogmatic religion, I feel that if women are to do their best work they will accomplish their ends when they are upheld and urged forward by firm and genuine belief in the principles of a religious faith. It is not within my province to point out the splendid ideals which

underlie the liberal faiths which bring together the delegates at this Congress. They do, though, appeal to all one's imagination, based as they are on our common belief in God as the Father of all men, and must rouse the enthusiasm of all anxious for a religious faith free from priestly influence, unscientific principles, and dogmatic creeds, so often founded on ignorance and superstition. We women, the mothers of all future generations, must realise that the progress of the world depends much more on our influence than on anything else. We first bend the supple twigs of the young tree, and it is the direction which we give them that their minds most often subsequently follow. The progressive liberal principles underlying our religious faiths, if carefully taught to the rising generations, must have more widely-reaching effects on the future action and conduct of humanity than any other form of work in which we can ever be engaged. In dealing with the work of women in pursuance of such aims, I must confine myself to my experience of English women alone. But I must preface my remarks by saying that the experience of workers in one country is not necessarily a sure guide to those working in other countries, under different conditions. This is shown by the different functions of the two kindred societies in the United States and in England respectively. The British League of Unitarian Women was formed after the last International Congress, held in Boston, by English visitors, who had been much impressed by the magnificent work done in the United States by the Women's Alliance. But from my small knowledge of their organisation and splendid work it is clear that many of the things they do most effectually are in England already being done by men. For instance it is an exception in England to have women on church Committees.

In the large and influential London church with which I am connected we have two women and eleven men on the committee, and it is only in recent years that women have been elected on it at all, and nowhere are women in large numbers on such committees. It is felt in England that that kind of work is better done by men. In the United States I understand this is not so. I may also mention a similar difference which exists as to women preachers. In England it is very unusual to have ordained women pastors in charge of a congregation. The one important exception, a lady who has preached with success in Berlin, shows this. After an important ministry of some years in England, she has lately gone to the United States, where there are many distinguished women preachers. If in two countries so similar in race, language, and religion, fundamental differences such as these exist as to the position of women's work in liberal churches, it is evident that in other countries local considerations will apply which will prevent much work being done by

women, which we in England assume to be theirs as a matter of course.

I now pass on to the actual work we in England are doing, much of which can perhaps be done equally well elsewhere. There are the agencies in connection with an individual congregation and the work carried on, on more general lines, throughout the country. I will take the latter point first. In the matter of general work covering a wide area, where important results can be obtained, it is necessary to be particularly careful to choose with discretion the women who are to join in the work, and to have regard to their adaptability for it. As we all know, there is a constant inquiry now-a-days on the part of persons, nominally "orthodox," or who do not belong to any denomination, as to the principles and ideals of liberal religion. This is the work which, in both England and America, is carried on by the Postal Missions under the control of able and educated women. Advertisements are inserted in newspapers having a good circulation to the effect that Unitarian reading is supplied free. This is followed by the titles of three pamphlets and the names of their authors, those with titles which attract attention being chosen as far as possible. An address is added to which application must be made. Much correspondence and discussion frequently takes place with inquirers. This is often followed up by courses of reading sometimes covering years. A library is connected with the Postal Mission, from which serious correspondents can borrow books on subjects on which they wish to read more deeply. This work need not, of course, be confined to women, nor is it in all cases. But in practice it is found that women, owing to various reasons, are mainly the people who carry it on. Of course, this mission must be controlled by able and educated women, as considerable knowledge is required on the part of the organisers, and especially by the ladies who undertake the correspondence. It is needless for me to point out how great must be the tact and sympathy displayed. It will interest you to hear that the whole of this work is confidential, and so private that in many cases correspondents ask us to communicate with them in such a way that it shall not be known even by others living in the same house. The practical results arising from this work are very great indeed, although it is impossible to estimate actually the whole effect. In London a women's social club exists, formed of members of the London churches, who, by means of friendly gatherings, get to know each other more intimately, which results in more mutual co-operation between the various congregations, and so strengthens them all.

Leaving now the general work, let me touch upon the agencies connected with individual congregations. In the church women

are indispensable in superintending the cleanliness of the building, and this naturally falls in o their hands. It is important that sweeping and cleaning and dusting the building and furniture should be thoroughly well done. Little things of this description, if neglected, cause regular attendants much discomfort and strike strangers unfavourably. As "cleanliness is next to godliness," the church ought not to come short. Again, many English churches are made bright by flowers each Sunday, and this is under the care of certain women of the congregation. I think there are few churches anywhere whose women members do not meet at regular intervals to make garments for the poor, &c., so on that activity I need not touch. Seldom, however, do we find a table at the church door for displaying pamphlets and books giving information to all interested in the history and principles of our religious faith. But I would urge that method of spreading our form of truth on the attention of the women in churches where there is as yet no bookstall. Strangers attending the services generally stop to inspect what is on view, and are frequently so interested in what they find there that they return on subsequent Sundays. Another useful means of spreading information and of making people think for themselves is by forming women's reading circles. One, I know, meets regularly at three o'clock on one afternoon in alternate weeks. A book chosen by the members, bearing upon some aspect of our belief or work, or a kindred subject is read aloud in turns. The readers are appointed beforehand, and each is expected to prepare her portion at home, and to be ready to start a discussion upon any point that arises during the reading, and also to be able to answer questions as to matters of history, &c., which occur in the course of her prepared portion. The discussions which follow are informal, but productive of much clearer and more definite thinking than many of the members would otherwise undertake on these vital subjects. One of the number is chosen as leader to whom disputed points may be referred. In the particular circle to which I belong we are so fortunate as to have our minister as our leader. I shall not touch on Sunday-school teaching, in which so many women engage, and where there are untold opportunities for influencing the children and young people into the right way of thinking and living. This is, perhaps, the most important work of all which we can engage in, for the children of to-day must form the Church of the future, if it is to exist at all. One of the most important ideas to keep before us is the necessity for educating ourselves to understand the historical and other aspects of religious belief. The spirit of scientific inquiry which now invades the religious as well as the physical domains of thought is causing the old foundations of religious truth to crumble rapidly away. It is urged, and with

truth, that women have been and are the chief supporters of the extravagant claims of priest and church in demanding unreasoning obedience in their followers, and that they so injure the cause of true religion. This arises partly from the very nature of women, who, being more emotional than men, are more willing to accept statements which appeal to them on that side, particularly if given with authority. We must also take into account that till recent years the education of women has not been equal to that of men, and the very strength of the appeal which liberal religion made to men was of necessity less in their case. The religion of the future will insist upon having reason and knowledge on its side instead of in opposition to it. Women, even more than men, must be made to understand that our religious faith depends upon intellectual conviction, and is not to be merely emotional. Whilst this is a truth that women must learn, I think they have still a greater duty towards the new faith of so infusing that intellectual conviction with warmth and intensity of feeling as to make it a power in the world for good, which intellectual convictions alone can never have, and which will fulfil that great spiritual need which will enable them to fight effectively in life's battles, and so we can resolve in Mrs. Browning's words, "To keep our aims sublime, our eyes erect, altho' our woman hands should shake and fail."

MISS HELEN BROOKE HERFORD.

By reason of the lateness of the time Miss Herford was only allowed a few minutes in which to speak. She gave a brief account of how the women of the Unitarian and other Liberal Christian churches in America were banded together into what is known as the National Women's Alliance. She explained that in every church there was some sort of community or society. That these societies had in the past known very little of each other, and that in America the women banded together as branches of the organization had been productive of increased power and effectiveness and had had a marked influence on American Unitarianism. Two or three years ago, said Miss Herford, the English Unitarians had united and had formed the "Women's League". This League has now almost fifty branches and its object is to maintain the feeling of fellowship among the women, of the churches, to render their work more effective, and to deepen their religious life. Miss Herford brought the greetings of the women of the League to the women of liberal and progressive religious thought in Germany, and the suggestion that the time had come when an International Society might be formed and the German women join hands with their English, American and Hungarian sisters.

4. RELIGION AND UNIVERSAL PEACE.

ADDRESS

BY MR. J. ALLEN BAKER, M. P., LONDON.

Mr. President: At this late hour I shall try to detain you but a few minutes. I much regret that I am unable to speak to you in one of the musical languages of the Continent; I must use the rough English tongue in addressing you, as I know no other.

That there should be anything but peace and amity between nations that profess to be Christian, is one of the saddest facts in the history of Christianity, and it becomes the greatest problem with which the Church in every country has to deal.

"On earth peace, goodwill towards men", the Heaven-sent message at the birth of "The Prince of Peace", has after 19 centuries still to find its fulfilment. Yet there are many signs that the Christian Churches of many lands are beginning to realize their paramount duty in uniting to secure the peace of the world.

A few months before the lamented death of our beloved sovereign King Edward "The Peacemaker", addressing the Convocations of Canterbury and York, he said: — "The concord of Christendom is unbroken, and rarely in history has the idea of war seemed more repulsive, or the desire for peace been more widely cherished throughout my Empire. I feel convinced that as civilization advances, the influence of Christian teaching on the minds of men will tend increasingly to inculcate the love of peace. Upon peace the health, the happiness, and the material progress of all nations depend, and it is my constant prayer that our nation may be spared the perils and miseries of war, which in this modern age must involve the ruin of millions."

The world has become poorer by the loss of our great peace-loving king, and it is a significant fact that one of his latest utterances upon the subject which lay so near to his heart should be addressed to representatives of the Church of which he himself was a member. May

his message, and the example of his life be one that will be followed by sovereigns and rulers in all lands, and particularly by Christian men and Christian communities throughout the world.

Why, it may be asked, has the Christian Church lagged so far behind in regard to its plain duty to promote peace and brotherhood among the nations?

Can the answer be found in the fact that in every Christian nation the Church is divided into sects and denominations whose sectarian beliefs and ecclesiastical dogmas have kept them apart, and prevented their acting together even on such a subject as International Peace, which should be common ground for them all?

Or is it that they have felt that the subject of the world's peace, and how it is to be assured, is one for the politician and ruler, and is no concern of the minister or member of a Christian Church?

Whatever the explanation or excuse, the teaching and example of Christ, the Prince of Peace, is clear and emphatic. When he taught his disciples that prayer, "Our Father . . . Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth" — it implied the brotherhood of the human race, and the duty of his followers to unite in setting up his Kingdom of Peace, which is not founded upon force, but upon love and goodwill.

It was therefore a delightful discovery to find in 1907, when the idea of an interchange of visits between the representatives of the German and English Christian Churches in the interests of closer friendship began to take form, that irrespective of sect or creed they were prepared to unite for this object. Thus it came about for the first time in the world's history, that in 1908 the Church representatives of one great Christian nation visited their confreres in another Christian nation with the express object of promoting International Peace and good will. Leading representatives of the State Church, Roman Catholic Church and Free Churches of Germany, were entertained by their brethren of the Anglican, Nonconformist and Catholic Churches of Britain. English pulpits were occupied by German Pastors, civic and royal receptions and hospitality were offered and every evidence given that the German visitors were received in the homes of Britons as honoured guests and Christian brethren.

The return visit of the Representatives of the Christian Churches of Great Britain to Germany last year was characterized by equal, if not greater warmth of welcome, and those privileged to enjoy the princely hospitality extended by the civic authorities of Hamburg, Berlin, Eisenach, Bielefeld and Bremen, the personal hospitality in the homes of their Christian brethren in these cities, the solemn and impressive united services in the great German Cathedrals, and above all, the

memorable reception accorded to them at the Royal Palace at Potsdam by the great Christian Emperor of Germany, who addressed them as "Gentlemen and Brothers", can never forget the depth and sincerity of the brotherly friendship which they experienced, or believe it possible that Germany and England can do other than unite in a lasting friendship that will make war between these two Christian countries impossible.

And what was to be the practical result of these two historic visits? At the great meeting held at the Albert Hall in London, June 1st, 1908, during the German visit to England, the following resolution was passed with unanimity and enthusiasm.

"We, as representatives of the Christian Churches of Germany and the United Kingdom, recognising how greatly the world's peace depends upon the amicable relations between our two countries, appeal to all classes in both nations to promote, by their earnest endeavours, a mutual spirit of goodwill and friendship.

Our nations are closely allied by the stock from which both peoples spring, by the kinship of our Sovereigns, by our history, our long friendship, our mutual indebtedness in Art, Literature and Science, and above all by our common Christianity.

We believe that the consciousness of these great traditions is deeply engraved in the hearts of our peoples, and that they endorse our conviction, that frank co-operation between us will do much to promote the coming of the Kingdom of Peace on earth and good-will among men."

This resolution was confirmed at the Domkandidatenstift, Berlin, on June 15th 1909, and it was felt by all that the good work thus begun could not be allowed to end with this exchange of visits and mutual hospitality. Permanent committees were formed in both countries, and a new organization entitled "The Associated Councils of Churches in the British and German Empires for Fostering Friendly Relations between the two Peoples."

The objects of these councils are thus stated: —

1. The associating of the Christian Churches in the British and German Empires in the cause of international friendship.

2. The maintenance of brotherly relations between the British and German peoples and the inculcation in both countries of the Christian precept of goodwill amongst men.

3. The exchange of thought and information for the purpose of preventing international misunderstanding and distrust.

4. The furtherance of all efforts calculated to promote and preserve permanent peace between the two nations.

The British Council, with the Archbishop of Canterbury as its President, is probably the most influential and representative body of

Christian men and women who have ever co-operated in any movement in the United Kingdom, and we hope our German brethren may soon be able to give a like report in regard to their Council.

And why should not this example of what has been begun between the Christian Communities of England and Germany, be followed by other countries? Why should not our American cousins who are so largely represented at this Conference take the lead among the Christian nations of the world in organizing a great World's League of peace? Can they not call us of Europe to join with them at the Hague or elsewhere in a great conference where leaders or representatives of all the world's Christian communities, from east and west, may meet and agree to take united action upon this great world problem?

The crushing burden of armaments, so rapidly increasing among the great powers (who are also the leading Christian nations) bring no relative increase of material strength to any country, but rather indicate a growing weakness in moral power.

The British plenipotentiary at the last Hague Conference, Sir Edward Fry, showed that, while in 1898 European countries spent £ 251,000,000 on armaments, in 1906 the amount was £ 320,000,000 an increase of £ 69,000,000, or upwards of 27 per cent. "This enormous growth", he added, "represents the Christian peace of the civilized world in the twentieth century."

The increase since that conference has continued, and to-day the European burden is over £ 400,000,000 per annum.

Or if we take five only of the greatest nations of the world — all Christian Nations — beginning from the East, Russia, Germany and France, Great Britain, and the United States: these five countries in 1900 had a naval and military expenditure of £ 268,000,000. In 1910 it had risen to the colossal sum of £ 346,000,000, an increase of 29 per cent in 10 years. A few months more with the same rate of increase continued, and the sum for these five nations will reach the appalling total of £1,000,000 sterling per day, and of these five nations Great Britain is the chief offender, the United States and Germany coming next.

And all this inconceivable sum of money raised by taxing the industry of the people to provide instruments for the destruction of human life. All of these nations consider themselves the highest types of civilization, and if these instruments of war are to be used for the purpose for which they are designed, they will be employed for the destruction of the world's industry and the wounding and death of human beings; and so they become "means to overthrow that civilization of which they profess themselves the highest type."

We in common with other Christian countries in Europe are spending more than half our national revenues in what is after all preparations to kill each other, and to continue the words of our English Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey, "It becomes a satire, a reflection on civilization, and if it goes on at the rate at which it has recently increased, sooner or later, I believe, it will submerge that civilization."

What would it mean to the great industrial nations of Germany, Britain, and the United States if even one half of these vast sums were expended in social reforms, in improving the condition of the masses of the people?

But far outweighing these material considerations are the great moral and spiritual aspects of the situation — It is not material wealth, or physical power, but righteousness that exalteth a nation, and the aim of the Christian countries of the world should be to federate for the settlement of international disputes on the basis of law and justice, as they do now between individuals, and states within the nation. Such federation, such agreement between the great Christian nations of the world, would not only be the greatest factor in promoting the peace, happiness and prosperity of the whole human race, but would give a force and power to the promotion of the Gospel in heathen lands that would be resistless in the evangelization of the world.

Those heathen nations to whom Germany, England, and the United States now send their missionaries to preach the Gospel of Peace and Goodwill, are quick to see that in their ports ride the battleships of these Christian nations who are armed against each other, and are not prepared to settle their differences except by brute force, and methods that are opposed to the spirit of the Gospels.

There are, however, signs that the world grows weary under its present burden, that there is a growing desire on the part of its greatest citizens, as also of the vast masses of its workers, that the arbitrament of the sword should give place to the justice of the court of law.

Many disputes which in former days would have been a *casus belli* are now being settled by the International Court of Arbitration at the Hague. At this moment that court is occupied with the settlement of a dispute between Great Britain and the United States with regard to the Newfoundland Fisheries, which is of nearly a century standing, and one of the most significant signs of the times is the remarkable speech recently made by President Taft of the United States in which he advocates the idea that every international difference, even those of "National Honour" which cannot be settled by peaceful negotiation, should be referred to this International Court of Arbitral Justice.

To the United States the world owes much of the progress already made, and two of the greatest examples which might well be followed by other countries, are set us by our brethren of the western hemisphere: —

1st. The Agreement between Canada and the United States in 1818, that the gunboats on the Great Lakes, and the fortifications on their 3000 miles of border line, the fruitful cause of previous wars, should be abolished, with the result that nearly a century of unbroken peace has followed. The friendship between the two countries has grown with the years, their prosperity has been phenomenal, and to-day war between Great Britain and the United States is not dreamed of as possible.

2 nd. The historic treaty of 1903 between two Roman Catholic countries of South America, the Argentine and Chili. Prior to this treaty, boundary disputes and consequent wars were frequent. When it was concluded, both Governments had battleships to sell. My own Government — unwisely, in my opinion — becoming the purchaser of two of them.

I can think of no incident in history that should make more eloquent appeal to this Christian Assembly than the subsequent erection by these two Catholic countries of a mammoth statue of the Christ, placing it on their border line, among the eternal snows of the Andes.

One cannot think of it without remembering His words,
“Peace I leave with you, My Peace I give unto you.”

These treaties came by means of mutual agreement and faith on the part of one country towards its neighbour, and so must the extension of this principle be continued. No one nation can act alone, but all Christian nations should be able to act together.

And finally, what I feel the world needs — what perhaps each nation needs — is a great Christian leader — Sovereign, Ruler, Statesman or Minister, who will give expression to the nations' desires for justice, peace and goodwill to other nations, who with commanding eloquence and filled with the spirit of the Prince of Peace, will lead his own nation and the world into the path which I believe they would not be unwilling to follow.

And so may the time soon come, when the prophecy shall be fulfilled, for which every true Christian should labour and pray, when
“Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.”

ADDRESS

BY DR. W. BLAKE ODGERS, K. C., LONDON.

Mr. Chairman, — Ladies and Gentlemen: You have referred to the fact, Sir, that I am a King's Counsel, that is, a Counsel, a practicing advocate, who has had experience in many cases; and I had hoped to have had the opportunity as a practising lawyer to have said a few words on what I conceive to be the most important problem at this moment in connection with peace. We have now, thank God! at the Hague a most valuable Court of Arbitration, but that Court has one defect. It can not compel nations to come and lay their differences before it. If they wish to come, there is the Court; there are the Judges who can decide the case. But if nations are about to go to war and will not submit their differences to that Court, what can be done? Can Europe go to war with a Power because it wants to go to war? I think not. How can you compel them to come? Reason, common-sense, community of interests, and commercial interests all point in that direction to put an end to war. What may do more is the growing friendships between the Peoples of all lands. Such a Congress as this must do much to make English and Germans and French and Americans and all other nations learn to know, learn to esteem, learn to respect one another. See the reception which we English and we Americans have had the moment we set foot in Deutschland. The kindness, the generosity, the munificence with which we were welcomed at Cologne was only equal to our reception here. Is it possible that we, who have been so welcomed and so received, can have but the friendliest feelings to our kind hosts, to those that welcomed us? As nations get to know each other better, misconceptions will fall aside; misconceptions, wrong impressions, aye, and the falsehoods that are spoken will fall aside. We are not without our blame, we English. We have newspapers which tell falsehoods. Some of our gallant soldiers and sailors blow trumpets and sing their fanfaronade. There are two or three of our newspapers which make mischief by their mistaken patriotism. I implore you, my German friends, don't believe what you see in those newspapers. There

are hundreds of other newspapers which do not contain such words, which do not publish such untruths, which do not misrepresent either the English or the German people. We English have no quarrel with the German nation. Our rulers have no quarrel with your rulers. We have learned to esteem and respect the honesty, the ability and the virtue of the great German nation. Our late King, Edwards the Peacemaker, as he was called, was ever a friend of Germany, a friend of his nephew, your great and good Kaiser. His son, my master, — he too is a friend of this land, a friend of your great and good Kaiser. Possibly you, too, may have a newspaper or two which do not always speak exactly the truth about us English people — but we are as much if not more to blame than you. Away with these misconceptions. Let us get to know each other well, to know each other better day by day. I am here to say this word above all to you, — that we have no cause of complaint. I speak for the professional classes, for the middle classes, for the workingmen of England. I know I may do that to-night. Speaking for them, I say, we are friends of every German. Ah, I am English. I can not "Deutsch-sprechen" but a "wenig" — and a "wenigissimo;" aber diese Worte müßte ich als Engländer sprechen. Wir sind Vettern. Das englische Volk hat nichts gegen das deutsche Volk. Wir wünschen alle mit Ihnen Freunde zu sein. Unser verstorbene König Edward war immer ein Freund Deutschlands. Er war der Freund seines Neffen, — Ihr großer, guter Kaiser. Sein Sohn ist ein Freund dieses Landes und ein Freund Ihres großen, guten Kaisers. God has made of one blood all nations. In brotherly love, in Christ's peace — God be with us all.

The Chairman called upon Professor Jesse C. Holmes, of Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania.

Professor Holmes: I will much oblige you, I am sure, by making no speech at all, but merely presenting a resolution, which will also be read in German for your consideration.

The resolution was as follows: —

"The World Congress of Free Christianity and Religious Progress desires to be associated with the world-wide movement making for international justice, and therewith peace among all peoples.

"We feel it to be a world-tragedy that the Twentieth Century of the Christian era should see the so-called Christian nations still trying to settle questions of right by physical force, which is never a test of right.

"We earnestly hope that some of the religious enthusiasm so long dissipated in other-worldliness may henceforth be directed to

the creating of a sense of larger fellowship—a patriotism world-wide in its scope, and counteracting jealousy or distrust among nations. We urge upon all churches to develop among their peoples such faith in the power of righteousness, and such hatred of the atrocities of war as will insist on the settlement of all difficulties between nations by methods of order and good will. We feel deeply that all religious bodies should feel this task to be especially their own—to create such a sense of kinship with all mankind as will displace international and inter-racial distrust.

“We rejoice that the machinery of international justice created at The Hague has already proved its efficiency and value. We urge on all nations so to enlarge the power and authority of this Supreme Court of Civilization that the antiquated and ineffective machinery of violence may soon be laid aside forever.”

Rev. F. Siegmund-Schultze read the German translation of the resolution, after which Professor Rade said that he would withdraw his resolution in favor of the resolution proposed by Professor Holmes. The latter resolution was then adopted by unanimous vote.

Pastor Francke of Berlin in a short address thanked the delegates in the name of the German friends of peace for the adoption of the resolution. He told of the work of Miss Anna Eckstein, of Boston, in circulating a petition, addressed to the next Hague conference, asking for the establishment of a permanent Court and for other steps toward the reduction of armaments.

After an address by Prof. Bonet-Maury of Paris advocating friendly relations between France and Germany, the Rev. Harold G. Berendt, of Berlin, offered a resolution for the appointment of a Committee to take steps toward the **rapport amicable** between French and German organizations, similar to the Committee already formed between the German and English Churches. The resolution was adopted and the Chairman announced that he would appoint the Committee later, after which the meeting was declared adjourned.

LES FACTEURS SPIRITUELS DU RAPPROCHEMENT INTERNATIONAL.

PAR M. LE PROFESSEUR TH. RUYSSSEN, BORDEAUX.

Un grand fait très saillant domine aujourd'hui la vie internationale; c'est la transformation économique du monde civilisé, Longtemps les nations isolées n'ont guère eu de commerce entre elles; chacune vivait de ses propres ressources, et lorsqu'elles ne suffisaient pas, la guerre y pourvoyait. Ainsi la guerre a pu être pour des sociétés pauvres une véritable nécessité ou tout au moins une économie d'efforts. Aujourd'hui le commerce embrasse la totalité des habitants du globe; c'est sur le marché mondial que s'opère l'échange des richesses. D'où il résulte que toute destruction de richesse est en définitive nuisible à l'ensemble de l'humanité et que la guerre est devenue moins productive que l'échange. Bien, loin d'être antagonistes, les intérêts matériels sont devenus solidaires. De là l'effort général des hommes civilisés contre la guerre et la raréfaction effective de ce fléau. Ces facteurs de paix sont si frappants qu'ils risquent de fermer nos yeux sur d'autres tout aussi réels mais moins propres à frapper l'imagination et que l'on se propose de mettre en lumière.

I

C'est d'abord la **science**. Il est banal de dire que, si les savants ont une patrie, la science n'en n'a pas. Toute découverte se fait au profit de tous, et, réciproquement, elle est dans une certaine mesure, l'œuvre de plusieurs. Dans tous les pays civilisés, des savants poursuivent parallèlement la recherche des mêmes vérités, et chacun bénéficie immédiatement des découvertes du savant. C'est là par excellence une concurrence bienfaisante, car c'est une concurrence sans vaincus. Aussi la vérité est-elle par définition même expansive et désintéressée.

Si l'on se demande quelles sont les conditions de cette unité de la science, on est amené à reconnaître qu'elle provient de l'unité même de l'esprit humain attaché à la solution d'une énigme commune. On

peut dire que la collaboration permanente des savants est une expérience quotidienne de la communauté de la vie spirituelle.

II

En second lieu l'art. Sur ce domaine l'indépendance, l'isolement des esprits semblent plus grands. Bien ne semble plus individuel que la production de l'œuvre d'art, car, tout artiste tend à créer des formes imprévues et nouvelles. Aussi exalte-t-on volontiers le nationalisme dans l'art. Et cependant quand on envisage avec quelque recul les grands chefs d'œuvre d'un art vraiment national, on se rend compte que ceux-là seuls ont duré, qui ont atteint l'universel, l'humain, sous une forme propre, un temps et un milieu donnés. Tel est le cas de l'œuvre de Wagner, de Tolstoï, de Kipling, d'Anatole France.

III

En troisième lieu : l'unité morale. Ici encore la diversité est extrême, chaque nation poursuit un idéal conforme à son caractère propre. Quoi de plus différend, par exemple, que l'Angleterre, religieuse mais divisée en secte innombrables, la Belgique catholique et la France libre-penseuse ? Mais cette diversité n'est peut-être qu'apparente, C'est une loi psychologique, que nous sentons les variations et les différences plus vivement que les impressions permanentes qui assurent la continuité de notre vie. Il y a ainsi dans la variété des fins poursuivies par les hommes civilisés des concepts communs dont nous avons à peine conscience parce qu'ils sont l'aliment quotidien de notre vie morale. Il nous paraît tout simple aujourd'hui qu'il n'y ait plus de guerres religieuses, ni d'Inquisition, ni d'esclavage ; ce sont là cependant des conquêtes chèrement acquises et relativement récentes.

Plus récentes encore et non moins propres à unir les esprits sont les idées suivantes qui s'imposent aujourd'hui sans distinction à la conscience des hommes civilisés. C'est d'abord qu'il existe une « question sociale » c'est à dire que les développements extraordinaires du capitalisme nous imposent des problèmes auxquels un homme vraiment conscient ne peut se dérober ; c'est que la richesse est faite pour l'homme et non l'homme pour la richesse ; c'est que le travail doit être protégé contre la loi impitoyable de la concurrence ; c'est enfin que l'inégale répartition des richesses fait courir des risques graves au développement de la vie spirituelle en déchaînant des appétits passionnés, et en bouleversant l'échelle des valeurs.

Une autre idée, c'est que la guerre est décidément condamnée comme une forme du mal. Glorifiée autrefois par les théologiens et les philosophes, elle est aujourd'hui, suivant la parole de V. Hugo « dés

honorée » sans retour. On peut s'y résigner, on n'ose plus la vouloir pour elle-même. Le militarisme même n'ose plus s'affirmer comme le défenseur de la paix et l'on commence à comprendre qu'il peut y avoir des moyens plus directs et plus efficaces que les grands armements d'assurer cette paix à savoir; l'établissement de la paix sur des moyens de droit.

Troisième idée: c'est que les barrières peuvent s'abaisser entre les Eglises et même entre celles-ci et la pensée libre. Des hommes séparés par de profondes divergences confessionnelles ou philosophiques collaborent cordialement à des fins communes. A cet égard la multiplication des congrès de tout ordre a exercé une influence bienfaisante. Entre autres, le Congrès du Christianisme libéral, est singulièrement significatif. Il symbolise, plus encore il réalise l'unité foncière de la vie spirituelle. Il fait plus que rapprocher les nations, il réconcilie les esprits, ce qui peut-être est plus difficile et plus précieux, et nous donne conscience de la communauté des fins spirituelles: liberté, justice, et amour, que croyants et philosophes poursuivent par des voies diverses.

* * *

Cette collaboration des hommes de bonne volonté des fins communes et bienfaisantes, parce que, si elle n'apporte pas de solution directe aux conflits internationaux, du moins elle développe un esprit de bienveillance et d'équité réciproques, favorable à l'atténuation des antagonismes. A cet égard, le Français qui prononce ces paroles est heureux de les faire entendre en Allemagne et d'apporter à ce grand pays une parole de paix. Sans doute il n'oublie rien des luttes fratricides, qui ont ensanglanté la brouillère des deux pays. Mais précisément parce que pareilles guerres sont des crimes de lèse-humanité qui laissent derrière eux des germes de discordes nouvelles, il souhaite ardemment que l'ère soit close des conflits sanglants. Il est convaincu que l'Allemagne et la France ont désormais mieux à faire que de s'épuiser en armements qui, pacifiques d'intention, ne peuvent être considérés par le voisin que comme une menace. Les deux pays peuvent travailler en commun au développement des biens spirituels dont ils sont l'un et l'autre également riches —; dépassant le point de vue du nationalisme étroit, ils peuvent collaborer aux conquêtes communes de la science, au développement de la civilisation, et, par dessus tout, au développement d'une justice internationale, de ce que Kant appelait: « une société des nations administrant le droit universellement, » — justice dont l'avènement atténuerait singulièrement les animosités issues d'un passé de guerre et soustrairait désormais à la violence avengle la solution des conflits internationaux.

WAR AND MANHOOD.

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The message I shall attempt today is a message of peace through the arraignment of war. My attack shall be made from the side of biology, and my text may be found in these words of Sophocles, "War does not of choice destroy bad men, but good men ever."

I shall leave to those who have had far more experience than I, the discussion of the advantages of law, order and arbitration over brute force, which decides nothing. I shall leave to one side all questions of the relations of war to social, ethical and religious development. I shall leave to others all consideration of the horrors of war, its legacies of sin, and suffering, and life-long agony. I shall not consider the costs of wars long since fought, a burden strapped for all time on the backs of the toilers of Europe. I shall not consider the cost of future wars, never to be fought, but provided for in the budget of every nation, again a burden unbearable on those whose chief relation to the life of nations is the burdens nations needlessly impose. I shall not depict the growing strength of the invisible empire of bondholders who are fast becoming the owners of the civilized world, and whose silent nod determines the issue of every great empire in war or peace.

My message concerns solely the relations of war to manhood, as shown in the succession of generations.

Benjamin Franklin once said: "There is one effect of a standing army which must in time be felt so as to bring about the abolition of the system. A standing army not only diminishes the population of a country, but even the size and breed of the human species. For an army is the flower of the nation. All the most vigorous, stout and well-made men in a kingdom are to be found in the army, and these men, in general, cannot marry."

What is true of standing armies is still more true of the armies that fight and fall. Those men who perish are lost to the future of civilization, they and their blood forever. For, as Franklin said again, "Wars are not paid for in war time: the bill comes later."

The last thirty years have seen the period of greatest activity in the study of biology. Among other matters, we have seen the rise of definite knowledge of the process of heredity, and its application to the formation and improvement of races of men and animals. From our scientific knowledge, men have developed the fine art of selective breeding. With men, as with animals, "Like the seed is the harvest." In every vicissitude of race of men or of breed of animals, it is always those who are left who determine what the future shall be.

All progress in whatever direction is conditioned on selective breeding. There is no permanent advance not dependent on advance in the type of parenthood. There is no decline except that arising from breeding from the second-best instead of the best. The rise and fall of races of men in history is, in a degree, conditioned on such elements as determine the rise and fall of a breed of cattle or of a strain of horses. As progress in blood is conditioned on normal selection or the choice of the best for parenthood, so racial decline is conditioned on reversal of selection, the choice of the worst for survival.

Always and ever, says Novicow, "war brings about the reversal of selection." These traits of character, physical strength, agility, courage, dash, patriotism, desired in the soldier, are lost in the race which decrees the destruction of the soldierly. The delusion that war in one generation sharpens the edge of warriorhood in the next generation, has no biological foundation. The man who is left determines always the future.

Once, on the flanks of the Apennines, there dwelt a race of free men, fair and strong, self-reliant and confident. They were men of courage and men of action — men "who knew no want they could not fill for themselves!" "They knew none on whom they looked down, and none to whom they regarded themselves inferior." And for all things which men could accomplish, these plowmen of the Tiber and the Apennines felt themselves fully competent and adequate. "Vir", "Viri" they called themselves in their own tongue, and virilis, virile, men like them are called to this day. It was the weakling and the slave who was crowded to the wall; the man of courage begat descendants. In each generation and from generation to generation the human harvest was good. And the great wise king who ruled them; but here my story halts — for there was no king. There could be none. For it was written, men fit to be called men, men who are Viri, "are too self-willed, too independent, and too self-centred to be ruled by anybody but themselves." Kings are for weaklings, not for men. Men free-born control their own destinies. "The fault is not in our stars, but in ourselves, that we are underlings." For it was later said of these same days: "There was a Brutus once,

who would have brooked the Eternal Devil to take his seat in Rome, as easily as a king." And so there was no king to cherish and control these men his subjects. The spirit of freedom was the only ruler they knew, and this spirit being herself metaphoric called to her aid the four great genii which create and recreate nations. Variation was ever at work, while heredity held fast all that she developed. Segregation in her mountain fastnesses held the world away, and selection chose the best and for the best purposes, casting aside the weakly, and the slave, holding the man for the man's work, and ever the man's work was at home, building the cities, subduing the forests, draining the marshes, adjusting the customs and statutes, preparing for the new generations. So the men begat sons of men after their own fashion, and the men of strength and courage were ever dominant. The Spirit of Freedom was a wise master; he cares wisely for all that he controls.

So in the early days, when Romans were men, when Rome was small, without glory, without riches, without colonies and without slaves, these were the days of Roman greatness.

Then the Spirit of Freedom little by little gave way to the Spirit of Domination. Conscious of power, men sought to exercise it, not on themselves but on one another. Little by little, this meant banding together, aggression, suppression, plunder, struggle, glory and all that goes with the pomp and circumstance of war. The individuality of men was lost in the aggrandisement of the few. Independence was swallowed up in ambition, patriotism came to have a new meaning. It was transferred from the hearth and home to the trail of the army.

It does not matter to us now what were the details of the subsequent history of Rome. We have now to consider only a single factor. In science, this factor is known as "reversal of selection." "Send forth the best ye breed!" That was the word of the Roman war-call. And the spirit of Domination took these words literally, and the best were sent forth. In the conquests of Rome, **Vir**, the real man, went forth to battle and to the work of foreign invasion; **Homo**, the human being, remained in the farm and the workshop and begat the now generations. Thus "**Vir** gave place to **Homo**." The sons of real men gave place to the sons of scullions, stable-boys, slaves, camp-followers, and the riff-raff of those the great victorious army does not want.

The fall of Rome was not due to luxury, effeminacy, corruption, the wickedness of Nero and Caligula, the weakness of the train of Constantine's worthless descendants. It was fixed at Philippi, when the spirit of domination was victorious over the spirit of freedom. It was fixed still earlier, in the rise of consuls and triumvirates and the fall of the simple sturdy self-sufficient race who would brook no arbitrary

ruler. When the real men fell in war, or were left in far-away colonies, the life of Rome still went on. But it was a different type of Roman which continued it, and this new type repeated in Roman history its weakling parentage.

Thus we read in Roman history of the rise of the mob and of the emperor who is the mob's exponent. It is not the presence of the emperor which makes imperialism. It is the absence of the people, the want of men. Babies in their day have been emperors. A wooden image would serve the same purpose. More than once it has served it. The decline of a people can have but one cause, the decline in the type from which it draws its sires. A herd of cattle can degenerate in no other way than this, and a race of men is under the same laws. By the rise in absolute power, as a sort of historical barometer, we may mark the decline in the breed of the people. We see this in the history of Rome. The conditional power of Julius Caesar, resting on his own tremendous personality, showed that the days were past of Cincinnatus and of Junius Brutus. The power of Augustus showed the same. But the decline went on. It is written that "the little finger of Constantine was thicker than the loins of Augustus." The emperor in the time of Claudius and Caligula was not the strong man who held in check all lesser men and organizations. He was the creature of the mob, and the mob, intoxicated with its own work, worshipped him as divine. Doubtless the last emperor, Augustulus Romulus, before he was thrown onto the scrap-heap of history, was regarded in the mob's eyes and his own as the most godlike of them all.

What have the historians to say of these matters? Very few have grasped the full significance of their own words, for very few have looked on men as organisms, and on nations as dependent on the specific character of the organisms destined for their reproduction.

So far as I know, Benjamin Franklin was the first to think of man thus as an inhabitant, a species in nature among other species and dependent on nature's forces as other animals and other inhabitants must be.

In Otto Seeck's great history of "The Downfall of the Ancient World" (*Der Untergang der antiken Welt*), he finds this downfall due solely to the rooting out of the best ("Die Ausrottung der Besten"). The historian of the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire", or any other empire, is engaged solely with the details of the process by which the best men are exterminated. Speaking of Greece, Dr. Seeck says, "A wealth of force of spirit went down in the suicidal wars." "In Rome, Marius and Cinna slew the aristocrats by hundreds and thousands. Sulla destroyed the democrats, and not less thoroughly. Whatever of strong

blood survived, fell as an offering to the proscription of the Triumvirate." "The Romans had less of spontaneous force to lose than the Greeks. Thus desolation came to them sooner. Whoever was bold enough to rise politically in Rome was almost without exception thrown to the ground. Only cowards remained and from their brood came forward the new generations. Cowardice showed itself in lack of originality and in slavish following of masters and traditions."

The Romans of the Republic could not have made the history of the Roman empire. In their hands it would have been still a republic. Could they have held aloof from world-conquering schemes, Rome might have remained a republic, enduring even in our own day. The seeds of destruction lie not in the race nor in the form of government, but in the influences by which the best men are cut off from the work of parenthood.

"The Roman Empire", says Seeley, "perished for want of men". The dire scarcity of men is noted even by Julius Caesar. And at the same time it is noted that there are men enough. Rome was filling up like an overflowing marsh. Men of a certain type were plenty, "people with guano in their composition", to use Emerson's striking phrase, but the self-reliant farmers, the hardy dwellers on the flanks of the Apennines, the Roman men of the early Roman days, these were fast going, and with the change in the breed came the change in Roman history.

"The mainspring of the Roman army for centuries had been the patient strength and courage, capacity for enduring hardships, instinctive submission to military discipline of the population that lined the Apennines."

With the Antonines came "a period of sterility and barrenness in human beings." "The human harvest was bad." Bounties were offered for marriage. Penalties were devised against race-suicide. "Marriage", says Metellus, "is a duty which, however painful, every citizen ought manfully to discharge". Wars were conducted in the face of a declining birth rate, and this decline in quality and quantity of the human harvest engaged very early the attention of the wise men of Rome.

"The effect of the wars was that the ranks of the small farmers were decimated, while the number of slaves who did not serve in the army multiplied." (Bury.)

Thus "Vir gave place to Homo", real men to mere human beings. There were always men enough such as they were. "A hencoop will be filled, whatever the (original) number of hens", said Benjamin Franklin. And thus the mob filled Rome. No wonder the mob-leader, the

mob-hero, rose in relative importance. No wonder "the little finger of Constantine was thicker than the loins of Augustus". No wonder that "if Tiberius chastised his subjects with whips, Valentinian chastised them with scorpions."

"Government having assumed godhead took at the same time the appurtenances of it. Officials multiplied. Subjects lost their rights. Abject fear paralyzed the people and those that ruled were intoxicated with insolence and cruelty." "The worst government is that which is most worshipped as divine." "The emperor possessed in the army an overwhelming force over which citizens had no influence, which was totally deaf to reason or eloquence, which had no patriotism because it had no country, which had no humanity because it had no domestic ties." "There runs through Roman literature a brigand's and barbarian's contempt for honest industry." "Roman civilization was not a creative kind, it was military, that is destructive." What was the end of it all? The nation bred real men no more. To cultivate the Roman fields "whole tribes were borrowed." The man of the quick eye and the strong arm, gave place to the slave, the scullion, the pariah, the man with the hoe, the man whose lot does not change because in him there lies no power to change it. "Slaves have wrongs, but freemen alone have rights." So at the end the Roman world yielded to the barbaric, because it was weaker in force. "The barbarians settled and peopled the Empire rather than conquered it." And the process is recorded in history as the fall of Rome.

"Out of every hundred thousand strong men, eighty thousand were slain. Out of every hundred thousand weaklings, ninety to ninety-five thousand were left to survive." This is Dr. Seeck's calculation, and the biological significance of such mathematics must be evident at once. Dr. Seeck speaks with scorn of the idea that Rome fell from the decay of old age, from the corruption of luxury, from neglect of military tactics or from the over-diffusion of culture.

"It is inconceivable that the mass of Romans suffered from over-culture." "In condemning the sinful luxury of wealthy Romans, we forget that the trade-lords of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were scarcely inferior in this regard to Lucullus and Apicius, their waste and luxury not constituting the slightest check to the advance of the nations to which these men belonged. The people who lived in luxury in Rome were scattered more thinly than in any modern state of Europe. The masses lived at all times more poorly frugally because they could do nothing else. Can we conceive that a war force of untold millions of people is rendered effeminate by the luxury of a few hundreds?"

"Too long have historians looked on the rich and noble as marking the fate of the world. Half the Roman Empire was made up of rough barbarians untouched by Greek or Roman culture."

"Whatever the remote and ultimate cause may have been, the immediate cause to which the fall of the empire can be traced is a physical not a moral decay. In valour, discipline and science the Roman armies remained what they had always been and the peasant emperors of Illyricum were worthy successors of Cincinnatus and Caius Marius. But the problem was, how to replenish those armies. Men were wanting. The Empire perished for want of men." (Seeley.)

Does history ever repeat itself? It always does if it is true history. If it does not we are dealing not with history but with mere succession of incidents. Like causes produce like effects, just as often as man may choose to test them. Whenever men use a nation for the test, poor seed yields a poor fruition. Where the weakling and the coward survives in human history, there "the human harvest is bad", and it can never be otherwise.

The finest Roman province, a leader in the Roman world, was her colony of Hispania. What of Spain in history? What of Spain today? "This is Castile", said a Spanish writer, "she makes men and wastes them." "This sublime and terrible phrase", says another writer, "sums up Spanish history."

In 1630, according to Captain Calkins, the Augustinian friar, La Puente, thus summed up the fate of Spain.

"Against the credit for redeemed souls, I set the cost of armadas and the sacrifice of soldiers and friars sent to the Philippines. And this I count the chief loss: for mines give silver and forests give timber, but only Spain gives Spaniards, and she may give so many that she may be left desolate and constrained to bring up strangers' children instead of her own."

Another of the noblest of Roman provinces was Gallia, the favoured land, in which the best of the Romans, the Franks and the Northmen, have mingled their blood to produce a nation of men, hopefully leaders in the arts of peace, fatally leaders also in the arts of war.

In that clever volume of his, Demolins asks: "In what consists the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon?" Before we answer this, we may ask: "In what consists the inferiority of races not Anglo-Saxon?" If we admit that inferiority exists in any degree, may we not find in the background the causes of the fall of Greece, the fall of Rome, the fall of Spain? We find the spirit of domination, the spirit of glory, the spirit of war, the final survival of subserviency, of cowardice and of sterility. The man who is left holds in his grasp the history of the future.

// The evolution of a race is always selective, never collective.//Collective

evolution among men or beasts, the movement upward or downward of the whole as a whole, irrespective of training or selection, does not exist. As Lepouge has said. "It exists in rhetoric, not in truth nor in history."

The survival of the fittest in the struggle for existence is the primal moving cause of race progress and of race changes. In the red stress of human history, this natural process of selection is sometimes reversed. A reversal of selection is the beginning of degradation. It is degradation itself. Can we see the fall of Rome in any part of the history of modern Europe? Let us look again at the history. A single short part of it will be enough. It will give us the clue to the rest.

In the Wiertz gallery in Brussels is a wonderful painting, dating from the time of Waterloo, called Napoleon in Hell. It represents the great marshal with folded arms and face unmoved descending slowly to the land of the shades. Before him, filling all the background of the picture with every expression of countenance, are the men sent before him by the unbridled ambition of Napoleon. Three millions and seventy thousand there were in all — so history tells us — more than half of them Frenchmen. They are not all shown in one picture. They are only hinted at. And behind the millions shown or hinted at are the millions on millions of men who might have been and are not — the huge widening human wedge of the possible descendants of the men who fell in battle. These men of Napoleon's armies were the youth without blemish, "the best that the nation could bring", chosen as "food for powder", "ere evening to be trampled like the grass", in the rush of Napoleon's great battles. These men came from the plow, from the work-shop, from the school, the best there were — those from eighteen to thirty-five years of age at first, but afterwards the older and the younger. "A boy will stop a bullet as well as a man"; this maxim is accredited to Napoleon. "The more vigorous and well-born a young man is", says Novicow, "the more normally constituted, the greater his chance to be slain by musket or magazine, the rifled cannon and other similar engines of civilization." Among those destroyed by Napoleon were "the elite of Europe." "Napoleon", says Otto Seeck, "in a series of years seized all the young of high stature and left them scattered over many battle-fields, so that the French people who followed them are mostly men of smaller stature. More than once in France since Napoleon's time has the military limit been lowered."

Says Le Goyt, "It will take long periods of peace and plenty before France can recover the tall statures mowed down in the wars of the republic and the first empire."

I need not tell again the story of Napoleon's campaigns. It began with the justice and helpfulness of the Code Napoleon, the prowess of

the brave lieutenant whose military skill and intrepidity had caused him to deserve well of his nation.

The spirit of freedom gave way to the spirit of domination. The path of glory is one which descends easily. Campaign followed campaign, against enemies, against neutrals, against friends. The trail of glory crossed the Alps to Italy and to Egypt, crossed Switzerland to Austria, crossed Germany to Russia. Conscription followed victory and victory and conscription debased the human species. "The human harvest was bad." The first consul became the emperor. The servant of the people became the founder of the dynasty. Again conscription after conscription. "Let them die with arms in their hands. Their death is glorious, and it will be avenged. You can always fill the places of soldiers." These were Napoleon's words when Dupont surrendered his army in Spain to save the lives of a doomed battalion.

More conscription. After the battle of Wagram, we are told, the French began to feel their weakness, the Grand Army was not the army which fought at Ulm and Jena. "Raw conscripts raised before their time and hurriedly drafted into the line had impaired its steadiness."

On to Moscow*, "amidst ever-deepening misery they struggled on, until of the 600,000 men who had proudly crossed the Niemen for the conquest of Russia, only 20,000 famished, frost-bitten, unarmed spectres staggered across the bridge of Korno in the middle of December."

"Despite the loss of the most splendid army marshalled by man, Napoleon abated no whit of his resolve to dominate Germany and discipline Russia . . . He strained every effort to call the youth of the empire to arms. . . and 350,000 conscripts were promised by the Senate. The mighty swirl of the Moscow campaign sucked in 150,000 lads of under twenty years of age into the devouring vortex." "The peasantry gave up their sons as food for cannon." But many "were appalled at the frightful drain on the nation's strength". "In less than half a year after the loss of half a million men a new army as numerous was marshalled under the imperial eagles. But the majority were young, untrained troops, and it was remarked that the conscripts born in the year of Terror had not the stamina of the earlier levies. Brave they were, superbly brave, and the emperor sought by every means to breathe into them his indomitable spirit." "Truly the emperor could make boys heroes, but he could never repair the losses of 1812." "Soldiers were wanting, youths were dragged forth." The human harvest was at its very worst.

The unflinching result of this must be the failure in the nation of those qualities most sought in the soldier. The result is a crippled nation.

* These quotations are from the "History of Napoleon I", by J. H. Rose.

"Une nation blessée", to use the words of an honoured professor in the University of Paris. The effect would not appear in the effacement of art or science, or creative imagination. Men who lead in these regards are drawn by preference or by conscription to the life of the soldier. If we cut the roots of a tree, we shall not affect, for a time at least, the quality of its flowers or its fruits. We are limiting its future, rather than changing its present. In like manner, does war affect the life of nations. It limits the future, rather than checking the present.

Those who fall in war are the young men of the nations, the men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five, without blemish so far as may be — the men of courage, alertness, dash and recklessness, the men who value their lives as nought in the service of the nation. The man who is left, is for better and for worse the reverse of all this, and it is he who determines what the future of the nation shall be.

However noble, encouraging, inspiring, the history of modern Europe may be, it is not the history we should have the right to expect from the development of its racial elements. It is not the history that would have been made by these same elements released from the shadow of the reversed selection of fratricidal war. And the angle of divergence between what might have been and what has been, will be determined by the percentage of strong men slain on the field of glory.

And all this applies, not to one nation nor to one group of nations alone, but in like degree to all nations, which have sent forth their young men to the field of slaughter. As with Greece and Rome, as with France and Spain, as with Mauritania and Turkestan, so with Germany and England, so with all nations who have sent forth "the best they breed" to the foreign service, while cautious, thrifty mediocrity fills up the ranks at home.

In his charming studies of "Feudal and Modern Japan", Mr. Arthur Knapp, of Yokohama, returns again and again to the great marvel of Japan's military prowess after more than two hundred years of peace. This was shown in the Chinese war. It has been more conclusively shown on the fields of Manchuria since Mr. Knapp's book was written. It is astonishing to him that, after more than six generations in which physical courage has not been demanded, these virile virtues should be found unimpaired. We can readily see that this is just what we should expect. In times of peace there is no slaughter of the strong, no sacrifice of the courageous. In the peaceful struggle for existence there is a premium placed on these virtues. The virile and the brave survive. The idle, weak, and dissipated go to the wall. "What won the battles on the Yalu, in Korea or Manchuria", says the Japanese, Nitobe, "was the ghosts of our fathers guiding our hands and beating in our hearts. They are

not dead, these ghosts, those spirits of our warlike ancestors. Scratch a Japanese, even one of the most advanced ideas, and you will find a Samurai." If we translate this from the language of Shintoism to that of science we find it a testimony to the strength of race-heredity, the survival of the ways of the strong in the lives of the self-reliant.

If after two hundred years of incessant battle Japan still remained virile and warlike, that would indeed be the marvel. But that marvel no nation has ever seen. It is doubtless true that warlike traditions are more persistent with nations most frequently engaged in war. But the traditions of war and the physical strength to gain victories are very different things. Other things being equal, the nation which has known least of war is the one most likely to develop the "strong battalions" with whom victory must rest.

As Americans we are more deeply interested in the fate of our mother-country than in that of the other nations of Europe. What shall we say of England and of her relation to the reversed selection of war?

Statistics we have none and no evidence of tangible decline that Englishmen will not indignantly repudiate. When the London press in the vacation season fills its columns with editorials on English degeneration, it is something else to which these journalists refer. Their problem is that of the London slums, of sweat-shops and child-labor, of wasting overwork and of lack of nutrition, of premature old age and of sodden drunkenness, — influences which bring about the degeneration of the individual, the inefficiency of the social group, but which for the most part leave no trace in heredity. Such degradation is at once cause, effect and symptom, — a sign of racial inadequacy, a cause of further enfeeblement and an effect of unjust and injurious social, political and industrial conditions in the past.

But the problem before us is not the problem of the slums. What mark has been left on England by her great struggles for freedom and by the thousand petty struggles to impose on the world the semblance of order called "Pax Britannica", the British peace?

To one who travels widely through the counties of England some part of the cost is plain.

"There's a widow in sleepy Chester
Who mourns for her only son;
There's a grave by the Pabong River —
A grave which the Burmans shun."

This is a condition repeated in every village of England, and its history is recorded on the walls of every parish church. Everywhere can be seen tablets in memory of young men, — gentlemen's sons from

Eton and Rugby and Winchester and Harrow, scholars from Oxford and Cambridge, who have given up their lives in some far-off petty war. Their bodies rest in Zululand, in Cambodia, in the Gold Coast, in the Transvaal. In England only they are remembered. In the parish churches these records are numbered by the score. In the cathedrals they are recorded by the thousand. Go from one cathedral town to another — Canterbury, Winchester, Chichester, Exeter, Salisbury, Wells, Ely, York, Lincoln, Durham, Litchfield, Chester (what a wonderful series of pictures this list of names calls up!), and you will find always the same story, the same sad array of memorials to young men. What would be the effect on England if all of those "unreturning brave" and all that should have been their descendants could be numbered among her sons today? Doubtless not all of these were young men of character. Doubtless not all are worthy even of the scant glory of a memorial tablet. But most of them were worthy. Most of them were brave and true, and most of them looked out on life with "frank blue British eyes."

This too we may admit, that war is not the only destructive agency in modern society, and that in the struggle for existence the England of today has had many advantages which must hide or neutralize the waste of war.

It suggests the inevitable end of all empire, of all dominion of man over man by force of arms. More than all who fall in battle or are wasted in the camps, the nation misses the "fair women and brave men" who should have been the descendants of the strong and the manly. If we may personify the spirit of the nation, it grieves most not over its "unreturning brave", but over those who might have been, but never were, and who, so long as history lasts, can never be.

It is claimed that by the law of probabilities as developed by Quetelet, there will appear in each generation the same number of potential poets, artists, investigators, patriots, athletes and superior men of each degree.

But this law involves the theory of continuity of paternity, that in each generation a percentage practically equal of men of superior force or superior mentality should survive to take the responsibilities of parenthood. Otherwise Quetelet's law becomes subject to the operation of another law, the operation of reversed selection, or the biographical "law of diminishing returns". In other words, breeding from an inferior stock is the sole agency in race degeneration, as selection natural or artificial along one line or another is the sole agency in race progress.

And all laws of probabilities and of averages are subject to a still higher law, the primal law of biology, which no cross-current of life can overrule or modify: Like the seed is the harvest.

And because this is true, arises the final and bitter truth: "Wars are not paid for in war time. The bill comes later!"

GERMAN PHILOSOPHY AND THE WEIMAR
RETURN MOVEMENT OF ITS DAY

By FREDERICK SCHLEGEL

Translated by [illegible]

VIII.

SUPPLEMENTARY ADDRESSES
AT WEIMAR AND EISENACH.

GERMAN PHILOSOPHY AND THE RELIGIOUS REFORM-MOVEMENT OF TO-DAY

BY PROFESSOR RUDOLF EUCKEN, JENA.

Ladies and Gentlemen!

If you happen to visit those towns of Germany which have largely contributed to the intellectual creations of our country, you will not, if you recollect its claims aright, pass Jena by — Jena, where the leading spirits of German speculation passed the fruitful days of their youth, and where they prepared the way for the influence of their labours. It was in Jena that Fichte's *Wissenschaftslehre* and his *Sittenlehre* were written, it was in Jena that Schelling formulated his *Philosophy of Nature*, and amid the thunder of cannon was brought forth Hegel's *Phenomenology of the Mind*. Allow me to convey to you the friendly greetings of so honourable a hive of intellectual life. Anyone who declares himself today in favour of a regeneration of religion, he who desires to see the religious life strengthened and new, may well feel elevated and rejoiced at the thought of feeling himself at one — in the main at any rate — with those mental giants. It is true that these great teachers have each their own peculiar way of dealing with religion: the fiery spirit of Fichte addresses itself more strongly to the personal will and appeals more earnestly to us to make religion an affair of the heart. Schelling, of a more contemplative turn of mind, reaches far down into the historical treasures of religion and more especially understands Christianity as a peculiar form of the spiritual life; Hegel, the great logician, endeavours principally to bring out clearly what is contained in religious thought and to trace the development of the significance of this thought through the history of the world. But through all such individual refinements of thought, we see that all through, a common aim is being striven after — an end which we may reasonably feel today is being more nearly approached. All these men attach great importance to Religion, all of them see that mankind possesses in it something which is essential and indispensable. Their task, there-

fore, is not directed towards depressing and destroying religion, but rather to resuscitating and elevating it. What they all desire is a religion of the Spirit, the resurrection, so to say, of man's inner life by means of religion. As Hegel says: Man must be born twice, the first being his natural, the second his spiritual birth after the fashion of the Brahmin's. This religion of the spirit demands freedom and inward truth; it requires elevation above all that which is merely sensual, and further the driving out of all magical influences, liberation from all kinds of narrowing formulae. As Schelling has it: "The spirit of today tends with evident consistency, towards the destruction of all merely finite forms, and it is actually Religion to recognise this prevailing spirit;" but the same thinker says: "the day of creeds is over."

Now such spiritual religion must be a living force of the present day, it must have the power to influence us so effectually, as to make life great and purposeful; with Fichte: "to diffuse things eternal into the earthly labours of every day." Thus results a peculiar relation to the past as well as to the future. It is just those thinkers who have contributed much to our realisation of the importance and richness of history, but this never means to them the fettering of our life to the distant past, they take their stand on something immensely superior to all mere historical beliefs. Hegel says, "that which the mind achieves is never merely history;" Fichte warns us emphatically against confounding history and metaphysics; but Schelling says: "life is not created through the resurrection of the dead; rather that is the truly living which is incapable of death."

At the same time, however, we are emphatically cautioned against a mere idle hoping and waiting for the future and the life beyond the grave. For that which is eternal is even today quite close to us, we can lay our hands on it here and now. According to Hegel, God is not beyond the stars, beyond the world; God is present, and present to all. He is the spirit pervading all spirits, and as Fichte tells us: "we cannot expect blessedness by the mere fact of our being buried underground."

Further, such a religion of the spirit, of the living spirit of today, is to raise the whole position of mankind, to make more of humanity and not merely to be a place of refuge for one or other of us. Hegel calls that standing still, that remaining couped up in one's own individuality a "cheap selling-off" of one's faith, and demands that the divine in man should reveal itself in all spiritual and intellectual life, and by overcoming the obstacles in its way; not until then can the individual make adequate use of his creative powers. At the same time, however, he says that we must elevate religion above all mere feeling, we must be

prepared to work out a definite system of thought and train ourselves as well to a formation of a world of thought with an actual real existence.

This, then, is what all these thinkers expect from us — that religion should be more enlightened by thought than it has hitherto been and raised up into the realms of free thought, not in order to rob religion of its independence, but rather as an indispensable condition for making its profound forces effectual in every sphere of life. Thus religion and philosophy become intimately connected with each other in friendship and mutual assistance; and Schelling calls the new birth of religion through the highest and most scientific knowledge to be the problem of the intellectual spirit of Germany, the definite aim of all its endeavours; Hegel, on the other hand, regards the object of his lectures on the philosophy of religion as an attempt “to reconcile Reason and Religion and to recognise it in all its many forms as necessary and indispensable.” Thus far the great masters of speculative philosophy.

But the convictions which they express about religion can only be truly emphasized and estimated, when we remember that they are not merely the opinions of particular individuals, but that they represent the German trend of thought, and one of the fundamental endeavours of our nation. What we want is inward personal conviction, an individual feeling of responsibility; and because we want all this, we must have complete and unalloyed freedom. // This freedom does not signify for us a casting off of all binding forces, an aimless unbridled caprice, but we expect the binding force to be an inner one, which experience has taught us to desire for ourselves. // Thus freedom and profundity do not become separated from each other, but we thus gain the firm conviction, that life can have no real and significant freedom, unless it takes deep root in spiritual things; but we come also to the conclusion that without freedom, without personal responsibility, our life must do without any real depth and earnestness whatsoever. As early as the middle ages, the adherents of German mysticism thought in this way, especially Master Eckhart, by far the greatest of their number; it was the same at the time of the Reformation, and as we have seen, the greatest of our philosophers have come to the same conclusion.

Conscious then as we are of this fact, we are in a position to enter with firm confidence into the struggle of the present day, without in any sense undervaluing the serious importance of this struggle. The world of today has brought in its train, not only a new outlook on things, it has generated a new method of thought, and, we may go so far as to say, a new life; what is wanting to this life now is a clearer and more definite relation to Religion. This new life has destroyed a great deal

that is irreparable in the accepted forms of religion, and its position is indeed not far from actual enmity towards religion, so that it seeks to destroy religion as mere superstition, as nothing more than a relic of bygone days. The problem is not one of today or yesterday, but though sharp points of conflict have arisen during several centuries, they have until now been allowed to slumber more or less. Now, however, they have thoroughly awakened to life, and their harsh differences come to light; today, this problem with all its difficulties, is no longer confined as in former centuries to a particular circle or sect, it has spread throughout all conditions of men, we come upon it at every turn and on every side. There is no period in history when the shock has been so deeply felt, when religion and everything connected with it has been called into question. Not only is a naturalistic outlook on life and the world raising its claim, but a form of culture is proudly raising its head, which is merely secular, merely worldly, clamouring to be regarded as the only possible reality. We have indeed reached a difficult spiritual crisis, one which in the first place affects religion, but whose influence reaches immeasurably further, affecting all culture and so also philosophy. Above all, we have to deal with that great question: are we human beings the mere creations of a lower and unreasoning nature and must we therefore renounce all claim to those forces which belong peculiarly to human life; or have we attained a new and higher plane of reality, the appropriation of which gives us human beings a dignity and importance far above that of all other beings, which is that indispensable factor which lends a high value and significance to our life.

We can well understand, if the sharp and passionate fluctuations of this strife are a reason for apprehension and timidity to many — we understand it, but we cannot approve of it. For our part, we are rather inclined to greet the breaking out of such a struggle as an undeniable mark of progress. We are convinced that here also may be proved the truth of Bacon's saying: *veritas potius emergit ex errore quam ex confusione*, truth is more likely to arise out of error than out of confusion. It was only possible for Naturalism to become so widespread and to beguile so many admirable men, because it was able to supplement and transfigure unnoticed the great and good features peculiar to it by its relation to a conviction of quite a different and more spiritual kind; and because it regarded our existence as still surrounded by the halo of that higher world, which finds its most faithful representation in religion. And so it was that Nature and the whole race of mankind came to be regarded by Naturalism as of far deeper and more intrinsic value than the logical consequences of its tenets could admit.

But the more the question of this alternative comes up — thereby forcing Naturalism to reliance on its own powers, — the more must that supplementing and transfiguring of it disappear, the more clearly it will be seen that the naturalistic conception of human life and existence is very far from being a complete one, and that in its most important essentials, and not merely on particular points, it breaks through the barriers of the naturalistic world. And now there will come to light that wonderful dialectic in the history of the world, which, outwardly victorious, contains within itself its own refutation. Its demonstration is a remarkably simple process, indirect, and can be logically followed out right up to the final argument; here, however, we suddenly realise limitations in the results which prove to be quite insurmountable, and the more this is felt, the more imperative does a change of part seem to be, bound up as this will be with new modes of thought.

It is with the beginnings of such a change as this, that we find ourselves confronted today. The main tendency of modern life has been, to seize hold of the universal forces, and to attempt to bring them into practical and intellectual subjection to the reasoning powers of man. An enormous task is thus begun, and a great deal has indeed been accomplished. We are now able to see immeasurably more clearly into the workings of Nature than we can into the realms of history; we have been able to enlist the forces of Nature in the service of mankind far more deeply than we could have hoped, and we have succeeded in bringing Reason far more closely to bear on human conditions, — in short, we have come to feel ourselves the rulers and controllers of things, owing to the complex expansion of our works and their effect. But in spite of the importance of all this, and in spite of the fact that we may not belittle what we have achieved, we still cannot fail to recognise an extreme one-sidedness: there is no deepening of our knowledge and powers to correspond to this extension of it; no growth of the inner life corresponds to the increase of our forces. Thus, concentration gives way to expansion and the balance is lost, because no powerful spiritual life exists to compensate for the unceasing and ever-growing tasks which lie before us. We tend more and more to become mere restless machines which turn out work of many kinds — a tree with branches spreading in all directions. Our labours are growing too much for us; the world, which we would master, proves to be mightier than ourselves, it binds us around, ever closer and closer, and makes us its servants and slaves. By thus losing all inward independence, life becomes more and more superficial, and then comes a moment of doubt, whether it is really worth while. Of what avail to us is any outward gain, if the powerful and life-giving forces at the centre are lost, if this brings with it the

collapse of the whole! There never was more truth than is being proved today in the words: what does it avail man, if he win the whole world and injure thereby his immortal soul!

But the more the soul and the personality of man becomes endangered, the stronger will become the desire for deeper and more spiritual foundation for life, the more men will be found to hunger after participation in a higher existence. The growth and overpowering force of this desire increases day by day, and is itself the best witness of the possible effect of a deeper spiritual life. Pascal's words hold good for us now: "you would not seek me, if you had not once found me." The stream of idealism is rising again, though at first only as an under-current; and yet it is possible for all to see that it must rise higher and higher and it is for us to solve the wonderful problem: how we can best serve this inward necessity, this most important of all questions, and do everything in our power to prepare the way for this upward movement, which mankind so earnestly desires.

The problem is a universal one, and goes far beyond the limits of religion. But the only way of bringing about this essential deepening and spiritualising of humanity, is by giving religion the importance which it ought to have, and indeed by putting new life into religion itself. All idealism, which imagines that it is capable of bringing about this change without the recognition of a super-sensual world, without the presence of an eternal life of the soul, is a weak and hybrid fantasy, lacking in all radical stability; it is powerless against the difficult complications and the profound darkness of human existence, — it must in the end fall to pieces in mere empty phrases. And here again we are confronted with two more inflexible alternatives: if there is no depth and solidity in the universe and man's conception of it, there can be no true depth or meaning in life; there can be no true inward independence; and it will be impossible to uphold the greatness and power of spirituality — there can be no future for human personality whatsoever. And so, the fiercer becomes the fight to keep alive the spiritual in man, the greater will become the force and the importance of Religion. But this will only be possible — and this is undoubted — if religion takes up its present stand bravely and fearlessly at the present day, and if it is willing to present a friendly attitude towards the present historical condition of spiritual things. It is not enough to take up again the old forms, and to hold fast to them alone in the mighty crisis, with which we have now to deal; these alone cannot now help us to expand and to progress, for our conceptions of the world, and of our life in general, have become vastly different from what they used to be — we have, in short, become quite a different race. The intimate connection

between the present condition of things, and the life of all of us, is by no means a mere drifting along, it is no mere fleeting and momentary proclamation of eternal truth. That which is truly eternal is not that which stands motionless and apart from human destiny and change, it is something which has a deep and stimulating effect in all times, which can awaken men to a sense of its truth, without losing itself in the mere passing of time. As the great Finnish poet Runeberg says: "if we will cling to the ancient truths which cannot grow old, we must leave alone those which can." Therefore, giving all honour to the greatness of the past, and keeping in our minds the mighty power exercised by the old truths, let us still direct our gaze to the future and not to the past. The Divine does not merely speak to us in particular times and places, it has by no means exhausted its power in the centuries which have passed away, it is very near and present to us even today, it can always address us anew if only our soul will make way for its coming, if only we possess the power of faith and the courage of freedom.

The times in which we are living today are difficult and disquieting times, when we see things in disturbance, and confusion, and contradiction, — and in so far they are petty times. But in so far as they present pressing questions amid the convulsions around us, draw us away from our daily slothfulness, and force us to return to the very foundations of our existence; in so far as they rejuvenate us and drive us onwards, and reveal to us new depths, and bind us more firmly to the eternal truths — in so far as they can do this, they are great and fruitful times. Such times increase the value of man, because they show in these questions of spiritual existence that the time does not make the men, but rather the men the time. And if indeed, in such times, a good deal of what was dear to us is shattered, it is surely only that which was made to be shattered; what was essential and durable appears in all its greater purity and effectiveness, and its influence will become greater than ever before.

If, however, in the fights and struggles of such a time as this, there is one experience more than another which can secure us and advance us, it is the inner community of mankind, a common feeling of stimulating effort through all the individual peoples, cultures, creeds, nay, even religions, as this congress has proved to us in so fine and elevating a manner. May we not greet it as a sure sign that our endeavours are impelled by an inner feeling of absolute necessity, may we not express the joyful hope that the same mighty forces which have laid the burden of the complications and difficulties of today upon us, may also lead us far beyond them to the victory which we seek.

And so let us struggle on bravely and joyfully to the great aim which binds us together, everyone in his own place and in his own way, each one of us sustained and dominated by the consciousness that his business is the business of all, and that their affairs are also his.

The opposition from whichever side it may come, must on no account terrify us, must on no account frighten us away from the great work which is our duty; we must rather greet all opposition as an impulse and a means of increasing our own strength and of finding our own depths. And so let us with Fichte: "rejoice at the sight of the wide fields which it is our lot to till, let us rejoice that we feel a power in us, and that our problem is without end."

THE RELIGION OF GOETHE

BY PFARRER PAUL JAEGER, FREIBURG IM BREISGAU.

It is hero-worship that rules our thoughts in this town and at this hour. Not apotheosis, nor blind veneration is our aim. From anything of that kind the great man, to whom we will look up together, would turn away with earnest indignation. It is not even that, by which he towers high above us, his genius, which attracts us at this moment. We are looking up to him for something **very human**. We want to see **him** looking up himself as one of our own kind, simply as a man. For he was and is and remains "a clear and universal man", and his life bears the inscription "**homo sum**" in an emphatic sense. He would not have been "homo" in the fullest meaning of the word, had his soul been without the deepest human faculty, that of feeling and divining the hidden Power, which commands this Universe and all the life therein. Man is not perfect without the wonderful "taste for the Eternal", which we call **religion**.

In fact we find Goethe wrestling with the greatest of all questions, the problem of life, since the days of his youth. A man so full of life and of the most intense life-feeling, as he was, was bound to run against the question of the **meaning** of life. The fuller the life of a man, the more urgent becomes this problem. What is this mysterious fact, my life? Whence does it come, where does it lead, what is its aim and end? The spring of religious thinking is in this questioning, and the happiness of life depends on the answer we have to give.

I.

Goethe had to fight a long and grim battle for the meaning of life. That sounds very little, but only to those, who never realised nor lived through that most terrible situation, when life threatens to become meaningless, and its worth seems to be vanishing like dry sand running through your fingers. It is the beginning of despair. For life without a meaning, without a joyful meaning, is no life at all. None of us knows, when he will have to fight for it. Goethe knew this dark problem. If his fight was secret, it was not less hard. "The nameless Unrest, the

blind struggle of a soul in bondage, the high, sad, longing Discontent . . . had driven him almost to despair", to the verge of suicide. But he forced his way up heroically and that is why he deserves hero-worship from us.

He was awake to the problem of life — that is another name for religion — early in his boyhood, and he was nearly eighty-three years old, when he died in this town. What a wealth of religious emotions between his first and last prayer, if prayer be every earnest sinking of the soul into the mystery of the Unspeakable. To speak of the religion of this man in the course of half an hour must seem an evident impossibility, unless we strike one or two rough paths through the beautiful woods of that remarkable country, Goethe's "religion".

But there are a number of most valuable books and essays on this great subject, and what we have to say here may be taken simply as an invitation to study them. I may mention the names of **Otto Harnack**, **Carl Sell**, **Samuel Eck**, **Otto Baumgarten**, **Wilhelm Bode**, last not least **Bielschowsky**, who gave us the most beautiful "Life of Goethe". To get a first impression of the variety and wideness of Goethe's religious interests, a little book, compiled by **Theodor Vogel**, may be useful, as it gives a collection of Goethe's own testimonies and sayings on spiritual questions. It may be the stepping-stone to the greater works. Nobody will regret a careful study of those books, and especially our foreign friends will do wisely to follow these guides into the wide and deep and sometimes perplexing world of Goethe's religion.

In fact Goethe is a **world** in himself, not in the usual sense only; he is universal also in his religious life. And as there is a variety of religions in the world at large, so there is a variety of religions in this universal man, in Goethe. We cannot give here an impression of the manifold evidences of his inner life. The mere putting together of the most remarkable of his sayings on religious questions would fill our allotted time to overflowing. Besides — what we need in this age of ours is not **views** on religion, but **religious energy**. With this desire we have come together here, for all true hero-worship is the longing for more strength to fight the battle of life. We are standing still before Goethe with the firmest conviction, that he has something to say to us, something plain and simple, though hard, that may enable us to fight on with joyful hearts.

II.

There is a man, to whom he has done this great service, a man that is dear to all of us and was very dear to Goethe himself: **Thomas Carlyle**. To him we may trust unreservedly, for we know, that he was open to the Real only and the Manly and the Sincere, remarkably free from all cant.

Speaking of his happy and quiet year at Hoddam Hill — it was in 1825 — Carlyle says in his *Reminiscences* (II, 180 ed. Norton): “In a fine and veritable sense I, poor, obscure, without outlook, almost without worldly hope had become independant of the world; what was death itself from the world, to what I had come through? I understood well, what the old Christian people meant by their “Conversion”, by God’s infinite Mercy to them: — I had in effect gained an immense victory and for a number of years had . . . a constant inward happiness, that was quite royal and supreme; in which all temporal evil was transient and insignificant and which essentially remains with me still. . . I then felt and still feel endlessly indebted to **Goethe** in the business; he in his fashion I perceived had travelled the steep rocky road before me — the first of the moderns.”

“**Endlessly indebted to Goethe**” — in gaining an inward happiness we all long for — truly these words of a great doubter like Thomas Carlyle make us look up intently to the man, who could help this dreadfully earnest truth-seeker in his grim struggle. He no doubt must have been a true leader, not only in the regions of the Beautiful, but even more in the great question of life. And here, in Carlyle’s words, the chief object of our mortal existence is described more fully: to **rise above the crude and cruel facts of life** — to become **master of life**. To be henceforth not **under** fate, but **above** it.

To this high art of life Goethe may become a leader for every earnest soul also in our time. A trustworthy guide to many homeless people who lost the shelter of their churches and parental convictions and yet did not lose the longing for truth of life. Surely it is not only Goethe’s marvellous power of expressing in words of surprising beauty the deepest facts, which other people could only **feel**, that draws men to him. Beauty may attract us, but it cannot save us. There is more than an aesthetic charm in Goethe’s life work. The real spell of his life is first of all the beautiful sincerity of a very earnest and upright man, who looks at the realities of life with a tender and susceptible heart, but also with an unflinching will, to get at the very essence of things. He was one of the most honest men, that ever lived. “In this high and true mind the belief of a Saint was united with the clearness of a Sceptic”. That was Carlyle’s impression. When studying him, we find, that he “was once an unbeliever and now he is a believer; and he believes moreover not by denying his unbelief, but by following it out; not by stopping short, still less turning back in his inquiries, but by resolutely prosecuting them” (Carlyle). On this steep and stony road he rose to the sunny heights of religious wisdom, “a high melodious wisdom”. And we feel a growing trust to the man, who “has struggled toughly” in his sincerity and

passionate love for truth — which are no doubt the *conditio sine qua non* of true religion.

III.

There is another element in Goethe's religious character, that makes truth-seeking men feel at home with him at any time: it is his **broad sympathy with the varieties of religious conviction**. There was no narrow thought in him. His whole frame of mind was incapable of narrowness. For he had lived himself through a variety of religious phases. He knew what the simple and sincere Churchman feels, the "pious soul" and the rationalist, the free-thinker and the heathen. He once confessed that in his soul there was room for Polytheism as well as for Pantheism and Theism. He could acknowledge life in any form. He at one time called himself a decided non-Christian and yet later on claimed the name of a Christian in the highest sense, in the sense of Christ himself. He even thought it possible, he might be the only real Christian in the Master's sense. On the harp of his soul were many chords, that answered to the voices of other souls, if only they were honest and earnest. **He was full of religious possibilities**. So he offers peace and plenty to the Protestant and to the devout Catholic, to the Monist, the Dualist, the Pluralist, to the Churchman and to the Free-thinker, if only they will refrain from forcing him into a hard and handy system. "True Liberalism", he once said, "manifests itself in acknowledging others." So he never forced his convictions on other people, but what he demanded for himself, he freely conceded to his fellow-men, letting them have their own way.

Wer selber gelten will,
Muß andre gelten lassen!

His beautiful and true tolerance came from other and nobler sources than the shallow indifference, which the snob so often mistakes for tolerance, adorning his poverty with Goethe's words. Tolerance is a faculty of the deep and rich soul only. Goethe's tolerance came from a very simple but inexhaustible well: it was his deep and strong reverence, his most refined sense of the Infinite. There is no word that will adequately express, what Goethe's "Ehrfurcht" is, a feeling of awe and joy combined, humiliating and elevating at the same time, the consciousness of something Unspeakable yet most Real, that bursts through the narrow meshes of every-day-life, opening dim vistas of Eternal Reality and Truth. To him all things were parables of the Unseen, to his wonderful eyes all things became transparent and so he drank the golden light, that came to him streaming from eternal wells. He sometimes was so overwhelmed by this feeling of unseen Reality and Power, that he could

find relief only in a passionate stream of tears. So it was one day, when Jesus Christ became suddenly to him a vivid and unspeakable Reality, and so it was on different occasions. There was nothing unmanly in those tears. It was the melting of a human time-bound soul in the sunshine of Eternal greatness and reality.

A man of this utmost susceptibility and openness to the life of the Universe could never believe in a dreary mechanism of the world, in the shallow and gloomy Naturalism that was being preached in his time and is still nowadays widely and secretly accepted as mankind's highest wisdom. He was a Naturalist too, certainly. But his "Nature" was something very different from the mechanical conception of Nature, which enslaves the naturalists of our days. He is one of the most impressive prophets of a manly and beautiful reverence towards unseen Realities, that can never be grasped by mechanical theories. It would be a blessing for this our living generation, if Goethe became anew their prophet of Ehrfurcht, spellbound as the masses are by the triumphs of modern science and technique and exact methods, which — wonderful though they be — yet cannot heal one single wounded soul. Not only the majority of the so-called cultured classes, tired and tiresome, blasé and void of any real enthusiasm as they often enough are — but also our well-to-do middle classes and the masses of our labourers — what they want is more Goethe, that is, more of his great preaching of the **depth** in life and the misery of him, who never goes down into it with his whole heart. "There is one thing, which no child brings into the world with him; and yet it is on this one thing, that all depends for making man in every point a man — **reverence.**" There was something very remarkable the other day in the moist eyes of some German socialist workmen, when, for the first time in their lives, parts of Goethe's Faust were read to them. It was the depth of the poet's life that appealed so strongly to their own unknown depths. They felt the legitimacy of their hunger for deeper life. The cry and craving after wealth and sensual pleasure and excitement, that pervades and poisons the life of our upper classes to the damage of the lower, can effectually be overcome only by a nobler craving, which Goethe has expressed in the simple and beautiful words: "**Great thoughts and a clean heart, that is what we ought to pray for.**"

Great thoughts and a clean heart — is not that the purest well of noble piety, is not that the essence of the Lord's Prayer?

* * *

We are waiting for a new spring and summer of religious life after the winter of materialistic naturalism, that reigned over the second half of the XIX. Century. We are longing for new strength of faith

and of conviction. But this spring will never come, unless a new strong feeling of Ehrfurcht be born in our generation, a new reverence before the depths of the Universe, that are hidden yet real in the eye of the poor little insect as well as in the majestic order of the stars — depths, that no theory whatever can fathom. And this divine dew of Ehrfurcht cannot fall on the parched leaves of this generation, unless the dry heat of Intellectualism and Agnosticism be entirely overcome by a new turning of the will towards the Eternal. Goethe's life-work was a great call to such turning. Yet he was no mystic. He was standing firmly on the ground with both feet, looking into the scramble of life with fresh senses, open eyes and cool reasoning. But all the time he urgently warned his fellow-men, not to forget over the demands of the busy day the call and claim of Eternity. In this intellectual age of ours, which seems to be deprived of all mysteries, Goethe's gospel of the divine meaning of life ought to be felt as a fresh breeze.

Our minds and thoughts may be framed in very different ways — in this surely we all can unite: in the firm conviction of Goethe, that this life is no mere play of mechanical forces, but a most solemn reality and that we therefore ought to look into the smallest detail with solemn hearts, always ready to see the Infinite shining through the Finite and to feel the solemn responsibility, to be part and companion of the All-pervading Spirit, in whom we live and move and have our being.

It was this gospel of the everlasting presence of the Divine that helped Thomas Carlyle out of the dreadful prison of materialistic Scepticism. No wonder Carlyle revered this man, who saved him from despair. And there is plenty for Goethe still to do in helping the sons of the XX. Century out of the same misery!

IV.

But his gospel will get its full strength only when it is grounded on a firm belief in the **Power of the Good**. Goethe was so deeply convinced, that this world is intrinsically **good** and full of goodness, that he could never forgive **Kant** for pronouncing his thesis of the "radical evil" in human nature. He was unable to think of a radically bad man and we look in vain for a specimen of this sort in all his works. There is no more striking evidence for this than the fact, that even Mephisto, the Evil One himself, received from Goethe's creating hands some saving grace. So impossible was it, that this man should be induced to believe in absolute baseness. His inability is simply the counterpart of his strong belief in the all-pervading Power of the Good. And this trust in the Good is religious in its root as well as in its consequences and

Goethe is a prophet of this belief, who had three score and ten years to prove it.

And again we say, that this religion — absolute trust in the power of the Good — may unite believers of various creeds, just as Goethe's object has at all times been rather to unite than to divide. We have seen socialist labourers, who thought themselves irreligious, rejoicing in the discovery, that the enthusiasm of their work for their fellows rested on the religious basis of a firm belief in the Power of the Good, whatever be its name.

There is a beautiful faith in this belief, if we consider the endless flood of evil in this world and the small amount of Good that really shines through it. In the face of all this no small amount of courage is wanted, to maintain the trust, "that somehow good will be the final goal of ill!" For there is no evidence, no scientific proof, not even probability; there is only trusting and trusting. But in this very trust the finest elements of true religion, of true Christianity are hidden. For what is Christianity in its simplest and in its most classic form, but a simple trusting, that He who made the whole creation intrinsically good, so ordered the course of the world-process, that all things, however dreadful they may look, are bound to work together for good!

V.

Goethe was far from being a Christian in the **dogmatic** sense and he was very far from being a Churchman in his time. But people who haughtily call him a heathen, ought to remember, that a heathen like Plato with his wonderful belief in the divine Power of the Good is better than a Pharisee-Christian. We shall never do justice to Goethe's most singular soul, crowded with life, unless we take into account the law of polarisation that was alive in this universal mind, as it is in the larger Universe. Very often Goethe could protect the sanctuary of his heart only by showing the opposite of what the philistine expected.

Yet from the stormiest doubting he always returned to the quiet conviction, that there has been in human history a fulness of life, to which we can only look **up** and never down!

He therefore never lost the way to his Bible, so dear to his pious and sound-hearted mother and to his own sacred memory. But it was always understood, that the Bible was made for the sake of man and not man for the sake of the Bible or any theory upon it. In a free, manly and sincere manner he took it up, and no critical observation, no cool insight into the historical conditions of the venerable Book could ever shake his deep veneration and love for it.

But he not only loved the Book. It is astonishing, how well he knew his Bible and how wisely he used it. What a blessing it would be in the wild confusion of judgment in our days, if our free-thinkers and unfree-thinkers first knew this book as Goethe did, and only then went on to judge! He certainly with all his strong desire for freedom and unfettered life did not want to get free from the past, for he knew and felt the wealth of life stored up in History. Slave of the past he never could be and never gave up the right of the free man to use his own God-given insight, but neither did he give up the right of loving all that is noble and inspiring in the Past. He could say without becoming unfaithful to himself:

A fountain sweet, in which I bathe,
Tradition 'tis, 'tis Grace!

It is again the feeling of reverence, that came over him, when he was standing before the great and pathetic facts of the Past and their living presence. How could he ever have lost it before the holiest man of human history? Jesus Christ was a problem to him unto the last, but a holy problem, not to be touched by ruthless hands. Adoring reverence before him was natural to him, he confessed, but his most solemn form of revering him was silence. The crucified Son of Man was to him the Sanctuary of Sorrow.

Let us remember here, what he says about this tender problem in Wilhelm Meister's Wanderjahre.

"Wilhelm said: As you have set up the life of this divine Man for a pattern and example, have you likewise selected his sufferings, his death as a model of exalted patience? — Undoubtedly we have, replied the Eldest. Of this we make no secret. But we draw a veil over those sufferings even because we reverence them so highly. We hold it a damnable audacity, to bring forth that torturing Cross and the Holy One who suffers on it, or to expose them to the light of the Sun, which hid its face, when a reckless world forced such a sight on it; to take these mysterious secrets, in which the divine depth of Sorrow lies hid and play with them, fondle them, trick them out and not rest, till the most reverend of all solemnities appears vulgar and paltry."

Here too Goethe openly refuses to be fettered by dogmatic views on the subject. He is the prophet of undogmatic religion, undogmatic Christianity. But with this name of the Sanctuary of Sorrow he touches again the problem of problems, the dark fact of endless suffering in this world. It is this problem, which ever threatens to overthrow all our religious convictions, that we may have gathered and won, and sets free again all lurking doubts, which we thought we had chained for ever.

VI.

This is therefore the last and the most important question, with which the truth-seeker of to-day may look up to Goethe's calm and serene face: **which is the way to get free from doubt?** — And thank God, there is no shrugging of shoulders, there is a stern and clear answer, which again Carlyle has formulated, after he had proved it as a true disciple of Goethe: **"Doubt of any sort can only be removed by Action!"** Is not this the counsel of the Man of Sorrow himself? "Whosoever (we read in John 7,17) will do the will of Him, that has sent me, he will know the truth!" When Goethe found the meaning of life in action, in resolute action, and gave the watch-word: "To be doing is man's first duty" he joined hands with another hero of emancipation, Immanuel Kant. We stand before his liberating gospel of the primacy of practical reason! That is to say: **The riddles of life are not solved by brooding, speculating, analysing — not by mere thinking, but by willing and daring and doing!** Blessed are they who dare and work! Know thy work and do it! Work and despair not! It is very little known that this great Carlylean motto is directly taken from Goethe: **"Wir heißen euch hoffen!"** Verily it is no accident, no poetical whim, that Faust finds at last the happiness he has been craving for, in work, in social work, working for others! What else does that mean, but that the struggle of man's soul against error, sin, suffering and despair ends with faithful work **sub specie Aeternitatis.** Not otherwise our own struggle with the problems and doubts of our own life will end. That is the message of Goethe's greatest work, his Faust, which he has given not to the Germans only, but to the world. It is his confession of faith. He began it in his youth and completed it just before going to rest for ever. The meaning of life is work — **Tätigkeit!** Was not that also **Martin Luther's** message, that the best service, man has to offer to God, is honest work! The saving power of work — that is also the Gospel word: **"Do that and you will live!"** And faith, a resolute trust in the hidden Power of the Good is the soul's work. Ever upward, as Goethe once said: —

Upwards on thy breast,
All-loving Father!

But the last word, because it was the first, is Grace.

* * *

At the end of his life, in his last conversation with Eckermann (II. 3. 32) Goethe said here in Weimar: "We shall all proceed by and

by from a Christianity of word and creed to a Christianity of will and deed." If our hero-worship be true, let us see to it, that this prophecy be fulfilled. And whatever may be the "religion of the Future", it will have to go on the lines, which Goethe has shown us in the ripe wisdom of his old age or it will go wrong! "Im Ganzen, Wahren, Guten resolut leben — to live resolutely, with the whole heart in all that is true and good" that is his advice for a healthy religious life. And his conviction concerning the future of spiritual life should be contradicted only by a man, who stands even higher and looks farther than he did. Goethe's well-weighed opinion is laid down in that famous word, spoken shortly before his death: "May the intellectual culture of the race ever grow and grow, may natural science spread ever more widely and deeply and the human mind widen as far as it can: it will never grow beyond the loftiness and moral culture of Christianity, as it gleams and shines in the Gospels."

It is a great temptation, to quote one after another of his testimonies, spoken from the deepest and noblest wisdom of old age. But we break off here, pointing once more to the secret holy well of his serene piety:

Ehrfurcht, Reverence, — that is the deep and pure lake high up in the mountains, whence all that is best came to him. Reverence before the simple facts of Nature and History; reverence before the great mystery of the Universe and its great men; reverence before the mystery of your own living soul and the souls of your fellow-wanderers. And a firm manly belief in the Power of the Good, that makes for good and rules and will rule over all things in Heaven and earth. But it unveils itself in its glory to those, who will work for others, helping them on in their upward struggle through darkness and sorrow.

"Mehr Licht! More light!" — those were Goethe's last words. More light! that is the cry of every living soul, till the end come and the eternal light.

THE RELIGION OF SCHILLER

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The quiet town, in which we are now, has become in the course of last century a shrine to which not only intellectual Germany but the whole cultured world makes pilgrimage. Weimar has become a holy city to the enthusiast of today. It is not without a feeling of reverence and exaltation that the present draws near to the greatness of the past, to seek clearer vision and fresh strength; while at the same time keen historical criticism brings with it a consciousness of the transitoriness and weakness of all human endeavour. The modesty but also the weariness of a too reflective age is expressed in the veneration for Goethe and Schiller. In these deserted houses, in the town and in the spacious park it is the great man, the man of genius whom we seek. But genius is not genius until, in the sphere of a pure and rich humanity, it has conceived and developed all the possibilities of the spirit. The contemplation of a greatness that is past and yet works on in the present helps us to realize the imperishable worth of the human soul and the unique meaning of human personality: and must not this thought have brought strength and comfort to the man of genius in his hard spiritual struggle? Out of the past rises the hope of a future pregnant with life, of an eternal progress of humanity towards truth, goodness and beauty, towards the idea of a God, whose unifying thought embraces all human souls with providential and loving care. Could the man of genius have shown us this path into the future without being himself possessed by the inward might of that one thought which dominates all culture, the thought of God? None of Weimar's great men have given more decisive utterance to a comprehensive religious feeling of this kind than Schiller. His person and his work are permeated by a religious spirit, the depth and purity of which in their very directness and freedom from ecclesiastical restraint have had no inconsiderable influence. To understand and recognize the unique significance of Schiller's religious position is the privilege of a gathering which represents free Christianity and religious progress. It is fitting then that we

should turn our attention to Schiller's religious thought and his religious influence.

I

1. From his youth Schiller's natural disposition led him to the study of religious problems; the richness and depth of his nature from the first urged him to penetrate to the fundamental principles of being. His Swabian home with its puritanism, the earnest piety of his father and mother, the boy's fondness for religious subjects and his gift for rhetoric determined him to become a theologian. The naive faith of childhood was brought to a sudden end by a tyrannical act of favour on the part of Duke Karl Eugen, who sent him to the Karlsschule, the philosophic teaching of which inspired him with the ideas of the rational Aufklärung. There the influence of the Leibnitz-Wolff optimism began to mingle with the quietism of the philosophic youth, easily inclined as he was by nature to pessimism, and he found a singular attraction and satisfaction in it. But his earnest striving after truth allowed him no rest, for with these new ideas came also the problem of faith and knowledge; the optimistic creed with its popular superficiality could not hide from Schiller's thorough and logical mind the difficulties of the reconciliation of God and the world in the sense of the "Theodicy". This questioning about the meaning of life, of God's justice, of the value of the world and of man, filled his youth with a continuous unrest. He both completely denied and gladly affirmed the reality of religious belief: his works from *The Robbers* to *Don Carlos* give eloquent testimony to the fact. His deep joy in life, his faith in reason and goodness and in one divine plan of being were however at this time for the most part victorious.

Freundlos war der große Weltenmeister,
Fühlte Mangel, darum schuf er Geister,
Sel'ge Spiegel seiner Seligkeit.

The paths along which his feeling now led him are from a religious point of view neither original nor very far-reaching. The chief thing one sees in these first endeavours after a religious "Weltanschauung" is the working of Schiller's virile temperament, the strength of his personal experience; it speaks out of all he wrote. Yet this problematical combination of intellectual optimism with serious pessimistic feeling served him as a basis for individual religious development.

This period, with its religious re-adjusting of accepted historical material, was followed by a time of transition in which neither the outward nor inward life of the poet seemed to make much advance. The

quiet years which Schiller spent with his circle of friends in Leipzig and Dresden were not favourable to his development, for he could only live to the full in severe and solitary struggle with himself and with his environment. The dreary barrenness of that time produced restlessness of mind, and it is very characteristic of Schiller, that he sank deep in gloomy scepticism. The "Philosophische Briefe" and the "Geisterseher" give in retrospect vivid expression to the empty and comfortless state of the young poet's mind: the very longing of his spirit to soar unhindered made doubts of God and man, freedom and immortality, a heavy burden. In the economy of his spiritual development this short time of depression played, it is true, a part of the utmost importance. By forcing him out of the circle of his too intimate surroundings it spurred him on to seek once more an independent solution of the religious problem. These two years of disquieting aimlessness taught him a truer self-valuation. After this experience he was ripe for the difficult task of self-education, depending on his own resources alone for the fashioning of his inner life. Full of clear purpose, he became a scholar once more and built up a new system of thought, as historian, philosopher and poet. The secret impulse to this mighty achievement was, however, given by his determination to deepen his inward life, and by his religious striving after spiritual independence and freedom as opposed to the meaningless sway of material phenomena. And so he cast from him the alien philosophy of his youth, and in self-won knowledge laid the foundation of his "Weltanschauung".

2. Schiller chose history, long familiar to him as a source of poetic inspiration, as his particular field of work. But, although he had had some experience in specialized work, he did not devote himself to historical research; he became a writer of history — more, an historical philosopher. One cannot adequately criticize his historical work from a purely scientific standpoint, for its chief importance lies in its "Weltanschauung". Schiller tried to trace in his writings the ethical development of the historic past: therefore he found it necessary to regard history, like Kant, from the teleological standpoint. In his introductory lecture in Jena he proclaimed it the duty of human reason to impose the law of the ethical idea on all past history, to conceive of it as a reasonable whole with a higher purpose underlying it, and thus to breathe into it a present life out of which the future might grow. The poet with his fine historical perception, however, did not fail to realize that history has also a peculiar and separate life of its own, which the sympathetic historian must seek to make clear and real to his readers. Neither did he desire a tyranny of historical facts but held that the historian must himself penetrate to the ideas underlying these facts before he could hope to make his history live. It was Schiller's

aim then to wake the spirit of the past that it might contribute to the moral education of the future.

Since Schiller thus made history a factor in the problem of "Weltanschauung", religion, in its historical and systematic bearings, could not fail to find a place in his conception of history. As an historian he recognized the historical phenomenon of religion as a fact of the highest importance, regarding it, however, rather from the standpoint of culture than of religion. He attached especial importance to the Reformation and the personality of Luther, because of their services in the cause of freedom. His characteristic criticism of the problem of religion and religions' was the result of this attitude:

Welche Religion ich bekenne? Keine von allen,
Die du mir nennst! — Und warum keine? — Aus Religion.

From the strife of religious parties and their differences of confession Schiller stood aside in silence: for he was led to this position of indifference by his insight into relative values as revealed by history. But on the other hand he derived from history itself, regarding it as he did from a teleological standpoint, a deep sense of religion. The whole course of the moral history of the race appeared to him the working out of a higher and universal will. His historical insight led him to that deep apprehension of the thought of God which he expressed later in the words of the "Worte des Glaubens":

Und ob alles in ewigem Wechsel kreist,
Es beharret im Wechsel ein ruhiger Geist.

These words of Schiller's are no confession of popular rationalism; they speak rather of personal knowledge and conviction, won by a philosopher who has penetrated to the essential principles of history. Without the idea of God as a rational principle, moral idealism can have no place in history.

3. Proceeding from his historical studies, under the influence of which his "Weltanschauung" had assumed a strong ethical and religious character, Schiller became an independent follower of Kant and a systematic philosopher. He devoted to philosophy, as he had before done to history, years of strenuous self-education, with the firm conviction that in such training alone could he lay a sure foundation for the development of his own nature and his artist's calling. The idea of purpose, as the historian conceives it, could not satisfy Schiller's need of a definite system: the problem of nature indeed defies all teleological solution. That dualism, which Schiller felt so strongly in himself, he now discovered to be a principle of Kant's philosophy, and the discovery brought him inward freedom. He realized the logical possibilities of man in his psychical duality:

as a natural being, man, like everything real, is only a collection of causes and effects governed by law; but as a spiritual being he possesses dignity and power enough to impose upon himself the higher law of morality. Granted then that man has two souls in his breast, he is at the same time given the task of overcoming the natural and sensual part of his nature by the moral force of his will, and with the task the power of accomplishing it. Schiller's rigorous system of ethics demanded the complete subordination of all sensuality to the morally free personality.

Yet Schiller in his wide humanity was not content to occupy himself only with this obvious antagonism of nature and spirit, sensuality and morality. Out of this very strife in human nature arises the necessary and varied task of adjustment. Emotion must be called in to mediate in the struggle of these two essential conditions of human existence, emotion in its two forms of art and religion. It is quite comprehensible that the artist Schiller should next devote himself to the task of solving the problem of ethics and aesthetics. With wonderful penetration he represented the aesthetic emotions of sublimity and beauty as messengers of peace to restless human hearts. His ideal of personality was now the harmony of the "schöne Seele", in which grace and dignity unite in willing submission to the high moral law. Only in an emergency will the quiet nobility of a humane culture then be disturbed by the peremptory summons of morality; for in such a culture the classical calm of perfect self-consciousness combines with the sure instincts of an harmonious nature. Starting from this ideal, Schiller worked out his idea of the aesthetic education of the human race, a wonderfully attractive theory of the ennobling influence over men of aesthetic emotion. But Schiller himself was conscious of the limits of this aesthetic education, and side by side with the aesthetic sense he gave the religious sense its full due. When the weight of misfortune and sorrow threatens to overcome the soul, when loftiness of character can no longer stand firm against the onslaught of the passions, then morality has still the anchor of religion left, a prop indeed outside of man's self-consciousness, but a help which he cannot dispense with in his need. Loftiness of character has most to fear from sensuality, and its only way of escape lies in religious dependence. Aesthetic training is not able to protect morality under all conditions; that can only be done by religion. But, if religion is to be equal to this task, it must include all morality, and this it does by virtue of its independent ethical elevation. The idea of God, which in its towering grandeur dominates all human thought, is, in its moral force, a lofty expression of religion, but lofty only as its sanctity satisfies both reason and morality. Schiller bases his thought of religion on pure, practical reason alone; but its significance extends through and beyond

the whole realm of aesthetics: religion is the strongest support of a lofty morality.

In similar fashion Schiller would exalt religion as the highest expression of moral beauty. In the religious sense he sees the one means of escape from the categorical imperative and the substitution of free and fair inclination for stern moral law. Schiller had at bottom no great faith in the power of aesthetics to provide a harmonious solution of the moral problem; he looked for this to religion with its symbolic idea of the incarnation of the Holy One. Religion becomes a projection of moral beauty, for the religious mystic alone is able to realize the unity of man's being in its moral harmony. For this reason Schiller values highly the power of religion to unite the discordant elements of human nature in one fervent and mystic emotion. In the religious mystic the sensuous and the moral combine to form a higher unity.

Schiller's thoughts of religion were of this somewhat summary yet noteworthy kind. Its special significance for his system of philosophy lay in the fact of its being the one, final refuge of humanity. Religion is not aesthetics, but, free and independent in itself, it combines with the sense of the sublime and the beautiful, and, in the form of religious mysticism, becomes the stay of morality and the final completion of human personality. In Schiller's philosophic work we find no enthusiastic delineation of religion, but virile, systematic thought about its peculiar nature, its essential features as a moral and as an emotional fact.

4. In Schiller's highest stage of development, however, in his poetry, religion plays a far greater part. The mystical thought of the immanence of the Divine in men became for him the deepest to which his poetry could give utterance. His poetry at the last is ever found revolving round the problem of how man as a moral being may attain to harmony with the eternal: we are told of the genius who stands in close and secret league with nature and is guided by the God in his own soul; we are told that man must receive the divine into his will, that so it may come down from its throne and work in him. Or longing reaches out beyond all finite things with faith and daring to the wonderland of the ideal and a certainty dawns on the heart that man is born for something better. Does not Hercules at last receive a place among the Gods? Apotheosis is the final reward of earnest moral striving and expiation. Schiller may clothe this sacred thought in the garments of Greek saga, but it is nothing if not religious and the expression of his piety.

Similarly, for the indwelling of the moral sense in man and for true human development Schiller had no other language but the religious: the religious sense alone enables a man to apprehend these ideas in all their depth and alone gives them their true value. This piety of Schiller's,

which asserts itself in so many different ways in his lyrics, is, however, peculiar in the unconsciousness of its religious character. In Schiller's system of philosophy religion is allowed but a narrow and limited place, a very cautious recognition within the bounds of pure reason. But very different is its practical role as an emotion in his poetry. There, unconscious religion finds utterance in richest variety and deepest fervour. Neither the traditional forms of religion nor the customary imagery of piety appealed to Schiller; but at the back of his thought we see in impressive directness religious feelings such as those of dependence, of moral striving, of sudden, resolute effort, even of a new birth and of salvation. One cannot doubt that in Schiller's soul these persistent thoughts of ethical will and of the certainty of final victory represented devout feeling and religion; unconsciously those ideas did the work of religion, serving him as a firm support in a life full of struggle and suffering. Is it conceivable, that he should have come through all those searching trials victorious, if religion had not been an essential factor in his spiritual life? We may call Schiller's religion strong, unconscious piety.

II.

And here we come to the second question — what religious effect has Schiller on us. Small as may be the proportion of devout thoughts which we can prove to have been the expression of his own conscious or unconscious religion, Schiller has yet an inexhaustible wealth of utterances whose effect on us is directly religious. From the very first the German people has regarded his poetry as devout, and found in it deep inspiration, a moral incentive, and an aid to self-sacrifice.

1. Schiller's thought exercises its religious influence in the first place in his dualism of the sensuous and the moral, of natural necessity and freedom. The way in which Schiller out of this antagonism educes the supremacy of the will, and extols loftiness of moral character side by side with the ideal of ethical yet harmonious beauty of soul, affects us with an unmistakably religious force. Schiller's solemnity, moral force and noble hope speak the language of faith. He has not only spiritual teaching for us; he is the bringer of a religious message: with prophetic assurance he sings of purity and morality, of the victory of spiritual freedom over all misery and moral weakness, of the eternal worth of man and his abandonment of himself to the one true good, to God. Yet we do not think of these as casual, subjective ideas of Schiller's they have rather the force of convincing, effective knowledge. Such a message overpowers the heart and conquers the understanding. Calmly deliberate is the march of these thoughts: the royal nature of German

idealism is felt in Schiller's classical lucidity and wealth of feeling. His interpretation of man's moral life comes to us as religious revelation.

2. But it is not merely Schiller's ideas that seem to us religious; the form of his work, his poetic language has also had a great influence on the German people. It is never sufficiently considered what a powerful emotional impression the sound of the language and metre and the rhythm of the phrases make on sense and mind. And of Schiller's art it is especially true that it is not the matter that moulds the form, but rather the form that gives the last completing touch to the matter. His philosophic thought shows itself in its peculiar significance only when Schiller gives full rein to his poetic feeling. His verse is not a kind of ornate garment for prosaic thoughts, but the necessary expression of thoughts which only become true and effective as they are completed by that particular form. Harmonious consonance and rhythmic balance of language enable even an untrained mind to grasp the full meaning of a profound thought, and what the logical understanding cannot lay hold of, the sensitive spirit feels in all its moving power. But this direct road to devoutness bridges over all the reasoned differences between art and religion. The man is captured by the beautiful form and through it experiences the overpowering and irresistible influence of the author's thought. Impressions of this kind have an almost religious value; they are recognized by the consciousness of the people to be of a devout character and as such they should be appreciated and used. We pay too little attention to the fact that Schiller's reflective poems have very often a more powerful and uplifting religious effect on our youth than all ecclesiastical Christianity.

3. And, finally, the ethical impression of Schiller's personality works as a composing and unifying force among our people. German culture rightly feels, that in the life of this man of will it can find precious qualities, which are worthy to have lasting influence, and are destined, by the example they hold up, to keep the best dispositions and impulses of the people alive and active. The most costly achievements of German seriousness, won through moral self-discipline and self-conquest, are found in Schiller, not as ethical propositions, but as a part of his powerful personality. And again, this fact has a religious bearing. If it is true that ethical religion can only truly exist by coming into touch with other individual lives, Schiller must of necessity be a well of life to mankind. The purified calm of his inner life, the ever growing nobility of his personality, which cast aside everything base and aroused whole-hearted veneration in its continual moral striving after perfection, made so great an impression on the memory of his great friend, that he dared in after years to ascribe to Schiller the Christ-life. Goethe, then, felt Schiller's religious force,

his religious influence. How much more can we, to whom after these years the distinction between willing and doing appears not so very great, keep vital in our hearts the influence of his model humanity. The religious vigour which streams from such a personality into the world of culture must be recognized ever anew and remain ever operative. By very reason of its secular nature it renders indispensable service to the spread of religion and to religious progress. We are sure that Schiller's lay religion, his unconscious Christianity has still an important moral and religious mission among men.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME

AT THE WARTBURG, FRIDAY, AUGUST 12, 1910

BY PROFESSOR OTTO SCHMIEDEL, OF EISENACH.

Members of the Congress, and Friends:

From three continents you have come to Germany in order to renew and strengthen the bonds uniting the representatives of free Christianity and religious progress all over the world. In the capital of our country, you, our guests, and we Germans, have exchanged ideas, sacred to us, — ideas on religion and socialism, religion and peace, religion and the Church, religion and theological progress, Christian and non-Christian religions; ideas with which we are called upon to influence the too one-sided, materialistic, technical, political and economical development of modern civilization.

At Wittenberg and Weimar you have rendered the offering of gratitude to the intellectual heroes of Germany, to whom your religious, philosophical and aesthetic advancement is greatly indebted.

Today you honour our ancient city by your visit, and I am charged by the local committee of Eisenach to bid you heartily welcome within its precincts and the courts of the Wartburg. You are standing here upon historic ground. Nearly a thousand years are looking down upon you from these walls and towers, from these roofs and bastions. Two chief periods of history present themselves to you on the Wartburg: on the one hand, the life and deeds of knights and minstrels of the Middle Ages; on the other hand, the struggle for the faith and the triumph of that faith, in the sixteenth century. The second court of the Wartburg, where we are now assembled, is the older part, the chief castle, representing the Middle Ages. For a long time it had fallen into decay. Nothing but a few buildings and the foundation walls of others remained. It was the piety and aesthetic genius of the late Grand Duke Carl Alexander that, in co-operation with well-known archaeologists, architects and artists, brought into existence new splendor to the old castle.

The front part of the Wartburg, which you have just passed is the so-called "fore-castle". It was erected later than the buildings of the second court, but preserved almost exactly the style of the time in which it was first built, with Luther's and Willibald Perkhheimer's chambers, being a true model of the Reformation period.

Where you look over there to the south, this tower stands before you strong and defiant. It is the oldest part of the castle, the so-called Bergfried. Its strong walls could tell you of whizzing arrows, of clashing swords, of wielded battle-axes, of scaling-ladders, of crushing stones, of wild war-cries, of groans of wounded and dying warriors. It was a wild time, when the tower was built, a period of civil war between the despotic Henry IV., the adversary of the Pope, and Rudolph of Schwabia. Count Ludwig the Springer, of Thuringia, took possession of the mountain in 1073, and in 1080 erected on it a castle deemed impregnable.

His successor, Hermann I., Landgrave of Thuringia, was one of the most powerful princes of the German Empire. He was greatly feared, for he was a despotic and cunning man. But one thing he loved — the noble art of minstrelsy. A gay and picturesque life was then going on within these walls. Knights rode up to the drawbridge, knights rode down. The court resounded with the clash of arms, the halls with the harps of minstrels, who, being the honoured and loved guests of the Landgrave, glorified his deeds and the beauty of the dames.

Although the story of the minstrels' contest on the Wartburg, of Henry of Ofterdingen, and the sorcerer Klingsor, represented so wonderfully in Wagner's "Tannhäuser", is recognized as a legend, still we know quite well that the two most celebrated minstrels of the Middle Ages, Wolfram von Eschenbach and Walter von der Vogelweide, sang their beautiful songs within these halls. And this fact is of great significance indeed. Wolfram made his Knights of the Holy Grail the ideal of Christianity, free from monkish pretension, papal despotism and narrow-mindedness of the Church. And Walter, the minstrel of love, patriotism and religion, was during his whole lifetime a ready and stubborn adversary of popery and an upright and sincere German man. He had an open mind for the beauty of the earth, but united with piety and absorption in the Divinity. Thus he may be justly called a forerunner of Luther.

But the joyous time of Hermann passed by. The harps of the minstrels were heard no more. A new spirit made its appearance within the halls of the Wartburg. Ludwig IV., like Hermann, was a warlike prince; still, in one respect he was the opposite of his father. He and his youthful wife, the daughter of the Hungarian king, the well-known Elizabeth, gave in that wild time a rare example of pure matrimony and Christian charity. Without fear of her husband, as the miracle

of the roses tells us, the princess was allowed to perform pious works, to found hospitals, and for the poor to dig the wells which bear her name to this day. We may draw pictures of the pious princess after the birth of her second child sitting in the little garden here before your eyes at the so-called Dirnsitz. Her gaze embraced the mountains and the valleys, the woods and the villages, and still always returned to her sweet child whose bed she strewed with roses, and for whose happiness she sent fervent prayers to heaven. Still, this happiness did not last long. Landgrave Ludwig, according to the idea of piety in his time, took the cross. He fell ill and died in Italy. Elizabeth, the angel of the Wartburg, and her children were expelled from the castle by Heinrich Raspe, her brother-in-law and the tutor of her sons. The fanatic Monk, Konrad of Marburg, exercised, even more than before, demoniacal influence on the frightened and darkening soul of the princess. She spent her whole life in self-torment, forgot her duties towards her children, and died as a saint in the monastery of Marburg. The despotic monk, who had driven to death this noble soul, passed through Thuringia and Hesse as an inquisitor for heretics. The piles of the poor victims were lighted up by the cruel man at Erfurt, our neighbouring town. But the Thuringians, never servants of fanatic priests, did what they ought to have done — they killed the bloodhound in the forest.

Wild times of civil war now destroyed the peace of Thuringia. Twice the Wartburg was besieged, but not conquered. It was struck by a flash of lightning in 1317. But the brave and noble Landgrave Friedrich der Friedige restored it not only as a fortress but as a residence in the most splendid maner with the help of his architects and painters, and for the first time built up all the three stories of the palace we now admire.

But times gradually changed. The princes of Germany descended from their castles and took up their residences in the towns. So this glorious castle fell into decay again. Frederick the Wise, the mighty protector of Luther, restored it in some measure within the years 1507 to 1512. In was on the evening of the fourth of May, 1521, that a cavalcade stopped quietly before the drawbridge. Somebody knocked softly at the door. It was opened. The captain of the citadel, named von Berlepsch, descended. His red torch lighted the pale face of a monk. But the monkish garment was not seen any more the following day; and in the well-known small room of the Knights' house Junker Jörg was confined as a prisoner. A strange knight, indeed, not inclined to hunting and warlike deeds. A knight of the spirit, fighting for the freedom of the faith and Protestant conscience. Over there in the

small room which you will soon enter he forged the sharpest weapon for the war against popery, — I mean the German translation of the Bible, a work classical as well as monumental of the German language, and the strongest sword of faith.

Again the Wartburg fell into oblivion after Luther had left his Patmos and had returned to the battle-field of the Reformation.

Once more, three hundred years later, our castle became the scene of an important historical event. It was on the 18th of October, 1817, that a great many students of the University of Jena, led by some of their professors, filled the halls of the castle to celebrate at the same time deliverance from political servitude through the battle of Leipzig, and the act of deliverance from the spiritual yoke of papalism by the Ninety-Five Theses. This wonderful festival of patriotic and religious enthusiasm, celebrated by the academical youth, is worthy of being repeated in the 20th century.

Dear friends! for the last time during these days of festival which have led you to Germany from three continents are we assembled at a historical, I may say at a holy place. Tomorrow you will be separating into all parts of the world. I beseech you, when you come home to Holland and Switzerland, Austria and Hungary, France and Italy, Russia and Finland, Sweden, Norway and Denmark, England and America, Armenia and India and the Far East, tell your friends and adherents who sent you here of all you have seen and heard. Keep in faithful remembrance this Wartburg, tower of German knighthood and memorial of the romantic times of the Middle Ages, but even more as a stronghold in which was treasured a Christian faith and religious liberty for the benefit of the whole world.

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